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CONGREGATIONAL HISTORY,

1700—1800.

IN RELATION TO

CONTEMPORANEOUS EVENTS,

Education, the Eclipse of Faith, Revivals, and Christian Missions.

35208

BY

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PREFACE.

In the present work and in the two preceding volumes, I have attempted to give the history of Congregational Churches, more especially in England and America, with an account of the times through which they passed, and the influences by which they were surrounded.

The method I have adopted has been—first, to ascertain the facts from authentic and original documents, collected from every available quarter, likely to afford light on the subject; and then, with due regard to order, sequence, and interdependence, to narrate them without exaggeration on the one hand, or dishonest omission on the other.

To be satisfied on one point in this historical enquiry—that of the relations of Congregational Churches with the Government—I have carefully gone through all the Papers in State Records, sent to the Home Office for the Eighteenth Century, several thousands in number; and as the result of that investigation, continued for many months, I am in a position to affirm with confidence that no proof

can be found in them of the slightest disaffection in any Church of the Congregational order holding Evangelical principles, nor yet in any individual member of such a Church; but, on the contrary, the most ample evidence that when the High Church party were seeking, by plots, intrigues with the Pope, riots, mobs, and actual rebellion, to overturn the throne, and to set up an Anglican Establishment co-ordinate with a Romish Hierarchy, the King and his Ministers of State found in Congregational Churches the most steadfast friends of order, combined with constitutional liberty.

Nothing has more surprised me, in this careful and prolonged research, than the light thrown on the origin, course, and practical issue of the New Philosophy, adopted by the self-styled "Rational Dissenters," who predicted a millennium of peace, freedom, and happiness. The result of their persevering efforts, as seen in the condition of America after the War of Independence, and in the horrors of the French Revolution, as well as in the extinction of Churches and educational institutions in England, was that of the most disastrous and ignominious failure.

The distinct and oft-repeated testimonies of Dr. Priestley on this subject—especially when deserted and left to endure the miseries of virtual banishment at Northumberland, in Pennsylvania—should be carefully examined and deeply pondered.

This enquiry into the progress and influence of Rationalistic views needs to be carried on much

further, particularly in relation to the Churches in Boston and Harvard College at the beginning of the present century. I propose, therefore, to continue the history, and to show, by a clear narration of facts, the changes produced by Dr. Channing, Dr. Ware, and others, and the gradual recovery of Evangelical Churches and the establishment of Theological institutions by the labours of Dr. Spring, Dr. Leonard Woods, Dr. Moses Stuart, and their coadjutors, with the subsequent progress of Congregational Churches in England and America, and in the British Colonies. The co-operation of my friends in the communication of original letters, or books and pamphlets, will be gratefully welcomed and appreciated.

I am encouraged to renewed effort by the assurances of ministerial brethren, on whose judgment I can rely, that the record of facts, the exposition of principles, and the examples of Christian character, experience, and conduct given in the volumes already published, is esteemed by them, as one particularly *needed in our own times.*

I began this service under many disabilities and some discouragement, but my personal interest has deepened at every stage, and, though I am painfully sensible that the keen eye of the critic will discover in the present volume many defects and blemishes, my hope is that at the same time it will be acknowledged that no labour has been spared to give the whole truth so far as it could be obtained from authentic documents, and that the work, notwithstanding its imperfections, will be accepted as a new

and substantial contribution to English History, replete with lessons of practical value to all parties.

The sources of information to which attention has been given in the preparation of the narrative are the following :—

The STATE PAPERS (*Uncalendared*)—HOME, COLONIAL, AND FOREIGN, for the Eighteenth Century, *by special permission of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.*

RECORDS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY for the last decade of the century.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The Original Correspondence and other Papers of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, with all the Papers at FULHAM and LAMBETH relating to AMERICA, sumptuously printed in several large quarto volumes for the American Episcopal Church.

LAMBETH MANUSCRIPTS.

HARMER MANUSCRIPTS, containing Transcripts of the Church Records of the Eastern Counties, in many volumes.

Manuscript Collections, Printed Books, and Tracts in Dr. Williams' Library.

Copies of Church Records, London and Provincial, made by Robert Barclay, Esq., of Reigate.

Church Records of Northamptonshire, copied by Mr. John Taylor, of Northampton.

Collection of Rare Tracts in the Town Hall, Northampton.

Church Books at Bedford, Olney, Kettering, Rowell, and Arnsby.

County Congregational Histories.

Minutes of the Fund Board, in the possession of Mr. Ives.

Minutes of the King's Head Society, recently restored to NEW COLLEGE.

Minutes of the Congregational Board.

Minutes of the Three Denominations.

Minutes of the Dissenting Deputies.

The invaluable *Collection of Autograph Letters made by the* Rev. Dr. Raffles, in the possession of T. S. Raffles, Esq.

Unpublished Letters of Dr. Doddridge *and his Contemporaries,* with the unique Library of *Nonconformist Books and Tracts,* collected by Joshua Wilson, Esq., and arranged by Miss Wilson.

Daventry Papers, in the possession of Mrs. Ashworth Briggs.

MS. Diary of the Rev. George Lambert, in 12 vols.

Church Books at Maze Pond, Metropolitan Tabernacle, Latimer Chapel, and Mile End.

Collection of Manuscripts in the Bristol Academy.

Rare Tracts in the Library of the Bristol Corporation.

Collection of Manuscripts in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Angus, Principal of Regent's Park College.

Original Papers of the London Missionary Society.

Seddon Papers, in Manchester New College, Gordon Square.

Transcripts made from Church Records, in a visit of seven months to the *United States.*

Collections of the Historical Societies of America; and a *Private Collection of Local Histories.*

County Histories, and other valuable Books, in the Library of Samuel Rigby, Esq., Bruche Hall, Warrington.

Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit.

My best thanks are presented to the Rev. Dr. Angus; the Rev. Thomas Arnold; the Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon; the Rev. John Brown, of Bedford; Mrs. Briggs, of Daventry; Mr. Eastty, of Maze Pond; the Rev. W. Farrer, LL.B.; Richard Garnett, Esq.; the Rev. Dr. Gooch, of Bristol; Alexander Haldane, Esq.; the Rev. J. Hunter; S. W. Kershaw, Esq., M.A.; Alfred Kingston, Esq.; the Rev. President Newth, D.D.; the Rev. George Orme; Alderman Pickering Perry, Esq., J.P.; T. S. Raffles, Esq., Stip. Mag.; S. Rigby, Esq., J.P.; Charles Shepheard, Esq.;

W. D. Selby, Esq.; W. Somerville, Esq., J.P.; Mr. John Taylor; the Rev. Thomas Toller; the Rev. Joseph Waddington; Theodore Walker, Esq., Leicester; H. Waterfield, Esq.; G. Whitley, Esq.; Mrs. Joshua Wilson; Thomas Wilson, Esq.; and Henry Wright, Esq., J.P., for their courteous attention and willing help in my researches; and especially to SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P., for a cheque for £100 in aid of expenses.

9, SURREY SQUARE,
October 24th, 1876.

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CONGREGATIONAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

After the revolution of 1688, liberal Churchmen expected that Nonconformity would quietly subside. It was not thought decorous to disturb the last days of the venerable survivors of the ejectment of 1662; but when in the course of nature they had passed away, the most tolerant of the bishops saw no reason why the pulpits left vacant by them should again be occupied.

Expected quietus of Nonconformity.

The impolicy of coercion was freely admitted, but it was supposed that a slight modification in the Church services would be sufficient to bring the weak and erratic Dissenting brethren within the national fold. "To mollify them, we have tried Church censures," they said, "and penal laws, and inflicted them with a severity *perhaps* beyond what we can justify, but only to heighten our own divisions, and increase the divisions we endeavoured to remove. The only remedy left us is to remove the exceptional passages in our Liturgy, and those ceremonies in our worship to which they cannot conform with us, and to follow the steps which the State, by the Act of Toleration, has gone before us in, to reconcile them

to us; for they are now no more in our power to force them to a conformity with us than we are in theirs." *

William III. (a thorough Erastian) was entirely of this mind. His ecclesiastical advisers assured him that the whole matter of Dissent, with careful management, might be pleasantly arranged. "The Presbyterians especially," said Bishop Burnet, "and the Independents, *will one day come into the Church of England themselves.* Their old teachers, Baxter, Bates, Owen, and the rest of their great men, are gone." †

Calamy, when a student of Oxford, waited to see if alterations would be made in the public settlement he could fall in with without doing violence to or disturbing his mind and conscience. To introduce a Bill for Comprehension was soon, however, found to be impracticable. Meanwhile, notwithstanding the flexibility of some, the descendants of the "old teachers" cherished their memory, and held fast their principles. The tears that fell upon the bier of the last of the Puritans were not those of hopeless sorrow for vanquished leaders in a cause henceforth to be abandoned, but with sincere and keen regr was mingled the sacred determination to grasp more firmly the banner to be "displayed because of the truth."

JOHN CROMPTON, the nephew of Oliver Heywood, in a letter of condolence to his widow (Aug. 2, 1702), says: "God is raising up new ones to fill up the room and places of those more experienced ones that are gone. God Almighty make us as diligent and faith-

* Printed Letter to Convocation. † Memorial to the Princess Sophia.

ful in our Master's work and glory, and the good of souls, as they were." * THOMAS WHITAKER, at the funeral of Joseph Lister, of Kipping, said: "When the godly perish, when the upright, and exemplary, and useful are taken away, what a vacancy do they leave! The world is but insipidness without them. What remains for us to do but to get our loins girt and lights burning!"

Hoadley and Calamy.

The young gownsman who sauntered in Christ Church meadows, dreaming of the settlement that might bring back days like those in which his grandfather, the Elder Calamy, preached before Parliament at Saint Margaret's, or in Westminster Abbey, was rudely challenged by Hoadley to account for acting as a Nonconformist teacher. "Admit," he said, with unconscious insolence, "that some of your people might suffer loss, or be wounded in feeling, by your self-imposed silence. Are the people fit judges of your duty, and directors of your practice?" "I think myself obliged to declare to you," he added, with rising haughtiness, "that the provision made for you in the Church of England is what you ought to be very thankful to Almighty God for. Remember that you are to regard the peace of the Church as well as your own humours and fancies." † Volumes had been written to justify the necessity for separation on the ground of the slender pasture provided by the Anglican shepherds. A plea of that kind Hoadley treated with the utmost scorn. "Supposing it is true," he said, "that there are sundry ministers in the Established Church

* Additional MSS., 4275, 41.

† Hoadley's "Reasonableness of Conformity," part ii., p. 19.

insufficient—that is, ignorant, and not able to teach and instruct the people—I say that is not sufficient reason for the people to forsake the Church of England, and betake themselves to the help of a separate ministry, and form themselves into Churches distinct from it. And if it be not sufficient reason for the people to do this, you ought not in conscience to encourage them in doing it; and therefore this cannot be a sufficient justification of your public ministrations.* The people have no necessity of departing from the most insufficient ministry you can easily find.† The Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, are constantly part of their entertainment on the Lord's-day."

Calamy, neither convinced by the logic nor silenced by the rebuke of his proud antagonist, put a few questions to him.

"Are not ignorance," he asked, "profaneness, and simony (things of which we find some of the reverend bishops have freely taken notice of in their several charges to their clergy), much more dangerous both to religion and the ministry than a separation of qualified persons to that office by inferior ministers?

"Is it not a visible benefit to any parish to have a Dissenting minister open a meeting in it, where, instead of one hasty sermon in a week or fortnight, the parishioners shall have from that time forward, besides the labours of such an assistant in public and private, also two well-studied sermons every Lord's-day in the public Church? Will God, in the

* Hoadley's "Reasonableness of Conformity," part ii., p. 36.

† *Ibid.*, p. 38.

awful day of judgment, own as a minister of His sending one who minds his interest or pleasure more than the good of souls, and disown another minister whom He has made an instrument of the conversion of many, because the former had the hands of a bishop in his ordination, and the latter not?" *

All such questions Hoadley regarded as impertinent, and indicative of sheer perverseness.

In his "Defence of Moderate Conformity," Calamy reviewed the history of the ejected ministers to justify their course—an utter waste of time, in the opinion of the lofty Churchman. "All this," he said, "is of no concern to me. One would think it time for all good men to forget what is past. These historical illustrations neither prove what you pretend, nor, granting that, they prove that it is not your duty to secede from these rights, for the sake of a greater good to the Christian Church, and consequently are of no concern to the question."

For the present we are not further concerned with the disputants; we turn our attention to the people. Without asking permission of the dignitaries of the Church, they formed themselves into Christian societies, and adopted the covenants of their fathers as best setting forth the grounds of their procedure.

Here, for example, is an extract from the records of the church at Parkhead, near Kirkoswald, Cumberland, a place little known, perhaps, to ecclesiastical historians:—

* Calamy's "Defence of Moderate Conformity," part ii., 34—5.

"Being ashamed of our former pollutions in the worship of our God, and our abominations from His gospel-way, we do here this day (June 5th, 1708) desire to lament the same before the Lord, looking to and depending only upon the free grace of God in Christ for pardon and healing power, and being *sensible also of our want of sundry gospel ordinances, and this of church fellowship in particular, which our souls do long after*, as one of his precious enjoyments, and most sweet privileges, given to and purchased for us by his own precious blood; and having this day supplicated the Lord for a blessing upon our poor endeavours, in order hereunto do now all of us set ourselves, as in the presence of God, and freely with our consent (yet not without fear and trembling), enter into a solemn agreement, and promise to walk together as one body in all the holy ways and pure ordinances of Christ, our dear Husband and Head, and to perform all service of brotherly love and holy watchfulness to each other, as the Lord requireth; and also to submit ourselves to one another, according to the order of the gospel. And all this we do, not presuming upon our own strength, which is nothing but weakness; no, nor by any power of grace received (which, without continual supply from the fountain, is able to act nothing), but merely and wholly relying upon the gracious and *fresh influence* from our Lord Jesus Christ, who is our life, our hope, our all in all; who, we believe, will with *a tender eye look upon our day of small things*, perfect our beginnings, and carry us as lambs in his bosom through all our temptations, and difficulties, and infirmities (according as He hath undertaken by commission from his Father), and bring us into his eternal rest, after He hath wiped away all tears from our eyes."*

Renewal of Church Covenant.

This instinctive desire on the part of Christian believers to go to their "own company"—perfectly incomprehensible to those who looked for nothing more in Church association than the continual repetition of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments—was felt by religious people within the pale of the Establishment. Select societies, for the

* Cong. Mag., vol. v., 1822, p. 387.

purpose of mutual spiritual improvement, were formed amongst devout Churchmen in the time of the Stuarts. Dr. Josiah Woodward published an account of their meetings in 1712. Woodward Societies. The parochial minister at Old Romney, in Kent, finding the church indecently kept, the public service neither understood nor attended, the Lord's Supper "supported by the piety of three or four communicants, and the divine ordinance of singing of psalms almost laid aside," instituted a Christian fraternity. At Poplar a society was organized by the clergyman, based on rules resembling in some points the articles of covenant in a Congregational Church. One of them is to the following effect :—

"That the sole design of this society being to promote real holiness of heart and life, it is absolutely necessary that the persons who enter into it seriously resolve, by the grace of God, to apply themselves to all means proper to accomplish these blessed ends, trusting in the Divine power and gracious conduct of the Holy Spirit, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to excite, advance, and perfect all good in us."

It is refreshing to observe that, though the members were required to "frequent the Liturgy and other public exercises," they were enjoined to "express due Christian charity, candour, and moderation towards all such Dissenters as are of good conversation."

Superadded to minute regulations for the fulfilment of practical Christian duties, were instructions for the detection and prosecution of criminal offenders and the suppression of vice. At one time the "Woodward Societies" enjoyed the highest patronage, but their terms of communion gave them

a suspicious character in the estimation of the bishops, and to avoid the appearance of sectarianism they met in rooms obtained for their accommodation in respectable hotels.

Nonconformist Churches founded on a more scriptural model, on the contrary, met openly, and in large towns were watched over by able ministers of the New Testament, who, notwithstanding the difficulties in the way, had received a good education. Their Puritan ancestors, trained in the Universities, had always valued classical learning, and, when deprived of their livings, carefully instructed their children, or, when they could find the means, sent them to the Universities in Scotland and Holland.

The ministers chosen by the Congregational Churches in London were men of this order.

Matthew Clarke.

MATTHEW CLARKE, the son of an ejected minister, born at Harborough, in Northamptonshire, February 2nd, 1663, 64, was invited to become the pastor of the Church in Miles Lane, and entered on his ministry there in 1689. His matured experience and earnest preaching won for him the attention of an increasing audience under peculiar discouragements. His father was an indefatigable student, noted as a good grammarian, well versed in the classics, and eminent for oriental learning. Three times he was imprisoned in Leicester jail for the crime of preaching, and lived for some time after he was silenced in a very lonesome house in Leicester Forest, and in 1673 gathered a large congregation, closing his honourable course in 1708, in his 80th year. The son walked in the steps of his father, and

"served with him in the Gospel." After preparatory studies at home in a class of young gentlemen preparing for the University, he was sent to John Woodhouse, a minister and eminent tutor at Sheriffhales, in Shropshire; and then spent two years in London, to profit by the counsel and preaching of the ministers in the City. He knew from personal experience, when wandering as a child in the forest, the "cost" of Nonconformity, but he was prepared to meet it cheerfully, and was not ashamed of his spiritual lineage. He waited for no ecclesiastical "settlement" that should open to him a way for preferment. His "judgment," like that of his father, was "Congregational."

Hear him as he discourses from the text, "When the Chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory," at the funeral of JEREMIAH SMITH:

"Here is the noblest work and the highest motives. A serious belief of this would draw forth all our active powers into the service of God. Here is room for our highest ambition. The God whom we serve is able to reward us, and intends for us a happiness that cannot be conceived. What encouragement, then, is there to faithfulness, diligence, and perseverance in our work! Let this carry us upwards as on eagle's wings. Let nothing seem hard that He requires; grudge no pains in His service; only let us be faithful and fulfil our ministry, that our enemies may not reproach us, as having lost the sobriety and the sanctimony of our forefathers, whereby they so much recommended themselves to the world, and that we are generally grown as remiss and vain as others: this you know has been said, and very sad it would be, if it is truly said, and cannot be refuted. Upon this some have built their hopes that our interest cannot stand long, but must necessarily fall for want of proper hands to support it.

"Let this animate us in our work, lest our friends also complain that we have lost the spirit of our forefathers, that we are

not like the old ministers upon whose labours we are entered. We don't preach, nor pray; we don't live, nor converse, nor appear like them. So far as this is true, let us lay it to heart, and enquire what we have done to lose the reputation those gained that went before us, and take care not to sink our character, but preserve or recover the majesty and authority of our office.

"Thus encouraged, let us not be slothful, but followers of them, who through faith and patience now inherit this promise. Oh, let us be faithful! be faithful!—that is what is laid upon us; be faithful unto death—faithful unto God, that has called us to our charge and trust—to the souls of men; for faithful is He that hath promised, who also will do it."

Thomas Reynolds.

Thomas Reynolds (born 1667), the son of a deacon of the Church at Silver Street, London, was intended for the legal profession, and placed under the care of Mr. Singleton, an eminent classic, and for a time pursued his studies at Oxford. He desired, however, to enter the Christian ministry, and returning home, he was admitted (March 27th, 1683), in his sixteenth year, to the Academy of Charles Morton, at Newington Green. On the renewal of persecution he retired to Geneva, to enjoy the quiet of the placid Leman, and to avail himself of the teaching of Dr. Francis Turretine; and, for still further improvement, removed to the University of Utrecht, to attend the lectures of De Vries, Professor of Philosophy, and of Witsius, the Professor of Divinity, and having completed his collegiate course, spent some time with John Howe, as his assistant. Whilst in this situation he was ordained at the Meeting-house, Little St. Helens, June, 1694, with six other young men, at the first public meeting of the Dissenters after the passing of the Act of Nonconformity. The last representatives of the

ejected ministers then in the City took part in the service. With this special and diversified training and matured experience, Reynolds was chosen as the successor of Thomas Kentish, and for thirty years continued pastor of the Church that removed from Cannon Street to the Weigh House.

Benjamin Robinson (born 1666) accepted in 1700 the pastoral charge of the Church at Little St. Helens. He was greatly esteemed by his friend, John Howe, for his varied learning and eminent piety. In the house of Sir John Gell he made the acquaintance of Richard Baxter, and continued his studies there, and in the family of Mr. Samuel Saunders, of Normanton, acting as domestic chaplain, until his removal to Findern, where he united with his ministerial work the care of an academy, and after this thorough discipline came to London. Benjamin Robinson.

Thomas Bradbury, a giant amongst the Nonconformists in his day, born at Wakefield in 1677, was the son of one of the members of the Church at Alverthorpe, of which Peter Naylor was pastor. He was educated first at the Free School in Leeds, and then sent to the Academy of Timothy Jollie, at Attercliffe. An interesting relation of his experience when admitted to the communion of the Church, is preserved in the "Additional" Manuscripts of the British Museum.* After leaving the Academy, he was received into the family of Thomas Whitaker, minister of Call Lane Chapel, Leeds, the companion and fellow-prisoner with Oliver Heywood in York Castle, for Nonconformity. Thomas Bradbury.

* Additional MSS., 4275, 68.

Whilst under the care of this eminent servant of Christ, Bradbury preached his first sermon (June 14th, 1696), in the eighteenth year of his age. In the following year he went to Beverley, where he occupied the pulpit for two years, and then, in 1699, settled at Newcastle-upon-Tyne as assistant to Dr. Gilpin, and continued with his successor, Benjamin Bennet, three years. His first visit to London, probably before entering on his work at Newcastle, he describes in a letter to his friend Mr. Whitaker, dated June 15th, 1699, in which he says he arrived after a very safe and speedy passage of four days from Hull. He was "confused with a noisy city and large floods of people." The City preachers did not strike him as miracles of eloquence, logic, or learning. Matthew Mead was just recovering, to the surprise of all, from severe illness; but Mr. Lobb had been suddenly called into eternity when about to preach a sacramental discourse. A terrible fire raging in the docks destroyed two hundred and fifty houses, nine ships, and seven wood-yards, to the loss of three hundred yards. Wearied with the oppressing kindness of friends, Bradbury was glad to return to "canny" Newcastle; but his visit was not forgotten, and on the death of Dr. Chauncy he was invited to preach at Mark Lane, but delaying his answer, other arrangements were made, and the Church at Stepney gave him a call in 1707. After a brief but acceptable service, the following testimonial was given:—

"To the Church of Christ assembling in Fetter Lane, whereof the Rev. Benoni Rowe was formerly pastor.

"Whereas, our well-beloved brother, Mr. Thomas Bradbury,

has been for about these two years in communion with the Church at Stepney, and has *possessed a particular reputation and respect in the hearts of the congregation*, but is now, by the holy Providence of God, called to settle with you: We do, therefore, in compliance with your desire, dismiss him from his relation here, and *heartily recommend him to you, not as a common brother, but as a more public useful servant of Jesus Christ*, with our earnest prayer that he may be made a singular blessing to you, and an eminent instrument in God's hand to add much people to the Lord."

Isaac Watts (born July 17th, 1674), poet, philosopher, logician, and divine, passed through a similar course of home instruction, college discipline, and practical experience with the rest of the pastors in the City of London. His father (whose portrait is in New College, St. John's Wood) was a deacon of the church at Southampton, and "purchased to himself a good degree." As a man of high integrity and public spirit, he was chosen a member of the Common Council; and, faithful like Daniel "concerning the law of his God," he suffered unto bonds and imprisonment. The earliest recollections of Watts were associated with the conscientiousness of his father as a Nonconformist, and the loving devotedness of his mother, who carried him as an infant to visit his father in the common jail. He could never pass the walls of the prison near the harbour, still standing, without having the impression of the parental testimony to the truth revived and deepened. David Jennings tells us with enthusiasm of his uncommon genius, ripe learning, and fervent piety. He "made swift progress under the care of the Reverend Mr. Pinhorne, of the Established Church." "In the year 1690 he was sent to

Isaac Watts.

London for academical education, where he was placed under the tuition of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Rowe." He joined the church of which his tutor was the worthy pastor in 1693. "When he had finished his course of studies at the academy, *he returned to his father's house, where he spent two years more in reading, meditation, and prayer, in order to his being further qualified and fitted for that great work to which he was determined to devote his life, and of the awful importance of which he had a deep sense upon his mind.*"

"He was invited in 1696 by that eminently pious and learned gentleman, Sir John Hartopp, Baronet, to reside in his family at Stoke Newington, as tutor to his son," winning the confidence, esteem, and affection of all around him, diligently cultivating his own gifts, and adding to his stores of learning. He began to preach on his birthday, 1698, and was the same year chosen assistant to Dr. Isaac Chauncy, pastor of the Church at Mark Lane. Sanguine expectations were cherished as to his success, but his labours were soon interrupted by a threatening illness. On his recovery, he returned to his work with riper experience, and received a call to become pastor of the Church.

His conduct at this important juncture is worthy of special attention. In times of laxity and indifference, candidates for the work of the ministry enter upon their general studies with no definite aim, and having their principles to seek. When they should become public leaders, they have no certainty as to the way; and all the preliminaries to their entrance on the pastoral care marked with irregularity, slovenli-

ness, and self-conceit, rather invite contempt, and occasion serious misgiving, than inspire confidence. It was not so with the pastor-elect of Mark Lane. No minister of his day more thoroughly understood Congregational principles, or expounded them more satisfactorily. He knew his ground, both as to the statements of Scripture, and the reasonableness of the order that should be maintained. Every step, therefore, was taken with care, yet with the freedom of full conviction.

The reply he sent to the Church, Feb. 8th, 1702, is a model for candour and explicitness :

"Beloved in our Lord (he writes), when you first called me to minister the word of God among you, I took the freedom to acquaint you that, *in the chief doctrines of Christianity, I was of the same mind with your former reverend pastor, Dr. John Owen, who being dead yet speaketh: and I have been glad to find, by three years' experience, that you retain the same principles that he preached among you.* Now since, through your affection and undeserved respect to me, you have thought fit to call me to the great and solemn office of a pastor, *I cannot but take the same freedom to hope that you are of one mind with him in the chief points of Church discipline.* Though I call no man master upon earth, nor confine my belief to the judgment of another, yet I cannot but own that, in the judgment of gospel order, I have found much light and assistance from his works, and from those of your late reverend pastor, Dr. Isaac Chauncy; but *being desired by you to give some hints of my principles in writing, in order to future satisfaction, and continuance of peace and love* (if the Lord shall fix me with you), I have here briefly written a few things, whereby you may discover something of my knowledge in the mind and will of Christ concerning his Churches. Principles of Gospel Order.

"1. I believe that Jesus Christ, the King of saints, has given command and power to his saints to form themselves into spiritual societies and corporations, for his public glory, and their own edification.

"2. That every society of saints, covenanting to walk with God and one another in all the rules and institutions of the gospel, is a Church of Christ.

"3. That every such Church has power to increase its own number by the addition of members, or to purge itself of corrupt members, before it be organized and made complete, by having fixed officers among them.

"4. That this society of saints ought to look on themselves as more nearly united and related to one another than to other Christians, and consequently to pray with and for each other, to visit one another, to exhort, comfort, and assist one another, and to maintain such a love and communion to and with each other, as that they may look like fellow-members of the same body.

"5. The members of such an incomplete Church, before any pastor is settled among them, may pray together, and exhort one another; yet this Church has not power in itself to administer all ordinances among them. But when they have chosen a proper officer to be over them in the Lord, and when he is ordained by their public call, his public acceptance, and by solemn separation of him to the work by fasting and prayer, then unto the officer is this power committed.

"6. It follows thence, that though the pastor be named or chosen to this office by the people, yet his commission and power to administer all divine ordinances is not derived from the people, for they had not this power in themselves, but it proceeds from the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the only King of his Church, and the principle of all power; and He has appointed in his Word that the call of his Church and solemn ordination should be the means whereby his ministers are invested with this authority.

"7. That, in the ordination of a pastor to a particular church, our Lord Jesus Christ, as the supreme Governor and Head of his Church, set him in an office of spiritual rule over a willing people, who freely commit themselves to his care; even as Christ also, in and by his word and providence, now commits them unto his care and charge, of which he must give an account.

"8. Hence it follows that personal acts, such as teaching, feeding, guiding, and overseeing the flock, exhorting, reproving, comforting them, are not performed in the name of the people, but in the name, stead, and place of Christ, by the pastor, as his representative in that church, and as his ambassador in it; as a

shepherd, in ruling, leading, and feeding his flock, acts not in the name of the sheep, but in the name and place of Him that owns them, and that has committed them unto his care; and therefore these pastoral acts are to be received by the people as clothed with the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, so far as they agree with his mind and will according to these scriptures—2 Cor. v. 20, 'Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God;' John xiii. 20, 'He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth Me;' and this regard is also due to such acts of the pastor from every member, because they have given themselves up to him in the Lord.

"9. Yet I believe that, even with regard to these pastoral acts, Christ has given to his Churches so far a judgment of discretion, that *they are not bound to submit blindly to the government of the pastor, unless he approve himself therein to act according to the mind and will of Christ in his Word;* and it is the neglect of this consideration that has brought in that unbounded authority and usurped dominion of the priest, and that implicit faith and blind obedience of the people in the anti-Christian Church.

"10. I believe, also, that in all those other exercises of Church order, *which are not merely acts of the pastor, but also acts of the Church*—such as receiving and casting out members, appointing places of stated or occasional worship, setting apart days of prayer, and times for church meetings—*a pastor ought to do nothing without the consent of the people;* and though the *whole* office of a pastor herein lies not merely in declaring the mind and consent of the Church, yet this is *part* of that business and service that he oweth to the Church.

"11. That in the admission of members into the Church, it is necessary that the people be well satisfied with the person they receive into their fellowship, as well as the pastor to receive him into his care; and that the Church has liberty to make objections if they are dissatisfied with his fitness for church communion; nor can the pastor receive any member, or cast out any one, contrary to the mind of the people, or without their actual consent.

"12. I believe that when the pastor admits a member, upon the profession of his faith and hope, and the satisfaction of the

Church, he doth, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the consent of the Church, receive him into fellowship with Christ, and with that Church in all gospel privileges and ordinances.

"13. The duties of a pastor are chiefly such as these:—preaching and labouring in the word and doctrine; praying earnestly for his flock in public and private; administering the seals of the covenant of grace—Baptism and the Lord's Supper; being instant in season and out of season; teaching and exhorting, comforting and rebuking, with all long-suffering and doctrine; contending for and preserving the truth; approving himself an example to the flock; visiting the sick and the poor; praying with them and taking care of them; making enquiries into the state of his flock, especially as to spiritual affairs; endeavouring to stir up and promote religion in their households and families; and labouring by all means and methods of Christ's appointment to further their faith and holiness, their comfort and increase. And it is the duty of the people to attend upon his ministrations, to pray for him, to encourage and support him, and, whereinsoever he acts according to the will of Christ, to receive him with due regard.

"14. That it is the proper business of the pastor, also, to present persons and cases to the Church, and to ask the vote or consent of the Church, as one that is set to go before the flock; except when he is necessitated to be absent, or through any indisposition incapable when present, or *when the pastor himself is so far concerned in the case to be proposed as may render it improper for him to propose it.*

"15. For the better performance of all these things, and by reason of the various necessities of a Church, other officers are also appointed by Christ, of several names in Scripture, especially for Churches where the members grow numerous; all whose business is to assist the pastor in those affairs which cannot so fully be managed by himself alone, each of them according to their place, office, and business, which the Lord has appointed them unto in His Word.

"Lastly. *That in the management of every affair in the Church, there ought to be a spirit of gentleness, meekness, lowliness of mind, love, affection, and tenderness, both in the pastor and people toward each other,* for Jesus, the great Shepherd of His Church, was

most humble and compassionate, most gentle and meek, and His saints are called His sheep from their like disposition; and the edification of the Church being one great end for which Christ has given this office to His ministers, all lesser concerns and differences ought to be managed with a continual regard to this great end, and for the public honour of Christ in His Church.

"Thus I have given a short account of some of the *chief principles of gospel order*. If I am so unhappy in any of my expressions as to be obscure, and to want explaining, I am ready at any time to declare my meaning, and also to give the reasons of my judgment on any of the foregoing articles, showing that they not only agree with the judgment of your reverend pastors afore-named, but, which is more considerable, that they are all, in my apprehension, suitable to the will of Christ, concerning Churches and pastors revealed in His Word.

"Christian friends, dearly beloved, I cannot but tell you that while I have been writing these articles, especially the 7th, 8th, and 13th, *I shrink at the very thoughts of your call of me to so weighty an office in the Church of Christ.*

"I find such discouragements from the awfulness and greatness of the work, that it makes me cry out feelingly, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' and this inclines me still to suspend my answer, and to renew my request to you (though often in vain renewed) *of quitting all thoughts of me*, and choosing one whose gifts, graces, and abilities may be more capable of discharging so vast a trust, and filling up the duties of so sacred an office.

"Yours in the service of the Gospel,

"ISAAC WATTS."

Whatever may be thought of the theory of the gospel order of a church given in this carefully-written letter, all must observe the transparency of the motives and aims of the writer, and the high standard he proposed for himself and the people who entreated him to take the oversight of them in the Lord. Willing to yield personally to the yoke of

Christ in order to the fruition of the most perfect freedom, he pressed the consideration of the corresponding obligation of the Church to "walk by the same rule," as conducive in an equal degree to their peace, comfort, and spiritual profit. We find no personal assumption arising either from the pride of attainment or from self-importance, sometimes exhibited in connection with low ideas of Church government and the capricious exercise of ministerial authority.

The views expressed in the letter were unanimously approved, and in compliance with the reiterated request of the people, Watts accepted the call, March 8th, 1702, and obtained a dismission from the Church under the pastoral care of THOMAS ROWE, of which he had been eight years a member. He was admitted to full communion with the Church in Mark Lane upon delivering his profession of faith and hope; and on the 18th he was "separated to the charge by fasting and prayer." Matthew Clarke, Thomas Collins, Benoni Rowe, and Thomas Ridgeley prayed on the occasion. Thomas Rowe preached from Jeremiah iii. 15.

It is unnecessary to add to these brief notices of well-educated ministers in the metropolis—Dr. RIDGELEY, the tutor of an academy in Moorfields (in connection with John Eames, F.R.S., the friend of Sir Isaac Newton), the pastor also of the Church at the Three Cranes, Thomas Street, and the author of a System of Divinity, delivered as an exposition of the Assembly's Larger Catechism; Dr. GUYSE, a man of public spirit; Dr. WILLIAMS, the founder of the Library bearing his name; and MATTHEW HENRY,

so well known and loved for his personal worth and his priceless Commentary; DANIEL NEAL, who wrote the history of the Puritans; with others of considerable repute, formed part of the London circle of Nonconformist divines.

It was such men that Hoadley would have reduced to silence, or constrained to enter into "Holy Orders," observing the Canons and the Rubrics as mere matters of routine.

Dr. William Nicholls, of the Anglican Church, gives us a curious description of the style of preaching that prevailed at this period, in a Latin treatise that he wrote for the information of the learned divines of the Continent, translated for the benefit of humbler people:—

"Most Nonconformists," he says, "have left off their obstreperous din and ravings. They don't strain their lungs and their sides as formerly. They don't fling about and shake their heads, as though they were tossed in a boat; nor beat the pulpit as if they were in fits; nor trust to extempore effusions, nor abound in that canting phrase and expression which *so mightily took with the people.* Now their discourses are sober and correct; they study and compose them; they have purged out the old, musty, obsolete words; they take care not to be abrupt and incoherent. They have *learned of us* to clothe the bones of a discourse, as I may say, with good flesh and blood. Their way of reasoning is not fallen from the *dotages of Baxter* and Jenkins, but from the clear method of our Sharps and Tillotsons. Now they say nothing but what is fit for the preacher to say and the congregation to hear. There is little difference between them and us in the method of composing and of speaking. The theatrical way of agitation and vociferation, the awkward style and blunders of the old Nonconformists, are now to be found only among Quakers and Anabaptists. Those that are in love with them must visit their dark conventicles for them. But whatever refinements are made among

Style of preaching.

other Dissenters from *the absurd preachments of their rough-hewn ancestors, they must allow the men of our Church to be still more refined.* For if ever there was an age or Church since the apostles' times that abounded in eloquent preachers, it is certainly ours, which has produced *perfect masters of this art.* If solid reasoning, just explications of Holy Scriptures, well-chosen words with all the ornaments of style and language proper for the gravity of the subject, are sufficient to make good sermons, ours certainly are such in all the most celebrated congregations of the kingdom, but especially in this great city of London—for the truth of which I appeal, not to the gross taste of the vulgar, but to your most learned foreigners—Swedes, Danes, Hollanders, Switzers—who come here to study and sojourn in our Protestant Athens, London, for the opportunity of hearing and reading our sermons, which you propose as most perfect patterns for your imitation."*

The pulpit peacocks made, no doubt, a fine display, but the new style did not "take with the people."

"Are those sermons (continued the author of the Latin treatise), which the most judicious foreigners so highly esteem, to be called unedifying? Is there so little elocution in the delivery of our discourses, so little weight in our periods, such want of sound divinity, or of good language, and apt method to set it in due light, that (after the approbation of the whole learned world) some of our people should desert their own ministers as insufficient preachers, and *creep into conventicles* for greater edification? I am grieved and ashamed that I must charge my own countrymen with such an unaccountable piece of folly, but it is too notorious to be concealed or denied."

The mystery is clearly explained in a printed letter to Francis Atterbury, Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation:—

"The way of preaching (the writer says) that is nowadays got among us is such as *ordinary sort of people are not capable of*

* G. Nicholsii, Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, 1707, pp. 331-333. Nicholls' Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, &c., p. 334.

receiving any benefit by. I imagine the reflection you will make on this is, that I only betray my own judgment, to pass a censure upon the preaching of this age, which is brought to so great a perfection of eloquence, that it is admired by all the world. *But this is really the thing that I would blame.* If the end of a sermon were only to entertain the hearers with a fine composure of reason and rhetoric, I own I should admire our modern preaching as much as other people do; or if the whole congregation were of understandings suitable to such performances, I allow they might be very well; but when we know that we have so many people in every place that *want instruction, and six parts in seven of one common congregation must go away without it in the eloquent style*, I think it is little commendation to a preacher to say that all the pains he takes is little to the purpose; and this it certainly must be if it does not answer the end it was or ought to be intended for.

How to preach the people out of the Church.

"Studied expressions and close arguings, neat thoughts and fine turns, are very acceptable to polite wits, but they are above the reach of vulgar understandings; and yet *this is the way of our times, and he that excels is the most celebrated man.*

"So that our preaching is nowadays but *acting a part*, where everyone, I fear, consults more the reputation of his performance, or, at least, the hearers' entertainment, than his advantage.

"And I believe we have met instances enough where the preacher has, it may be, spent an hour in handling, perhaps, a plain moral duty, and that, too, in such good English, that the bulk of his congregation has come out no wiser than they went in, excepting that they found themselves informed that they had lived long enough to understand their own tongue.

"You that are a man so eminently skilled in all the arts of eloquence may be apt to suspect I am rallying of you.

"No, my friend, these arts, whilst in your keeping, are valuable and useful accomplishments, because they are under the direction of a wise and prudent head, that knows how to apply them in their proper place and seasons; but as they are commonly managed, they tend to very ill consequences; and I assure you, as much as we are famed for this talent in the pulpit, I fear nothing more than that, some time or other, we shall, by the

strength and force of our rhetoric, *preach both the Church and religion out of doors.*

"I myself have seen the inconvenience of this in many persons, who have left their parish church upon the common pretence that could not edify; by which I found upon inquiry they meant that their present minister preached above their understandings.

"*And when a thirsty man comes to a well for water, which he finds so deep that he cannot reach it, I think he is not to be blamed if he seek out shallower streams.*" This, I am apt to think, is one great reason that we see so many of the meaner sort of people amongst the Dissenters; because, as their preachers are nearer to their pitch in understanding, so they naturally speak more level to their capacities. And though, perhaps, we may despise them for this, yet they can easily put up with such an affront. They know that this their weakness is their strength; and unless the clergy will take a little more care in this matter, I verily believe we shall lose the bulk of the ordinary people; and *there is nothing that I see can prevent the increase of Dissenters this way, but that their preachers are running into the same strain, and nibbling at rhetoric as well as we.*"

People in dark conventicles.

It is rather unusual for Nonconformist historians to notice the humble and almost nameless people who met in "dark conventicles." They feel a natural pride in tracing their origin to Milton, Cromwell, Owen, and Baxter. They have painted splendid portraits of the worthies of the Commonwealth, correct in outline, fine in expression, with the spotless collar, handsome wig, flowing drapery, and shining buckles; but delightful as it is to walk through the gallery, admiring the skill of the artist equally with the greatness of his subject, it becomes us to remember that, in the Church of Christ, "those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary." The men "of whom the world was not worthy," in their weakness,

obscurity, and sorrow, stood firmly when the great and the noble had quitted the field. In many parts of the country societies were formed, consisting of Baptists and Independents, composed of members who had followed the preachers who, at the hazard of their lives, in the days of persecution, had ministered to them the word of life. Such, for instance, were the Christian companies gathered by FRANCIS HOLCROFT and JOSEPH ODDY in the Eastern Counties, by JOHN BUNYAN in Bedfordshire, and WILLIAM BAGSHAW in the Peak of Derbyshire. "Several of Mr. Holcroft's congregations," we are told, "did not choose to embody separately in his life, but thought themselves, in 1691-2, called in Providence to imitate their brethren, and to form themselves into Churches, especially as several ejected ministers had lately died, and others were too far advanced in years to supply them much longer. Bradshaw, ejected from Willingham, and from his Senior Fellowship in Trinity College, and who had since preached at Childerly, Willingham, Cottingham, etc., died at St. Ives, 1690, aged seventy-one; Scanderet, who preached to the people of Cambridge, and at Waterbeach, five miles distant, was advancing towards seventy; and others also were hastening home. Accordingly, in the year 1692, the people at Wisbeach built a meeting, and settled a minister." *

None of our word-painters have attempted to sketch an interior of these village Churches in the "day of small things." They were often licensed to meet in a barn; and either from poverty of architectural design, or want of funds, they erected their

* Robinson's Historical Account, Posthumous Work, vol. v., p. 264.

meeting-house after the style of that structure. The religious light was sufficiently "dim" from the cottage-like windows. In winter they had not the luxury of a stove, and their knowledge of the art of ventilation was imperfect. The gallery was often approached by steps outside the building, like the ladder leading up to a hayloft. But early or late, the people came with willing feet to the place they loved so well, though hidden from public view by a clump of trees, or by other buildings.

According to the general report of Church historians, these conventicles were held for seditious purposes—dangerous to the State, and injurious to society. Many papers of the Nonconformists are to be found in the archives of Lambeth, and amongst the national records; but amongst the hundreds we have examined, it is remarkable that no "Church-book" is to be met with. This simple record contained the minutes of every meeting of the society. We have searched carefully through many of them, and we are at no loss to understand why the authorities, when they seized other documents, had no wish to retain any memorial of this kind. The Quakers and Anabaptists seem to have received the largest measure of reproach. The records of the former in Devonshire House are unique for their completeness, and that of the Church of Maze Pond, Southwark, is unequalled, so far as we know, for its clearness and perfect order. If a commission were formed to investigate all the Church-books in the kingdom, without reserve, they would find no vestige of disaffection—or, indeed, of any allusion to national affairs—excepting that of prayer in the

time of public calamities, or of thanksgiving in the time of national deliverance.

As an illustration and indubitable proof of the Christian character and aims of the people in one of these "dark conventicles," we give, *literatim*, the covenant of the Church at Olney:—

"THE CHURCH COVENANT.

"We whose names are under writen, having as we hope obtained mercy of the Lord and found grace in his sight, been made pertakers of the heavenly calling, and experienced the power and efficacy of divine grace in our hearts in turning us from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the living God; own and acknowledge that by nature we are exceeding vile and sinful, and by our repeated acts of Sin and rebellion against God have Exposed ourselves to inevitable ruin and destruction. But God who is rich in mercy and abundant in Goodness hath in love to our Souls condescended to lay help on one that is mighty, he exalted Christ with his right hand to be a prince and a Saviour to give repentance to Isarell and remission of Sins. Church Covenant at Olney.

"We being brought thro' grace and Everlasting love to look unto him who is the Compleate Saviour of Sinners, renounce our own righteousness as filthy rags, give up all hopes of being saved by the law or Covenant of works under which we were, and lay aside all claim to heaven and happiness on the foot of our own obedience, and depend entirely and alone on the Sure foundation of Christ, his grace, blood, righteousness, Satisfaction, and intercession, for Salvation, Justification, and acceptance with God, takeing Shame to our Selves, loath and abhor our Selves in our own sight because of our Exceeding Sinfullness under a Sence of which we mourn and repent before the Lord—and do hereby openly and in the awefull presence of God, Angels, and men, resign and *give up our Selves wholly unto the Lord Jesus Christ in Church fellowship and communion, promising and resolving in his strenght to walk together in the faith and order of the Gospel, to serve him and Each other according to all the laws, Statutes, and ordinances of his house, as directed and assisted by his Spirit.*

"We therefore the members of this Church of the particular Baptist denomination, holding the Doctrines of free grace, &c., believing all things writen in the law and the prophets, having given our selves up to the Lord and to one another by the will of God, to walk together in a vissible Church State, laying the foundation thereof on the person, office, authority, Spirit, and word of Christ, have in the fear of God, with a view to the glory of Christ, the mutual comfort and Eddification of Each other, and the Encrease of the Redeemer's kingdom, covenanted together and agreed as follows, Solemnly promising and Engageing in the Strenght of the Lord and by the assistance of his Spirit,

"I.—To walk by the rule of God's word, makeing the Scriptures of truth contained in the Old and New Testaments, our only rule and constant guide in all matters of religion both of faith and practice, Endeavouring in all respects to give heed unto that more sure word of prophesy as unto a light which shineth in a dark place.

"II.—*To be maintaining in every manner of way, and in the face of all oppossition whatever,* the Doctrines of free grace or the faith once delivered to the Saints, standing up for Christ, contending earnestly for the faith and order of the Gospel against all opposers, bareing a faithfull and becoming testimony for God against all human inventions and traditions of men, all false Doctrins, ways and mode of Worship contrary to his word derogating from the honour and dignity of Christ, or that shall any ways infringe upon the authority of our great and glorious Lord and lawgiver, Seperating our Selves from all Idollatry, Superstition, and will-worship, determining to follow no man farther than he himself is a follower of Christ, being taught to call no man master on Earth, for Christ is our Lord and him only as helped will we serve

"III.—To submit to the discipline, Government, and authority of Christ in his Church, yielding willing obedience and subjection to him our only head and husband, to harken to his voice in his word, obey his precepts, and observe all his laws, ordinances, Statutes, forms and fashions of his house, keeping the ordinances as they are delivered unto us particularly Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

"IIII.—To receive into our Commution such and only such

who have upon the Judgement of charity believed thro' Grace in the Lord Jesus, having a conversation answerable thereunto, professing subjection to the Gospel and promising in the strenght of the Lord to walk with us in the faith and order thereof, giving themselves first to the Lord and unto us by the will of God.

"V.—To be performing all relative duties incumbant on us in this Church or house of God, filling up our places in a becoming way, constantly attending on the publick worship of God and the word preached on the Lord's Day, and to frequent our monthly Church meetings and all meetings of prayer appointed by the advice of and with the consent of the Church, except lawfully detained, bareing proportionally to our Several abilities our part of the necessary Expenses attending the worship of God amongst us, labouring by all ways and means to promote the kingdom and interest of Christ, the peace and prosperity of the Church, and each other's Edification in the ways of God, walking in love one towards another, bareing the infirmities of the weak, vissiting and comforting the afflicted, warning the unrulely, ministring to the necessities of the poor, pitying and sympathising with such as are in distress, bareing as the Lord shall help us one another's burdens and so help the law of Christ, keeping the secrets of the Church, and avoiding as much as possible all such as cause divissions, Endeavouring to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, watching over each other in the Lord and as occassion shall require Exhort, reprove, correct, and admonish one another meekly yet faithfully without respect to persons.

"VI.—To be maintaining the kingly authority of Christ, the order of his house, and a regular discipline there, keeping it clean and pure by executeing his laws against offenders, Endeavouring first of all in the Spirit of meekness to restore and reclaim such as are turned aside, and then if after all due means used for their restoration they persist in sin and disorder, to withdraw from them, and deal with them according to the rules of the Gospel.

"VII.—And for the peace of the church, and to prevent all quarrells for the futer, we have agreed, judging it our duty to submitt to a majority, in the choise of church officers or any other act of the church, provided they are agreeable to the anallogy of faith, the order of the gospel, having no tendency to

overthrow the constitution of the church, but may be submitted or yielded unto without sin: so that after a matter had been duly debated by the Brethren (during which time the sisters, being present, are to learn in silence), it shall be put to the vote for determination; and if at least the majority do concur, and agree in the affirmative, it shall be accounted a church act (but not else), and the *lesser part of the Church, after they have discharged their consciences by entering their dissent, submitt to the greater without making any uneasiness, faction, or schism in the Church.*

"VIII.—To act uprightly in our families ordering our conversations aright, performing all relative duties according to the different relations we sustain there, particularly to set up an alter for God in our houses, causing the sound of the word and the voice of prayer daily to be heard there.

"IX.—To walk honestly, orderly, and becomingly in the world and amongst men, endeavouring to have our conversation every ways as becomes the gospel of Christ, labouring to have a conscience void of offence both towards God and man, and in all respects to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour, giving none offence neither to Jew nor Gentile, nor to the Church of God, but so to demean ourselves, that we might stop the mouths of gainsayers, and put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, that they may be ashamed who falsely accuse our good conversation in Christ Jesus.

"X.—To hold communion with sister churches of the same faith and order, love their ministers and members, praying for their peace and prosperity, holding a correspondence by messengers and letters as shall be thought most expedient, *and as to other churches who are not all together of the same faith and order with us, but differ from us in some circumstantial things and lesser points of doctrine, yet provided they consist of visible saints by profession, are sound in the faith, regular in their lives and conversations, are upon the same foundation, and agree with us in the most momentous truths and fundamental doctrines of religion, serving the Lord Christ in sincerity, we own them as true Churches of Christ, both with respect to matter and form, love their ministers, and esteem them highly for their works' sake, and, as opportunity serves, most gladly hear them.*

"XI.—For the spread and furtherance of the gospel, and

encrease of the knowledge of Christ in the world, we have agreed to *encourage spiritual gifts; and if it appears after due trial, in the use and exercise of them, any brother is called to, gifted, and qualified for ministerial work, to set him apart thereunto, and send him forth in the Lord's name, to preach the gospel wherever God, in the course of divine providence, opens a door for him, praying for his success, and wishing him God-speed.*

"XII.—Though in some respects a woman is allowed to speak in the church, yet not in such sort as caries in it direction, instruction, government, and authority, for, she must be in subjection under obedience, not to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man (1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35; 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12), but to be and learn in silence. We therefore have agreed that no sister shall be permitted to speak in the church, except it be in a way of submission or subjection, or in answer to any question proposed to her by the church; and that order might be observed, and confusion be prevented at our church-meetings, the Brethren are not to speak above one at a time in any matter of debate there.

"XIII.—*These things, and whatever else may from the Word of God appear to be our duty*, we shall endeavour under divine assistance to observe; but knowing our own weakness, inability, and insufficiency to think or do anything as of ourselves, our dependence is entirely on the Lord for strenght and every supply of grace, absolutely necessary to the right performance of every duty, both towards God and one another, desiring that wherein we fail to be duly humbled in the account thereof before the Lord, and to repent in dust and ashes.

"And now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen."*

A wave of fanaticism of the most extraordinary kind passed over various religious communities at the beginning of the century in connection with the French prophets. These strange people were known as Camisards, a remnant of Protestants in Cevennes, who were engaged in guerilla

French Prophets.

* Copied by Mr. John Taylor, of Northampton, from the Church records at Olney.

warfare from 1702 to 1704. Rulhière * tells us that "their places of worship had been cast down, their country delivered up to military pillage, their children carried off, the houses of those styled obstinate razed—that the most zealous of their number had been broken upon the wheel, while no one had instructed them." On the 1st of April, 1703, three hundred of their number, who had met for worship in a mill near Nismes, were in a mass consigned to the flames. In the midst of the wild excitement caused by the cruelties perpetrated on them, one of their party declared that he had seen a vision, and heard a voice which said to him, "Go and comfort my people." Others professed to have witnessed similar miraculous appearances, and ecstasies were common. Prophets by hundreds asserted that they received the gift of inspiration, and all their movements were conducted by their supposed supernatural direction. The contagion spread, and increased in its power, until some felt that they were called to enter upon a prophetic mission. In 1706 a company of them came to London. Their vaticinations involved them in trouble with the authorities. Nicolas Facio, one of the party, who had been a follower of Spinoza, with Elias Marion and John Aude, indicted Nov. 18th, 1807, and convicted of uttering blasphemies, were fined, and exposed in the pillory.

Sir Richard Bulkeley published a vindication of the prophets; and John Lacy, a member of the Church in Westminster, under the care of Calamy, became one of their zealous adherents, causing his

* Vol. ii., p. 278.

pastor abundant trouble. On visiting him, he says he saw him in an easy chair, "heaving to and fro;" and heard a humming noise, but no sound that was distinct. The noise grew louder by degrees, and the heaving in his breast increased, till it came up to his throat, as if it would have suffocated him. At length he began to speak, with a "distinct heave and breathe" between each syllable, to this effect:—

"Thou—hast—been—my—faith-ful—ser-vant—and—I—have—ho-noured—thee. But—I—do—not—take—it—well—that—thou—slight-est—and—op-pos-est—my—ser-vants—and—mes-sen-gers. If—thou—wilt—fall—in—with—these—my—ser-vants—thou—shalt—do—great—things—in—this—dis-pen-sa-tion—and—I—will—use—thee—as—a—glo-ri-ous—in-stru-ment—to—my—praise—and—I—will—take—care—of—thee—and—thine. But—if—thou—go-est—on—to—op-pose—my—ser-vants—thou—wilt—fall—un-der—my—se-vere—dis-plea-sure." *

Lacy, in a Treatise entitled "A Cry from the Desert," vindicated the prophets; and in "A Relation of the dealings of God" with him "since the time of his believing and professing himself inspired," 1708, he explains the nature of his ecstatic visions. "Under this influence," he says (p. 10), "my body was removed ten or eleven foot"; and "the respiration of my breath hath, for sundry days, beat various tunes of the drum, sometimes six hours in a day, without my voluntary operation or thinking of it"; (p. 11) "I have been carried on my knees several times round a room, swifter than I could have gone on foot." So far from being exhausted by these singular gyrations, he assures us that they "do sensibly refresh the body, and what-

* Calamy, Caveat against New Prophets.

ever be the violence or continuance of them, do not waste the spirit, but exhilarate." The moral effect of these exercises, we are informed, was very good. The discourses uttered by him came "like water out of the pump by the agitation of the sucker." So confident was Lacy that he had a divine call that he determined to submit the validity of his pretensions to an open and miraculous test. He had reported wonderful cures of blindness, cancers, tumours, and other frightful maladies, but he produced no witnesses. At length, however, he predicted that, before the assembled people, he would raise from the dead his friend and fellow-prophet. "The Spirit declared to him," he said, "He would attest this publication of our Lord's approach as a Bridegroom and return as a King, by raising Dr. Emes from the grave the 25th of next month, above four months after his interment." The intimation caused general excitement, but Lacy remained perfectly tranquil and happy. "I rejoice," he says, "at the approach of the 25th of May, without the least weight upon my spirits about the event of it." A large crowd assembled at the appointed time, and soldiers were sent to prevent imposition or disturbance. The last sleep of Dr. Emes remained unbroken, and the spectators witnessed the non-fulfilment of the prediction.

We shall again have to meet the French prophets and their deluded votaries.*

* Enthusiastick Impostors, 1707; Calamy's Historical Accoufit of his Life and Times; The French Prophets, in a Sermon, 1708; See A Warning concerning the French Prophets, 1707; A Brief Vindication of the Antient Prophets, in a Letter to Sir Richard Bulkeley, Bart., 1709; The Falsehood of the New Prophets, by Henry Nicholson, 1708; An Answer to Several Treatises, by Sir Richard Bulkeley, Bart., 1708.

CHAPTER II.

We must now cross the Atlantic, as our plan will lead us to alternate between England and America. The alliance of Churches with the State formed by the Puritan settlers of 1630 gave to them a peculiarity that renders it difficult to trace their subsequent history with accuracy. Their position was anomalous, and involved them in manifold difficulties arising from political conflict. The influence of Increase Mather (one of the ejected Ministers of 1662), formerly paramount, now began to wane. With his son, Cotton Mather, he had held the first place in the government of Harvard College, but their ascendency was disliked, and, as it would appear, because of their strict adherence to Ecclesiastical order as it existed in New England prior to 1688.

Thomas Brattle took the initiative in the formation of a Congregational Church in Boston, deviating to some extent from the "Cambridge Platform." As yet, however, Evangelical doctrines were not openly discarded.

Brattle Street Church.

"*We approve,*" the promoters of the movement said, "*and subscribe the Confession of Faith put forth by the Assembly of*

Divines at Westminster. We only design the true and pure worship of God, according to the rules appearing plainly to us in His Word; conformably to the known practice of many of the Churches of the *United Brethren in London* and throughout all England."

The historian of Harvard College maintains that none of the founders of the Church were "adherents to the rigid doctrines of the Early Established Church of New England," but whatever their private views, these doctrines were not disclaimed in their public "Manifesto" or "Declaration" of their object.

"We think it convenient," it is there stated, "for preventing all misapprehensions and jealousies, to publish our aims and designs, together with those principles and rules we intend, by God's grace, to adhere to."

They attached no special importance, it is true, to an *open confession of faith.*

"We assume not to ourselves to impose upon any a public relation of their experiences; however, if any one think himself bound to make such a relation, let him do it.

"For we conceive it sufficient, if the pastor publicly declare himself satisfied in the person offered to our communion, and seasonably propound him.

"If no objection be made before the time of their standing propounded is expired, it shall be esteemed a sufficient consent and concurrence of the brethren, and the person propounded shall be received to our communion.

"We cannot confine the right of choosing a minister to the male communicants alone, but we think that every baptized adult person who contributes to the maintenance, should have a vote electing."

Higginson and Noyes, the ministers of Salem, wrote to the "Undertakers" a letter of admonition

in which they pointed out the discrepancies between the "Manifesto" and the "Heads of Agreement assented to by the United Ministers." *

An invitation was sent to BENJAMIN COLMAN, at that time resident in Bath, to the following effect:—

"Thinking it high time to conclude on a minister, on the 2nd instant (May, 1699) there was a general meeting of the Undertakers, when, after we had every one of us subscribed a paper, wherein we declared we had no design to depart from the doctrine and order of the Gospel, or from the practice of the Churches of Christ in New England, only leaving the matter of relations indifferent, as we, with several Churches in New England, do apprehend them,—It was unanimously voted that Mr. Benjamin Colman be addressed with an invitation to come over hither, in order to be the minister of the Church we are now erecting.

"We do hereby signify to you the desire of the Undertakers, and in their name we do heartily invite you hither to be the minister of our Church, promising and obligating ourselves, in case of your compliance with our call, if we do not settle you among us, which there is no doubt upon, that we will satisfy you for all the damage you shall receive thereby. We are all of us very desirous that you be ordained before you come over by some Nonconformist ministers in England, the more eminent they are the better it may be." †

Colman gives the following record in the Church Book:—

"I had been absent from this my native country upwards of four years, employed as a candidate for the evangelical ministry, to which my parents and my own choice devoted me, occasionally preaching in the City of London, the University of Cambridge, and the town of Ipswich, in England, for about the space of two years, and then more statedly had been appointed

* Lothrop's History of the Church in Prattle Street, Boston, pp. 20—25.
† Ibid., pp. 46, 47.

by the Presbyterian Board at London to be the Minister of the Dissenting Congregation in the City of Bath, Somersetshire; when, on the 19th day of July, 1699, I received an invitation from the gentlemen, the Undertakers of this Church, subscribed by Mr. Thomas Brattle, Captain Benjamin Davis, Mr. John Mico, Mr. Thomas Cooper, and Mr. John Colman, in the name of the rest, to come over to be their minister, only proposing to me that the Holy Scriptures might be publicly read every Sabbath in the worship of God, and that *they might lay aside the relation of experiences, which were imposed in the other Churches in the town*, in order to the admission of persons to the Lord's table.

"The invitation was accepted by me; and the more acceptable it was by reason of the kind and encouraging letters which accompanied it from my excellent friends, the Hon. Mr. John Leverett, the Rev. William Brattle, Ebenezer Pemberton, Simon Bradstreet, and others.

"Being arrived at London, August 1st, 1699, I asked ordination of the Presbytery there, and on the fourth day of said month the solemnity was attended, after a public lecture, at the Meeting House of the Rev. Mr. Christopher Taylor, in Leather Lane, to whom I succeeded in Bath. I was ordained by prayer, with the imposition of the hands of the Rev. Richard Stratton, John Spademan, Robert Fleming, and Christopher Taylor. Mr. Stratton prayed, Mr. Spademan made the exhortation; from many other reverend members I received testimonials of my good conversation while in England.

"On Wednesday, the 1st of November, 1699, I arrived at Boston through the favour of God. The next day the Undertakers invited me to a full meeting at my brother's house. A few days after, Mr. Brattle presented me with fifty pounds in money in the name of the Undertakers. Soon after, we kept a day of thanksgiving in private to Almighty God for the many smiles of His Providence on our undertaking unto that day. I preached from 1 Chron. xxix. 13, 14." *

In this circumstantial account of the negociations and mutual agreement, the Church, as consisting of professed disciples of Christ, vanishes altogether.

* Lothrop's History of Brattle Church, p. 47, *et seq.*

The "Undertakers" were highly respectable men, and their pecuniary engagements were honourably fulfilled. They desired to have a minister of the first class, duly certificated, and in Colman were found all the conditions required. No questions were raised on the subject of doctrine, and, as a precedent, this silence on the matter would prepare the way for a succession of pastors in the future, who should meet the varying tastes and opinions of the people without regard to any particular creed. The company of "Undertakers" was duly recognized as a religious society.

The ministers of Boston were requested to unite with them in a day of prayer. William Brattle, tutor and afterwards Fellow of Harvard College, and a man of large estate, fully approved of the settlement. Ebenezer Pemberton was pleased to find that the invitation had been sent by "men of figure and repute." But Increase Mather and James Allen offered objections, which, on explanation, were removed, and an agreement, containing articles of peace, was signed by the ministers, and read at the commencement of the services.

In the ministry of Colman there was no defection from the faith commonly received by the Churches. He was more remarkable, however, for his "politeness" than for any "depth as a divine." Dr. Barnard describes him as "a most gentlemanly man, of polite aspect and conversation." WILLIAM COOPER, his successor at Brattle Street, gives the following testimony:—

"He never delivered a sermon but we saw how perfectly he understood the decorum of the pulpit; and the gravity, and

sweetness at once expressed in his countenance, the music of his voice, the propriety of his accent, and the decency of his gestures, showed him one of the most graceful speakers of the age.

"He was a good master of address, and carried all the *politeness of a court about him.* And as he treated mankind of various degrees and ranks with a civility, courtesy, affability, complaisance, and candour scarce to be equalled, so all-but the base and mean showed him a high degree of respect and reverence, love and affection. *Particularly men of figure and parts,* of our own nation and foreigners, *whom he failed not to visit* upon their coming among us, greatly valued and admired him. It has been said, perhaps not without some seeming grounds for it, that he *sometimes went too far in complimental strains,* both in word and writing; but, if he did, such flights took their rise from an exuberance or excrescence of the above-mentioned homiletical virtues." *

This feeble eulogy marks the transition from the Puritan founders of Massachusetts to their attenuated successors.

Increase Mather, surrounded with heterogeneous elements in Boston, was alarmed at the change. To stem the tide of innovation, he wrote a treatise (1700), entitled, "The Order of the Gospel professed by the Churches of Christ in New England justified, &c.," to which, in the course of the same year, appeared a reply under the title of "Gospel Order Revived," by "sundry ministers of the Gospel in New England." Cotton Mather, in his animadversions on the pamphlet, described it as the "Order of the Gospel reviled" "by sundry underminers of the Gospel."

The good men, powerless in argument or moral suasion, vainly hoped to stem the torrent of lax opinion by new ecclesiastical machinery of their

* Sprague's American Pulpit, Trinitarian, Congregational, vol. i., p. 227.

own invention. Increase Mather proposed that "Churches should enter into a CONSOCIATION, or agreement, that matters of more than ordinary importance, such as the gathering of a new Church, the ordination, deposition, or translation of a pastor, be done under common consent." Consociation.

"This," he said, "is both expedient and necessary. Congregational men in general, as well as the Churches of New England in special, *are no such Independents, no such Brownists, no such Morellians, as some have represented them to be.*

"Congregational Church discipline is not suited for a worldly interest, or for a formal generation of professors. It will stand or fall, as godliness in the power of it does prevail or otherwise. That there is a great decay of the power of religion throughout New England is lamentably true. If that revive, there will be no fear of departing from the holy discipline of the Churches of Christ."

The Mathers failed as mere projectors to see that life could not be restored by stringent rules. After long discussion, sixteen proposals were accepted by their ministerial party (Sept. 13, 1705), as the basis of an effective organization. Mather Proposals.

According to this scheme, elaborated with the minutest care, "the ministers of the country should form themselves into associations," to consider matters relating to the "common interest of the Churches," and that each of these "associations" should have a "moderator for a certain time."

"'If any minister should be accused to the association' whereto he belonged of 'scandal or heresy, the matter should be' there examined, and if 'the associated ministers' found just occasion for it, 'they should direct to the calling of the council, by whom such an offender' should be '*proceeded against.*' Mather Regulations.

"*That the candidates of the ministry undergo a due trial by some of the associations concerning their qualifications for the evangelical ministry, and that no particular pastor or congregation employ any one in occasional preaching who has not been recommended under the hands of some association.*

"*That they should together be consulted by bereaved Churches, to recommend such persons as may be fit to be employed amongst them for their present supply, from whom they may in due time proceed to choose a pastor.*"

It was also proposed:—

"That these associated pastors, with a proper number of delegates from their several Churches, should be formed into a *standing or stated council*, which should consult, advise, and determine all affairs that shall be proper matter for the consideration of an ecclesiastical council within their respective limits, *except always the cases are such as the associated pastors judge more convenient to fall under the cognizance of some other council.*

"*If a particular Church will not be reclaimed by council* from such disorders as plainly hurt the common interest of Christianity, and are not mere tolerable differences in opinion, but are plain sins against the command and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, *the council is to declare that Church no longer fit for the communion with them. The Churches represented in the council are to approve, confirm, and ratify the sentence, and withdraw from the communion of the Church that would not be healed.* Nevertheless, if any members of the disorderly Churches do not justify their disorders, but suitably testify against them, these are still to be received to the wonted communion by the Churches; and if, after due waiting, the Church be not recovered, they may (upon advice) be actually taken in as members of some other Churches in the vicinity."

On mere rumour, suspicion, or moved, it might be, by jealousy or personal pique, this standing council, with the moderator as ecclesiastical coroner, could proceed to hold an inquest in any district, and summon a minister or member of a Church, to

appear at their tribunal. The cause of scandal, real or imaginary, was to be proclaimed on the house-tops, and made known to every congregation in the country. In complaints requiring the most careful and delicate treatment of the patient, irritants were to be applied by a dozen advisers who had no sympathy with him, arising from personal acquaintance or fellowship of the same particular Church. The spirit of the Mather Consociation is best exemplified by one of the missives sent at a little later period to an offending Church.

From the original settlement of the Churches in New England, there were always some of their number who asserted their right to act independently, though in full sympathy with sister Churches willing to recognize their ecclesiastical freedom. Such Churches, under the Mather Regulations, could look for no sanction in a Consociation. If they had the presumption to elect a pastor, no Congregational minister of the district would take part in his ordination. "A small number of brethren attempted the formation of a new Church in Watertown," and for their temerity were rebuked by a council held in the town, in the following manner :—

Censure of the Pastor and Church at Watertown.

"It appears that Mr. Robert Sturgeon, to qualify himself for purposes which he had frequently promised not to prosecute without due advice and direction, obtained for himself a private ordination at a house of Boston, from the hands of three ministers, lately arrived from, and two of them returning to, Ireland; and this without the advice or knowledge of any of the united ministers of Boston, or any other pastors or Churches that we can learn of in the Province, and also without any public or previous publications of what was intended; and that afterwards, in

a private house, and from the single hand of Mr. McGregory, minister of Nutfield, he received an instalment with a pastoral charge of a few of the said brethren at a Church in Watertown. Whereupon he has gone on to the public actions of a pastor of a flock there. These proceedings we judge to be full of irregularities, and carry in them a very undue imputation upon the Churches in this country, and threaten the introduction of the utmost confusion among us, and require a public testimony to be borne against them; and in that testimony *a rebuke is particularly due to Mr. McGregory, whose conduct has expressed so much temerity, presumption, and intrusion, as is greatly offensive unto us.* Nor may he expect the regards of a minister in Churches until we have received suitable satisfaction from him for the insult he has made upon that good order of our Churches, and particularly his *acting in defiance of the late council held in that place.*

"We do, with all solemnity, admonish the brethren who have been trying to set up a third Church in Watertown, together with the *person* whom they have so unadvisedly owned as their pastor, to repent of and depart from their disorderly and schismatical proceedings, lest it become more manifest unto all men that the glorious Lord who walks in the midst of the golden candlesticks, and who hates the works of them that turn aside, and who is terrible from His holy places, is displeased at the way they have taken. We particularly declare that *Mr. Robert Sturgeon has no right to the office of a pastor amongst them, and ought no longer to preach or exercise any part of the ministry in the place where he now is, and that the people ought not to countenance it, and that we judge him unworthy to be employed in any of the Churches till he has made a public satisfaction.*

"To conclude, we exhort Mr. Sturgeon and his adherents that they would not treat the admonition which we give unto them in the discharge of our duty to our glorious Lord, and unto them and unto all our Churches, which they have cast on the advice of the late Council of Churches, but that they yield a ready and willing compliance therewith, as they would avoid a farther and more *awful censure* upon their offences.

"Finally, brethren, be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

"COTTON MATHER, *Moderator.*" *

* New England Genealogical and Antiquarian Register, vol. xiii., pp. 112–114.

An able defence of Congregational principles against the "sixteen proposals" was made by JOHN WISE, in his treatise entitled, "The Churches' Quarrel Espoused," followed by his "Vindication of the Government of New England Churches," in which he says—"To me it seems most apparent that, under Christ, the reason of the constitution of these and the primitive Churches is really owing to the original state and liberty of mankind, and founded peculiarly in the right of nature."

Churches' Quarrel Espoused.

Marking the tendencies of the governors of Harvard College, and from regard to local convenience, the ministers in Connecticut entertained the idea of providing for the instruction of young men in their own State. John Davenport, the founder of New Haven, often expressed a desire to found a college there, but his intention was not fulfilled. JAMES PIERPOINT and others met at length to devise a plan for effecting this long-cherished object. After frequent meetings for deliberation and correspondence, they organized themselves into a society for the purpose, and commenced the institution in a simple form at Saybrook. Whilst prosecuting the work they received great encouragement from ELIHU YALE, whose father, descended from an ancient family in Wales, had accompanied the first settlers in 1638. Elihu, born a few years afterwards, had been sent as a boy to England, and thence went out to India, where he amassed a large fortune, and rose to the position of Governor of Madras. Jeremiah Dumner, then Agent for the Colony of Connecticut, writes, London, 22nd May, 1711:—

Origin of Yale College.

"Here is Mr. Yale, formerly Governor of Fort George, in the Indies, who has got a prodigious estate, and now, by Mr. Dixwell, sends for a relation of his from Connecticut to make him his heir, having no son. He told me lately that he intended to bestow a charity upon some college in Oxford, under certain restrictions which he mentioned. But I think he should much rather do it to your college, seeing he is a New Englander, and, I think, a Connecticut man. If, therefore, when his kinsman comes over, you will write him a proper letter on that subject, I will take care to press it home."

In another letter, dated Whitehall, 3rd May, 1713, he says:—

"The library for your college comes on well. Sir Richard Blackmore (to whom I delivered the committee's letter) brought me, in his chariot, all his works, in four volumes folio; and Mr. Yale has done something, though very little, considering his estate and his relation to the colony."*

Ultimately, the new institution was legally established at New Haven.

In Connecticut, as in other colonies, the Congregational Churches were sorely cramped by the civil power. The General Court, in 1708, issued its rescript to convene a Synod at Saybrook. Sixteen members — two-thirds of them ministers—accordingly met, and declared amongst their Acts the following:—"We agree that the Heads of Agreement assented by the United Ministers (in England) formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational, be observed by all the Churches throughout the colony." Fifteen "Articles of Discipline" were also adopted. To give them legal force, the General Court at New Haven passed the following Act:—

Saybrook Platform.

* Historical Discourses by Leonard Bacon, D.D., pp. 38—44.

"The reverend ministers, *delegates* from the elders and messengers of this government, met at Saybrook, September 9th, 1708, having presented to this Assembly a Confession of Faith, Heads of Agreement, and Regulations in the Administration of Church Discipline, as unanimously agreed and consented to by the Elders and Churches in this government. This Assembly doth declare their great approbation of such an happy agreement, and do ordain that all the Churches within this government that are, or shall be, thus united in doctrine, worship, and discipline, be, and for the future shall be owned and acknowledged, *established by law;* provided that nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder or prevent any Society or Church, that is or shall be *allowed by the laws of this government*, who *soberly differ or dissent* from the United Churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences."

Notwithstanding the cool statement that the Saybrook "Platform" had been presented to the General Court as a thing "unanimously agreed and consented to by the Elders and Churches," in point of fact, the Churches had not been consulted in this matter.*

The reception of the new ecclesiastical constitution was varied. Some not only acquiesced in the abridgment of their "Congregational privileges," but were willing to allow more severe restrictions. Others offered decided objection. At Norwich, Richard Bushnell and Joseph Backus, who, as representatives of the town, had opposed the Saybrook Platform in the Assembly, informed the Church of the liberty they had to dissent from it; but John Woodward, the minister, carried a major vote against them. Therefore, these representatives and other

* Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut.

fathers of the town withdrew, and held worship by themselves for three months. For this, the minister and his party censured them. But not long after the Norwich minister had censured their representatives, he consented to refer the matter to a council; and *they followed it with council after council for about six years.* "At last, by advice of a council that met August 31st, 1716, said minister was dismissed, and the Church determined to abide upon its ancient foundation." * The continuance of the agitation is accounted for by the circumstance that one council raised points in the disputation that led to the calling of another council to determine them, at the same time giving rise to further debatable matter requiring the judgment of a further council. The practised members of these Church tribunals became so acute and sharpened withal in their dialectics that there was no necessity for reaching a final determination, except from sheer exhaustion, or the decline of public interest in the question. There was, at least, a possibility that the dispute might become as hereditary as an Irish feud.

Council of six years' standing.

The movements of the Congregational Churches in New England were still further complicated by their relation to the "Town's Meeting." This matter can only be made clear to an English reader by a practical example. The following extracts from the Town Records of Charlestown (Boston) exhibit a singular complication of secular and religious affairs:—

Ecclesiastical Town's Meetings.

* Caulkin's History of Norwich, Connecticut, p. 139.

"*May* 13*th*, 1698.—Worshipful James Russell communicated to the town the fact of the choice by the Church of Mr. Simon Bradstreet for pastor, *and asked the concurrence of the town.* Voted in the affirmative by the general lifting up of the hands. £100 salary voted."

"*July* 12*th*, 1698.—Rev. Mr. Simon Bradstreet met with the selectmen, and declared his acceptance of the *call of the Church and town*, and did promise to carry on the whole work of the ministry among us. And then by the selectmen ordered that Deacon Kettle pay him out of the contribution-money the proportionable sum every week, after the rate of £100 per annum, according to vote of inhabitants, May 13th, 1698."

"*May* 21*st*, 1712.—Voted by the town, 'That they would have another settled minister in the town.' The selectmen were appointed, and desired to inform Mr. Bradstreet of the vote, and ask his concurrence, and make return the next general meeting, the last Monday in June next."

"*June* 16*th*, 1712.—Mr. Bradstreet answered, provided the person was agreeable to the town, and also one that was agreeable to him, he did believe it would be an advantage both to the town and himself."

"*June* 30*th*, 1712.—Voted that a committee be appointed to discourse with Mr. Bradstreet, and acquaint him that the town has impowered them to desire him to acquaint the Church of their intention to choose another settled minister, and prays their assistance and direction therein."

"*July* 21*st*, 1712.—At a legal and general meeting of the inhabitants of Charlestown, Colonel Joseph Lynde was chosen moderator. Then the answer of the Church to the town, concerning the getting another settled minister, was publicly read, which was as followeth:—

"'At a meeting of the Church of Christ in Charlestown, July 18th, 1712, the Church having been acquainted with and considered of the town's desire of their direction and assistance in the choice of a person to be settled amongst them in the work of the ministry,—It was declared and voted, that as the Church doth approve of and concur with the desire of the town to have another settled minister, so they would desire the town to join with them in an humble and hearty seeking unto God, through Jesus Christ, by fasting and prayer for his gracious presence,

conduct, and blessing to guide and prosper them in such a weighty and important undertaking. The time intended and voted for the aforesaid fasting and prayer, is to be (God willing) the second Wednesday in August next.

"'Attest, SIMON BRADSTREET, *Pastor.*'

"A true copy of the Church's return.

"Attest, NATHANAEL DOWS, *Town Clerk.*"

The town voted their concurrence with the Church's answer at a meeting of the selectmen, September 15th, 1712.

"At a meeting of the Church of Christ, in Charlestown, September 2, 1712. The Church being convened to nominate three suitable persons to present to the town with whom they are willing (and have concluded) to join in choosing one out of the said number to be settled amongst us in the work of the Evangelical ministry. They did nominate and appoint then three following: viz., the Rev. Mr. Joseph Stevens, Rev. Mr. John Webb, and the Rev. Mr. John Tufts. Mr. Stevens had 23 votes, Mr. Webb had 20, and Mr. Tufts 22.

"Attest, SIMON BRADSTREET, *Pastor.*

"*Memorandum.*—The pastor of the Church did not see cause to act in, but did suspend his concurrence with respect to the nomination of Mr. John Webb.

"A true copy.

"Attest, NATHANAEL DOWS, *Town Clerk.*"

"A meeting of the inhabitants met in the Meeting-house, September 22, 1712, 10 o'clock a.m., and made choice of Rev. Joseph Stevens, who had 104 votes, Mr. Webb 47, Mr. Tufts 8."*

Bradstreet hypochondriacal.

"Mr. Bradstreet," Judge Russel tells us, "was a man of great learning, strong mind, and lively imagination; but in the latter part of his life became so hypochondriacal that he was afraid to preach in the pulpit, from an impression that he should die there. In consequence of this, he delivered his sermons in the deacon's seat. They were generally extempore, and pervaded with the melancholy which attached so morbidly to his own mind. His style of preaching was rather practical than doctrinal—for the most part

* Buddington's History of First Church, Charlestown, pp. 223—225.

upon the state of man and the vanity of the world; and this, together with his fondness for Tillotson's sermons, exposed him to the charge of Arminianism. He seldom, if ever, appeared with a coat, but always wore a plaid gown, and was commonly seen with a pipe in his mouth." *

Mr. Stevens accepted the invitation of the Church and town to become his colleague, and was ordained Oct. 13th, 1713. He preached his own ordination sermon from Daniel xii. 3. Increase Mather gave the charge; and Cotton Mather says, "I made the prayer before the sermon, and I gave the fellowship of the Churches in a large speech, wherein I enjoyed the signal assistance of God." Judge Sewall says of his performance:—"Dr. Cotton Mather made an august speech, showing that the Congregational Churches declared early against independency, that all the reformation of the continent of Europe ordained as New England did, and showed that their ordination had no other foundation." †

State Church Congregationalism was rapidly tending to dissolution. Conflict with the representatives of the Anglican Church, established in England by law, was inevitable. Christian Churches preserving primitive simplicity, and seeking no exclusive advantages from the civil authorities, would have welcomed to their borders all who were disposed to live in peace under the protection of equal laws, and religious communities might have been formed by them without rivalry or fear. Though differing widely in polity and in doctrine, they might have worked together in harmony, or under any circumstances

Decay of New England Theocracy.

* Mass. H. S. Coll., viii., 75. † Buddington, pp. 114, 115.

their differences of opinion might have led to more careful examination of the Scriptures, and even what was deemed pernicious error might have awakened salutary caution. But when English Churchmen, with all the pride of caste, and the lofty pretensions of those who were of the same religion as that of the Court, came to contend for supremacy, and to despise the founders of New England as Dissenters, collision was sure to follow.

It is essential to a proper knowledge of the subsequent train of events, to mark with care the successive shocks of this reciprocal antagonism.

Origin of Episcopalian Churches in New England.

Episcopalian service was first introduced into Boston by Edward Randolph, a Commissioner sent by Charles II. to reduce Massachusetts to greater order. In a letter to the Bishop of London, dated Boston, July 14th, 1682, he says :—"*Nothing will so effectually settle this government on a firm dependence upon the Crown, as bringing a quo warranto against their charter, which will wholly disenable many, now great sticklers and promoters of the faction among us, from acting further in a public station.*" * "We have advice," the representatives of the congregation wrote to the Bishop, "that your Lordship hath remembered us, and sent over a minister with Mr. Cranfield : if we are misinformed, be pleased to commiserate our condition, and send us over a *sober, discreet gentleman.*" Randolph assured his Lordship that Major Dudley would be very careful to have the ministers sent over settled and ordered as in England. "He is a great opposer of the faction here," he adds, "who, if he

* Hutchinson, Col. P., p. 538.

finds things resolutely managed, will cringe and bow to anything. He hath his fortunes to make in the world, and if his Majesty, upon alteration of the government, make him captain of the Castle of Boston and the forts in the Colloney, his Majesty will gain a popular man and obleidge the better party." * The maintenance of the Episcopal ministers was a main obstacle. Randolph suggested that "part of that money sent over hither, and pretended to be expended among the Indians," might "be ordered to go toward that charge." One thing will mainly help, "when no marriages hereafter shall be allowed lawful but such as are made by the ministers of the Church of England." The Rose frigate brought over Robert Ratcliffe, with his surplice and Book of Common Prayer. He arrived on the 15th of May, 1686, and on the 15th of June the first meeting of his congregation was held in the Library in the Town-house, when churchwardens were elected, and an address signed imploring his Majesty's favour, and that of the Right Reverend Fathers in God the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Bishop of London. It was also agreed "that Mr. Smith, the joyner, do make 12 formes, for the service of the Church, for each of which he shall be paid 4s. 8d." At the second meeting, held on the 4th of July, the salary of Ratcliffe was fixed at fifty pounds per annum, beside what the council might think fit to settle on him; and "if Mr. Buckley, the chaplain of the Rose, should please to assist Mr. Ratcliffe," he should "receive for his paynes 20s. a weeke." Ratcliffe was "an eminent preacher, and

* Greenwood's History of King's Chapel, in Boston, p. 18.

his sermons were useful and well dressed." Sir Edmund Andros was sent out as governor, and ordered that the Old South Meeting-house should be used by the Episcopalians. On the accession of William and Mary, Andros was recalled.

King's Chapel, Boston.

A new Church, built of wood, was opened by SAMUEL MYLES, who entered on his office June 29th, 1689. He returned to England to represent the state of the congregation, and brought with him proper Church furniture. "The Decalogue, viz., the Tenn Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, were drawne in England, and brought over by Mr. Samuel Myles in July, 1696." Christopher Bridge was sent by the Bishop of London as an assistant, at 40s. a week. In 1703, misunderstandings arose between Bridge and Myles, which so much displeased the Bishop of London that he sent an order for the removal of the assistant, and deprived the Church of part of the one hundred pounds a year which they drew from the royal bounty. Myles was left alone in the care of the Church for two years, but in 1709 Henry Harris was sent to take the vacant place, with an order from the Bishop :—

"Receive this assistant with all fair and good usage, and that they both conspire into so good an understanding that nothing may creep in to make a breach between them; and that they do agree to relate all storeys, that shall be whispered to them, publickly in the next vestry, that such tittle make-bates may be discouraged and made ashamed of such base behaviour."*

Naturally, the first cause of complaint to an Episcopalian on settling in New England was the

* Greenwood, p. 70.

payment of the tax for the support of the ministry, enforced, in case of refusal, as any other law of the State, by distraint, fine, or imprisonment. In the mother country, the levying of Church-rates, and the confinement of defaulters in the common jail, awakened neither surprise nor sympathy. It was rather a gratification to the strict Churchman to see the demands of the parish clergyman enforced by the magistrate; but to be summoned by a "parcel of Dissenters and no better," to pay for the support of a man who called himself a "clergyman," though in reality a Nonconformist, filled him with amazement and indignation. These feelings are well expressed in the following communication of Mr. Coram, founder of the Foundling Hospital in London, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury:—

Tax for support of Ministers.

Thomas Coram.

"Your memorialist," he says, "on his first coming into these parts fifty-four years past, observed the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest of the whole country there settled with English inhabitants, for six or seven hundred miles in length, all along the sea-coast from Virginia northward, and through ten or more separate governments, were *different sorts of Dissenters* from the Church of England (chiefly Independents), and they have large privileges by their respective grants or charters from the Crown. The Independents were the most numerous and the most malignantly inveterate, and so they governed the Church and State affairs, no care being taken to have it otherwise; and *those Independents, from their first settling in those parts, were always very zealous and careful to establish schools and learning in their own way, and have a free school, with an able master to it, in every township* (so they call it—*they will not allow it to be called a parish*); and they very early established, with Independent officers and tutors, a College for University learning, which they named Harvard College, from the principal founder of it, and an additional College, since named Stoughton College, was founded

fifty years past by Mr. Stoughton, then late Lieut.-Governor (who formerly had been an Independent teacher); and a third College of the same sort is erected there since, all near to each other, at a fine, healthy, pleasant place, named Cambridge, within a very few miles of Boston, their metropolis in the province, and under the government of the Massachusetts; and a College since of the same sort, is established at New Haven, in the colony or plantation of Connecticut, in New England, and there are measures now taking for such a College in the New Jerseys. But no care has been taken to establish learning in those northern parts of America for the honour and advantage of the Church of England.

"In the years 1693 and 1694, and some time after, *there was but one minister of the Church of England in all the inhabited part of the English Empire in America*, settled by ten or more different colonies, contiguous but under different sorts of government, 600 or 700 miles in length or more on the sea-coast, from Virginia northward to the utmost extent of the then settled and inhabited English country on the mainland of America. *The said minister, whose name was Mr. Hutton, was a very worthless man.* He resided at Boston, and was utterly unfit 'to gaine or reconcile to the Church such *Descentors*,' so strongly inveterate against it, but he was far from ever attempting to do so, for he would frequently on Saturday nights 'set up' and play at cards all or greatest part of the night, in company with an Irish butcher, and an Irish barber, and another or more of such his acquaintance, whereby he was *usually so much disordered, which prevented him from officiating next day at church*, which gave its numerous enemies great opportunities to ridicule against it, and those few inhabitants of the large town of Boston who were desirous to go to church were very often disappointed and greatly discouraged." *

Opposition to the Tax for Support of Ministers.

To remedy this terrible grievance, Coram recommended that, by "his Majesty's authority," there should be "built and properly furnished a good College to be named the King's College." Volunteers in the cause of the Church of England appeared in the rural

* Lambeth MSS., 1128.

districts, who resisted the payment of the tax for the State Congregational minister, and introduced the Anglican ritual. Urgent petitions for help were sent by them to the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for aid in introducing the service of the Church of England. Colonel Lewis Morris, of East Jersey, to Mr. Archdeacon Beveridge, writes from "Boston, 27th July, 1702":—

Colonel Lewis Morris at Braintree.

"I intreat your interest in sending good ministers into America, but more especially to East Jersey, which wants them very much, the whole province not having one of the Church; many Dissenters of all sorts, but the greatest part, generally speaking, cannot be called Christians. Braintry should be minded; it is in the heart of New England, and a learned and *sober man* would do great good, and encourage other towns to do the like. *If the Church can be settled in New England, it pulls up schism by the roots, that supplyes with infectious streams the rest of America.*" *

Though it does not appear that the zealous Colonel was in holy orders, he says:—

"I have preached three several Sundays at Brayntry, where we had the first time about 30, the second time about 50, and the third above 60 hearers. Above three-fourths of them were marry'd persons, and of good fashion and repute, and well resolved to encourage a Church of England ministry."

Mr. Brown, to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, reports from "Swanzey, 23d Feb., 1703," that Mr. Myles has been very diligent in preaching, and distributing "such books as Bishop King's and Dr. Beveridge's Usefulness of the Common Prayer," and adds, signifi-

Mr. Myles free from Scandal.

* Letter Book of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, vol. i.—Hist. Collec. Amer. Colonial Church.

cantly:—"He has this advantage to recommend him above others, that he has *never been under the imputation of scandal in the country.*" *

The "Church of England in Braintree," after the culture of seven years, sent a petition, Sept. 1st, 1710:—

"We pray that we may have a minister sent unto us to administer unto us the holy sacrament, and to have usual maintenance, we being unable wholly to support him, and that we may be *freed from supporting Dissenting ministers*, that so our beginnings may not be utterly quashed, and that we may have some reviveings, some remnant and remainings left. Our prayer to God Almighty is, that He would keep us steadfast in our holy profession, and that we may increase in divine grace, and that our faith and patience may be strengthened, that we may be ornaments to the Church on earth and blessed saints in heaven."

This devout appeal was signed by "William Vesey, John Cleverley, and several others." †

"I. Dudley," and others of the "Vestry at Boston," entreated the Bishop of London to send an allowance from the Queen's Bounty for their minister. "His salary," they state, "is very precarious, depending upon the unsteady humour of the congregation, some of which (as we find by experience), upon the least ungrounded disgust, withdraw their contribution." ‡

The chief difficulty was to secure ministers of good repute. Like Mr. Hutton, with his Saturday night companions at Boston, Mr. Eager, the minister at Braintree, was not circumspect in his conduct, and his failings exposed him to public censure. In a letter to the secretary of the "Venerable Society," dated Braintree, Boston, in

Failings of Mr. Eager.

* Letter Book V.S.P.G., vol. i. † Ibid., vol. iv. ‡ Ibid., vol. iv.

New England, Aug. 12th, 1713, he complains of unfriendly treatment.

"The whole province," he says, "has been very much disturbed on account of my coming to this place. . . . . My case is very pitiful, yet by the assistance of God's grace I shall have constancy and resolution enough to put forward the good work that I was set about. There are two main impediments to the growth of our Church in this place. One is, that the *members of our Church are constrained to pay rates to the support of Independent ministers.* Were this matter redressed, a great number would join with those of our communion immediately. Another hindrance is, the want of a place of worship, for several have satisfied me that they would attend our worship, *but they are afraid of being censured as conventiclers if they should attend divine service in a private house.*" *

Exemption from the payment of the minister's rate, accompanied with a "grant" from the Society in London, seemed to be essential to the success of the effort. The new converts, though zealous, were decidedly averse to the voluntary principle. Henry Lucas writes from Newbury, July 6th, 1716:—

"Our contributions are so mean that I blush to mention them; sometimes 7d., never above, to my remembrance, 1s. 6d. Thus have I been forced to supply my own wants out of the Society's bounty. They are not able to allow the £40 per annum they mentioned to the Society, the richest having left them to themselves long before I came. Henry Lucas at Newbury.

"I set apart every Friday in the afternoon for expounding our most excellent catechism, and though, for the encouragement of the children, *I always give them money*, yet can at present prevail upon but few to come." †

Governor Dudley obtained temporary relief from the "tax," but he was of opinion that the Church of England would not prosper unless her clergy were

* Hist. Collec. Amer. Colon. Church, Letter Book V.S.P.G., vol. viii.

† Ibid., vol. x.

more consistent in their conduct. In a letter to the secretary of the "Venerable Society," dated Boston, New England, May 1st, 1714, he writes :—

"I last year wrote to my Lord of London, referring to giving easement from the taxes for the support of the ministers in this province to all such as attended the worship after the Church of England, which I have brought to pass at Newbury. Upon their first meeting, I wrote to the magistrates of the town to direct that nothing should be collected from the members of the congregation, which has been observed ever since, saving that there was an arrear due to the Presbyterian minister of the town for some time past, before the chappel was erected, which, after some trouble, they have agreed among themselves, for which arrears, nevertheless, the collectors of Newbury sued some of the Church of England before the justices, who gave costs to the said Church party, and dismist the complaint, and all is quiet.

Letter of Governor Dudley.

"There has been the same trouble at Braintree, which I hope is over also, but I have a sorrowful account from everybody referring to Mr. Eager. I had heard of his rude life in the passage hither, *being frequently disguised in drink, and fighting with the saylors even to wounds, and taring his cloaths, and during the few months of his stay here he was frequently in quarrels and fightings, and sending challenges for duels,* that at length the auditory at Brandry (Braintree) were quite ashamed and discouraged; and he is gone to Barbadoes without any direction or order, and the congregation is without minister. General Nicholson has been here and seen the process of the affair as above. I am sorry for this account, and more is true; and the Church is greatly hurt by him, as well as the other people, who are almost universally of another persuasion." *

Cotton Mather, on the other hand, complained of the intrusion of the High Church missionaries. In a letter dated Boston, N. England, 10, 10, 1712, he writes :—

"Our High Church here, in imitation of their brethren in

* Letter Book V.S.P.G., vol ix.

Scotland, seek all advantage to disturb us; and if in a town of two or three hundred they can find half a score of an abject and vicious character to declare for the Church of England, though they understand nothing of the matter, they promise them a release from their parish dues to the established ministry, and send over to your Society for missionaries, whose business here cannot be for the propagation of religion, but the molestation of it. The Society is in this matter extremely imposed on, and the reputation of it in these parts of the world suffers to the uttermost. We have our share in your fears of what things may be coming on the earth. But we are hastening to the world where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest." *

Complaint of High Church Intrusion.

Happily, the ecclesiastical disturbance in New England did not entirely absorb the attention of the opposing parties. The Mathers, busied in many affairs, continued to manifest a deep interest in the mission to the Indians. Many of the native settlements were desolated by war, so that the work of the missionaries was rendered exceedingly difficult. Cotton Mather writes to Sir William Ashurst (10 d. 10 m., 1712) :—

"We have employed visitors to go into all the villages of our Indians, and bring us exact information of their condition, their numbers, their desires, their wants, and how things are carried on amongst them. And this information lying before us, we consider from time to time what may be done to their various occasions. That we may more effectually pursue those ends, we hold our meetings with much greater frequency than formerly. Since the loss of our State House (which is now almost rebuilt), we have the pleasure of being in our turns at each other's houses.

Missions of the New England Company.

"Your purchase at *Martha's Vineyard* was a very seasonable action; and it being worth, at a moderate computation, six thousand pounds, the bargain made for it was a pretty good one, for which I hope our industrious and ingenious agent has had

* See Additional MSS., 4276, 49.

some grateful acknowledgment. The intention of putting into a condition of yielding some agreeable revenue, to help to support the main interest, will be a business of some time; it is what we are, in convenient methods, prosecuting.

"One of our most languishing and withered Indian villages is that of Natick (with some not far distant from it), which our famous Eliot made the more distinguished and peculiar object of his travels. That which has reduced them to scarce thirty families at Natick, and scarce so many at either of the next villages, has been chiefly their exposed situation in this grievous time of war, and perhaps a little hard usage from some superiors who knew how to make their penn'orths out of them. But we are employing our most exquisite studies to form a more considerable town in that place, by bringing their neighbours to a cohabitation with them, and leaving them under a good government and protection.

"The grand concern of re-printing the Indian Bible often comes under our consideration. The most of your Commissioners are averse to doing it at all, and rather hope to bring the rising generation, by schools and other ways, to a full acquaintance with the English tongue, in which they have a key to all the treasures of knowledge of which we ourselves are owners. My own poor opinion is, that the projection of Anglicizing our Indians is much more easy to be talked of than to be accomplished. It will take more time than the Commissioners who talk of it can imagine. 'Tis more than you have done to this day to your Welsh neighbours. However, I will humbly show you my further opinion that the re-printing of the Bible will be much sooner and cheaper done in London than in Boston. The experiment we made in printing the Psalter not long ago convinced us what a tedious and expensive undertaking that of the Bible must be, if in this place it be gone upon. Seven years would not be enough to finish the work at our presses, whereas little more than a seventh part of the time would perhaps dispatch it with you, if such a person as Mr. Grindal Rawson or Mr. Experience Mayhew (both of whom are most expert masters of the Indian language, and preachers to the Indians in it) might pass over the Atlantic, and keep close to the superwisal of the press work; and the cost there would be surprisingly short of what it might be with us (except you should rather choose to

send over a couple of operatives hither, who might follow no other work but that while that is doing; and how far the capacity of your stock must be considered in such a matter as this, you are very able to form a judgment.

"The stagnation upon the remissions hither which the *Martha's Vineyard* purchase has occasioned compels us to the borrowing of several hundreds of pounds to answer our obligations for necessary salaries and services. In this there are of your Commissioners who generously offer to tax themselves for disbursements or emergencies. But no man has done like your most valuable Treasurer, Mr. Sewall, who has advanced this way as to deserve all the thanks that we can render him. The adding of Mr. Adam Winthrop to their number, when you see your time for it, will, I perceive, be acceptable to all the gentlemen (who voted that it should be recommended unto you for that purpose), and very singularly acceptable to me, who take him to be a person of honour, and prudence, and virtue, in an uncommon degree. But as far as my own relation to this good interest is concerned, I am sensible of my doing so little service to it that I am not only ashamed of my barrenness, but also (for that and some other cause) I would beg, if you think it meet, a dismission from it, and a succession of one that might be much more serviceable. The utmost that I can pretend unto is to give my constant attendance at the meetings, and a small assistance to the shaping of our projections, and write letters upon occasion to the Indian preachers and churches, or perhaps give directions to the instruments employed by you, and receive and peruse addresses to the Commissioners from such as please now and then to make use of me on so befriending of them. I do not remember that I have ever taken more than one journey—and that was lately, and no very long one—personally to visit, and inspect, and instruct the Indian villages; and the truth is, considering the pastoral care of the largest flock in the English America lying on me, and the expectations which all the Churches in those colonies have to be served by me in my circumstances, and the many correspondences which I am to cultivate, and the many societies I belong to, and the publication of treatises on many arguments demanded of me faster than I can well despatch them (whereof I now take leave to tender one or two of the latter small ones to your lady), I am rendered less

capable of doing what I could wish to do in this particular affair. However, I hope that whether my relation to your Commission be superseded or no, I shall, as long as I live, continue to do everything that I find myself capable of doing for the cause of Christianity among the Indians. What I am now projecting is the introduction of Christianity among the Monhegan Indians of Connecticut, who, alas! remain obstinate pagans to this day; and I am not without hopes that the excellent governor of their colony, whose heart is in the cause, will one day or other help us to accomplish it. May the Glorious One multiply His blessings on your person and family, and continue your opportunities to extend your influence to these American regions, where you have many friends, but not more sincerely devoted than

"Sir, your most obliged servant,

"Co. MATHER."*

Writing again to "Governor Ashurst," on the neglected state of the Indians in other colonies, Dec. 7th, 1713, he says:—

"Some forlorn and wretched companies of Indians in Connecticut continue to this hour in horrid Paganism, though they have been for seventy years together in the bowels of a Christian colony. I formerly wrote as pressing a letter as I could unto the General Assembly of Connecticut, that the government there might be prevailed withal to exert their care, with the advice of their ministers, to revive the work of Christianizing the Indians that are under their influence. They began to do something, which yet came to nothing. But I hope this new essay of ours (under the countenance of their excellent governor) will have a harvest anon to be rejoiced in. I suppose our secretary, Judge Sewal, will send you the journal of our missionary.

"I made so bold with the honourable Governor of New York as to address him lately with another letter, soliciting for something to be done, that a body of Indians, yet in the darkest and vilest heathenism, upon Long Island, may be Christianized. That most valuable gentleman will do what he can; but I wish he may not find his generous intentions clogged by some English people of a very bad character with insuperable difficulties."

* New England Company MSS.

Some attention had been given to the Indians in Connecticut. JAMES FITCH, minister of Norwich, Conn. (1660—1702), preached to the Monhegans in their native tongue, and gave them of his own lands to induce them to adopt the habits of civilized life. Uncas signed, with his peculiar mark, the following curious agreement:—

"Be it known to all men, and in special to the authority of the Colony of Connecticutt, That I, Uncass, Sachim of the Monheags, now resident in Pamechang, do, by these presents, firmly engage and binde myselfe that I will, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, in a constant way and manner, attend upon Mr. James Fitch, minister of Norwich, at all such seasons as he shall appoint for preaching and praying with the Indians, either at my own residence or wheresoever els he shall appoint for that holy service. And, farther, I doe faithfully promis to command all my people to attend the same in a constant way and solemn manner, at all such times as shall be sett by the sayd Mr. James Fitch, minister. Also I promis that I will not, by any wayes or meanes whatever, either privatly or openly, use any plots or contriveancy by words or actions to affright or discourage any of my people or others from attending the good work aforesayd, upon penalty of suffering the most grievous punish^t that can be inflicted upon me. And, lastly, I promis to encourage all my people, by all good wayes and meanes I can, in the due observance of such directions and instructions as shall be presented to them by the sayd Mr. James Fitch aforesayd; and to the truth hereof, the seventh day of June, in the year One thousand six hundred and seventy-and-three, I have hereunto set my hand or mark, &c., &c.

Agreement of Uncas.

"Witnessed by us,

"JOHN TALLCOTT.
"THO. STANTON.
"SAMUEL MASON." *

The Mathers seem to have been universal commissioners, negotiating with the Ashursts and others

* Original MS.

on all affairs relating to Massachusetts—the appointment of a governor, the establishment of a bank in Boston, and the direction of the College and other institutions.

Increase Mather writes to the "Honourable Sir William Ashurst," June 22nd, 1714:—

Letter of Increase Mather.

"An honest man (his name is Parsons) belonging to Dr. Williams' congregation in London, who arrived in Boston last week, informs me that Dr. Williams told him, and gave him leave to acquaint me with it, that he was inclined to devote some part of his estate to encourage the gospelizing of the Indians in New England. Your advice may be very directive to him. You may, sir, if you please, inform him of what I have now written to you. I understand that he is at a loss whom he may make trustees for the faithful management of what he is disposed to give (for the encouragement of preachers among the Indians). No one is more capable of advising in that particular than the governor of the Corporation in London. Please to consider it. There is nothing of intelligence here for me to acquaint you with. Our governor has of late been very obliging, so that people do generally wish his continuance in the government. I believe, as things go with you at present, we shall not have a better sent us.

"As for myself, I bless the Lord I enjoy my health and vigour, to the wonder of myself and friends. Yesterday I arrived to the 75th year of my age, yet am able to preach in the largest Meeting-house in New England, in the hearing of two thousand souls, which is an uncommon favour of God. The Lord help me to be humbly thankful and submissive in old age. My service to Lady Ashurst; the Lord continue you (as He has done) a long time together as mutual comforts and blessings. I am bereaved of my consort (and so is my son of his), whom God had made a great blessing to me for about 52 years. The dearest creature enjoyment must be taken from us, or we from them. It is comfort enough that in heaven we shall be for ever with the Lord.

"Yours to serve,

"INCREASE MATHER."*

* New England Company MS.

The boundless activity of the Mathers, and their uncompromising attitude towards Unitarianism, long made them a mark for the adverse criticism of the *literati* of Boston. Cotton Mather, in particular, has been held up to ridicule for his pedantry, intolerance, credulity, and shameful conduct in the trials for witchcraft. Yet, on a dispassionate examination of the facts, the record is far more favourable than a superficial glance would lead us to suppose. His methods for the preservation of the purity of the Churches, and their protection against false teachers, are not in accordance with our views, and it is impossible to conceal the harshness of his procedure in some cases when his intentions might be good. But, notwithstanding this severity, he expressed sentiments of true catholicity, in advance of his age. As to "Communion and admission to all the privileges and advantages of the Church State," he says :—

Hostility to Cotton Mather.

"I would have you insist upon it, that no terms be imposed, but necessary things as heaven will require of all who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, and stand in His holy place. Be sure to stand by that golden rule—receive you one another, as Christ also received us unto the glory of God; that is to say, those of whom it is our duty to judge that our Saviour will receive them to His glory in the heavenly world, we ought now to receive into all the enjoyments of our Christian fellowship. And let the table of the Lord have no rails about it, that shall hinder a godly Independent, and Presbyterian, and Episcopalian, and Antipedobaptist, and Lutheran from sitting down together there."

The aversion of Cotton Mather and the Quakers was mutual, but he protested against the slightest legal prosecution. In common with Baxter, Addison,

Blackstone, and Matthew Hale, he believed in the existence of witchcraft and sorcery. "For my own part," he said, "I know not that ever I advanced any opinion in the matter of witchcraft, but what all the ministers of the Lord that I know of in the world, whether English, or Scotch, or French, or Dutch (and I know many), are of the same opinion." So far from being the instigator of the barbarous course pursued against the poor victims of the popular delusion, he proposed the adoption of milder measures, and offered to provide for six of the accused (others doing the same), "and see whether, without more bitter methods, prayer and fasting could not put an end to these heavy trials."

The Salem atrocities are justly regarded as infamous, but so, we must remember, were the same acts of inhumanity in the mother country. "More witches," said Hutchinson, "have been put to death in a single county in England, in a short space of time, than have ever suffered in New England, altogether from first to last." *

* Dr. Quint, in "Congregational Quarterly," vol. i., 259.

CHAPTER III.

Dissenters at the Court of Queen Anne.

According to the precedent of the former reign, a deputation from the three Dissenting denominations, headed by Dr. Williams, went up to the Court on the accession of Queen Anne, to present an address from the ministers in London, declaring their cordial allegiance, and expectant of some assurance of the royal favour. They were not received with the benignant smile that greeted them from William and Mary, but the new Sovereign graciously promised her continued protection, and declared that she would do nothing to forfeit her interest in their affections. For the time the Nonconformists felt relieved by this answer to their address, and began more distinctly to avow their principles, but they were soon undeceived as to the real intentions of the Court. At the opening of Parliament, shortly afterwards, the Queen intimated to the House of Commons "that she was resolved to defend and maintain the Church as by law established." The House responded heartily to the sentiment. "Your Majesty has been always," they said, "a most illustrious ornament to this Church, and has been exposed to great hazards for it; therefore, we promise ourselves that in your Majesty's

reign we shall see it perfectly *restored* to its due rights and privileges, and secured in the same to posterity: which is only to be done by *divesting those men of the power who have shown that they want not a will to destroy it.*"

Activity of the Non-jurors.

The non-jurors who adhered to the cause of the Stuarts watched their opportunity to regain their influence in political affairs, and, whilst refraining from overt acts of disloyalty, secretly laid their plans for the restoration of the exiled Pretender. The Jacobite clergy inculcated the doctrine of non-resistance, and the obligation of kings to defend the Church and to secure its independence of the civil power. Dr. William Nicholls, in a discourse "On the Religion of a Prince," said:—

Nicholls on the Religion of a Prince.

"A further reason why princes should take care of and protect religion is, because it is not endowed with sufficient power to defend itself, and to provide itself of those advantages which are requisite for its subsistence. Now, this is a sufficient plea to a generous mind for relief and assistance. And since God Almighty has lodged so much power in princely hands, they cannot make that good use of it which Providence expects of them unless they lay it out in the assistance of those who want it. This has occasioned the succouring of orphans and widows from the usurpation and ravages of powerful men to be a point of justice which has in all ages claimed the magistrate's aid; and to deny it where disregard has been esteemed to be a sort of renouncing the pity and tenderness of human nature. Now, it has pleased Almighty God to constitute His Church in a *state of pupillage*, and to deny it that coercive authority which He has vested the secular power with.

"And since in a Christian government the Church is so mutually blended with the State, that in some respects they make up one body, *whatever power the Church wants for the support of its constitution, and for the defence of it against its adver-*

saries, it must borrow of the chief magistrate of the State, to the end *that those evil persons who are not to be restrained by Church censures*, whose penalty is only spiritual, they may, *by the smart of secular punishment*, be either *forced into their duty*, or be obliged to forbear their injuries offered to the congregation of the faithful; and this is more especially necessary in these latter ages of the Church, when the power of miracles is ceased."

Helpless and dependent as the Church was described to be with respect to temporal power, its spiritual self-sufficiency was asserted in the most unqualified terms. Dr. George Hickes, in describing the "*Constitution of the (Anglican) Catholic Church*," says :—

Hickes on the Church and Civil Power.

"The Church is a spiritual kingdom," "*independent of the secular powers.*" "The Bishops are the governors of this spiritual kingdom." "Every diocese is part of the Church." "*The Church is in the rightful Bishop* and his flock." "None but members of the Church have any title to the promises of the gospel." "All who communicate with unlawful Bishops cut themselves off from the Church." "All the promises of the gospel are made to Christians, as actual members of the Church; and as no man, however eminent for personal virtues, can in the ordinary way of salvation claim the benefit of them before he is a member of the Church, so no man who, by any act of his own or of the rightful Bishop, ceases to be a member, can lay claim to them or any of them, not *so much as remission of sins.*"

Charles Leslie.

Charles Leslie, a zealous supporter of the Pretender, defined more clearly the independence of the Church, fostered by the State, and indicated the point at which the Anglican Church and the Church of Rome might meet, and, under propitious influences, blend together in principles, authority, and influence.

The Pretender, meanwhile, actively pursued his

object in correspondence with the Pope, urging his claims for support on the ground that the Church of Rome could only regain its power in Great Britain by the restoration of the Stuart dynasty. By virtue of the authority received from his Holiness, he appointed Cardinal Sacripanti Protector of the Kingdom of Scotland, Cardinal Imponali Protector of Ireland, Matthieu Pritchard Recolez, Vicar-Apostolic in England, and Cardinal Gualterio he nominated to attend to his affairs in Rome. The network of agency was complete. FRANCIS ATTERBURY and VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE were apprized of every movement, but maintained for a time a prudent reserve. The more impetuous of the party began to raise an outcry against Dissenters. Joseph Glanvil, formerly chaplain to Charles II., complained that the "profest Dissenters" would not support the Church.

The Pretender and the Pope.

"Men who are stiff by will and not by conscience," he said, "dispute the claims of the clergy. The present way of recovery of these dues are changeable, and scarce effectual at last. The refusers usually will not appear when cited to Bishops' Courts, and to run them up to excommunication when the debt they are cited for is very small in particulars, looks odiously on the minister's part. And if they are excommunicated, they will stand so, without taking any notice of it, except they are prosecuted by the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, which is chargeable to the prosecutor, and sounds harshly; and when they are taken up, many of them will lie by it, and so all the charge and trouble is lost, and the minister gets nothing but the name of a persecutor after all.

Glanvil's Complaint.

"The way by treble damages will not quit cost for small dues. The way by the Exchequer comes to gaol, too, at last, and if the person be not willing to pay, or be in close durance, he fees the gaol keeper and goes in and out as he pleaseth, so

that generally the livings in corporations are fallen from what they were before our unhappy troubles a third part at least in their value. But the work and difficulties are as much increast. Preaching twice every Lord's-day is everywhere expected, and not omitted without great offence and advantage given to Dissenters." *

The agitation became fierce and general on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. Torrents of invective were poured forth against Dissenters, as implicated in the guilt of murder.

Amidst the clamour kept up incessantly, some voices were heard on the side of equity and moderation. DANIEL DE FOE, in his inimitable style of irony—mistaken for sober truth— wrote his "Short Way with Dissenters," to expose the violence of High Churchmen by urging their demands in a logical appeal for the employment of physical force. Pretending to reply to objections, De Foe said:— De Foe.

"The Dissenters are very numerous, they say, and we cannot suppress them. To this may be answered: 1. They are not so numerous as the Protestants in France, and yet the French king effectually cleared the nation of them at once, and we don't find that he misses them at home. But I am not of opinion they are so numerous as is pretended. Those mistaken people of the Church who are misled by their wheedling artifices to join with them make their party the greater. But these will open their eyes when the government shall set heartily about the work, and come off from them, as some animals, which they always desert a house when 'tis likely to fall. 2. The more numerous, the more dangerous, and therefore the more need to suppress them. 3. If we are to allow them only because we cannot suppress them, then it ought to be tried whether we can or no. But I am of opinion 'tis easy to be done, and could prescribe ways and means, if it were proper; but I doubt not the government will

* S. P. Dom.

find effectual methods for rooting the contagion from the face of the land. . . Here is the opportunity, and the only one, perhaps, that ever the Church had, to secure herself and destroy her enemies. If ever you will establish the best Christian Church in the world; if ever you will suppress the spirit of enthusiasm; if ever you will free the nation from the viperous brood that have so long sucked the blood of their mother; if you will leave your posterity free from faction and rebellion—*this is the time.* This is the time to pull up this heretical weed of sedition, that has so long disturbed the peace of our Church, and poisoned the good corn. But says another hot and cold objector, 'This is renewing the fire and faggot; this will be cruelty in nature; and barbarous to all the world.' I answer, 'tis cruelty to kill a snake or a toad in cold blood; but the poison of their nature makes it a charity to our neighbours to destroy those creatures, not for any personal injury received, but for prevention; not for the evil they have done, but for the evil they may do. Serpents, toads, vipers, &c., are noxious to the body, and poison the sensitive life; these poison the soul, corrupt our posterity, ensnare our children, destroy the vitals of our happiness, and contaminate the whole mass. Shall any law be given to such wild creatures? Some beasts are for sport, and the huntsmen give them the advantage of the ground; but some are knocked on the head by all possible ways of violence and surprise. I do not prescribe fire and faggot; but, as Scipio* said of Carthage, *Delenda est Carthago.* They are to be rooted out of this nation if ever we will live in peace, serve God, or enjoy our own. As for the manner, I leave it to those who have a right to execute God's justice on the nation's and the Church's enemies.

"'Tis vain to trifle in this matter. The light, foolish handling of them by fines is their glory and advantage. If the gallows instead of the compter, and the galleys instead of the fines, were the reward of going to a conventicle, there would not be so many sufferers. The spirit of martyrdom is over. They that will go to church to be chosen sheriffs and mayors, would go to forty churches rather than be hanged. If one severe law were made and punctually executed, that whoever was found at a conventicle should be banished the nation, and the preacher be hanged, we should soon see an end of the tale: they would all

* Cato.

come to church, and one age would make us all one again. To talk of five shillings a month for not coming to the sacrament, and one shilling a week for not coming to church, is such a way of converting people as never was known. This is selling them a liberty to transgress for so much money. If it be not a crime, why don't we give them full license? and if it be, no price ought to compound for the committing it; for that is selling a liberty to people to sin against God and the Government. We hang men for trifles,* and banish them for things not worth naming; but an offence against God and the Church, against the welfare of the world and the dignity of religion, shall be bought off for five shillings. This is such a shame to a Christian government, that 'tis with regret I transmit it to posterity."

Carried away with the excitement of the first perusal of the pamphlet, the fire-eaters of the Church were wild with delight. Here was not only "the opportunity," but the "man" for the "hour"—eloquent as Atterbury himself, and a hundredfold more vigorous; giving expression, with fluency and ardour, to their own thoughts and feelings, which they had tried in vain to utter without hesitation or misgiving. Their mortification was in the same degree bitter when they found the world laughing at the dulness of their perception in mistaking solemn banter for serious argument and earnest expostulation. A warrant was issued for the apprehension of the audacious scribbler. De Foe, to escape the rising storm, absconded, and from the place of his concealment addressed the following letter to the Secretary of State:—

"Jan^{y} 9, 1702.

"To the R^{t} Hon. Heneage, Earle of Nottingham, her Ma^{ties}
"Principal Secretary of State.

"My Lord,

"I am exceeding sencible that I have given her Ma^{ty} and

* Amongst the State Papers are petitions from prisoners under sentence of death for stealing a piece of calico.

the Govt offence, and several Poor and some Innocent People being in Trouble on my acct, move me to address yor Lordship in this manner, for wh rudeness I humbly ask your Pardon. I had long since surrendered to her Majesty's clemency had not ye menaces of yor Lordship's officers possest me with such ideas of her Majty and your Lordship's resentment as are too Terrible, and such as respect former Things wch I have had no concern in, tho' I have had ye misfortune to pass for guilty by common fame.

Offer of De Foe to raise a Troop.

"To flee from her Majts justice seems, my Lord, to be a kind of raising war against her, and is very irksome to me. I beseech your Lordship to assist me in laying down these arms, at least making such a truce as may, through her Majesty's condescension, obtain her pardon.

"My Lord, a Body unfitt to bear ye hardships of a Prison, and a mind impatient of confinement, have been ye onely reasons of withdrawing myself; and, my Lord, the crie of a numerous ruined family, the prospect of a long banishment from my native country, and ye hope of her Majts mercy, move me to throw myself at her Majesty's feet, and to intreat your Lordship's intercession.

"I beseech your Lordship to assure her Majty that I am perfectly free from any seditious designs, and howsoever I have unadvisedly offended, I am and was entirely devoted to her interest and service. With the lowest submission I intreat her Majts Pardon for this mistake, for which I am ready to make any publick acknowledgment, and further humbly Beseech your Lordship's pardon and pacience, making a proposal on my own behalf. For tho' it must be unusual condescension in her Majty to capitulate with an offending subject, yet offences differ in their nature, and her Majts mercy is unbounded.

"I was informed, my Lord, that when my distressed wife made application to your Lordship, you were pleased to direct I should surrender and answer such questions as shd be asked me. My Lord, would your Lordship condescend to permit any questions you think fitt to be writt down, and sent to or left at my house. I will, as soon as I can receive them, give your Lordship as plain, full, direct, and honest answer as if I were in immediate apprehension of death from your resentments; and

perhaps, my Lord, my answers may be so satisfactory as may incline you to think that you have been misinformed respecting me.

"But, my Lord, if after this I sh^d still have y^e misfortune to remain under her Maj^ts displeasure, I am then her most humble Petitioner that she will please to remitt the rigor of prosecution, and that, pleading guilty, I may receive a sentence from her particular justice a little more tollerable to me as a gentleman than Prison, Pillory, and such like, which are worse to me than Death.

"I beg leave to observe to your Lordship that felons and thieves whose punishment is death are frequently spared upon entering into her Majesty's service. If her Majesty will be pleased to order me to serve her a year or more at my own charge, I will surrender myself, and volunteer at the head of her armies in y^e Netherlands to any column of horse her Majesty shall direct, and without doubt I shall die there much more to her service than in a prison; and if by my behaviour I can expiate this offence and obtain her Majesty's Pardon, I shall think it more, much more honourable mercy to me than if I had it by Petition. And least I sh^d seem to prescribe to her Maj^ts mercy, my Lord, if her Maj^ty, abateing prison and corporal punishment, shall please to pass any sentence upon me that I am capable to put in execution, I resolve cheerfully to submit to it, and throw myself upon her native clemency. But if her Maj^ty shall extend her grace to a total remission of this offence, and if I may presume to say shall be further pleased to accept my service, I will raise her Maj^ty a troop of horse at my own charge, and at the head of them Ile serve her as long as I live. At least, my Lord, this may assure you I am ready with my hand, my pen, or my head, to show her Majesty the gratitude of a pardoned subject, and to give her Majesty all the satisfaction I am capable of, being extremely grieved that I have offended her. Humbly intreating your Lordship's favour and intercession, w^ch possibly your Lordship will not repent when you shall find you have granted it to a zealous, thankfull, and faithful subject, and so may it please y^r Lordship's most obedient, distressed, humble petitioner and servant,

"De Foe." *

* S. P. Dom.

On the 10th of January, 1703, the following proclamation appeared in the "London Gazette":—

"Whereas, Daniel De Foe, alias De Fooe, is charged with writing a seditious pamphlet, entitled, 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' He is a middle-sized, spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown-coloured hair, but wears a wig, a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor in Freeman's Yard, in Cornhill, and now is owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury Fort, in Essex: Whosoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe to one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, or any of her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, so he may be apprehended, shall have a reward of £50, which her Majesty has ordered immediately to be paid on such discovery." *

The pamphlet was indicted at the Old Bailey Sessions, February 24th, 1703, and on the next day condemned by the House of Commons to be burnt by the common hangman in New Palace Yard. De Foe was tried in the following July, and sentenced to pay a fine of two hundred marks to the Queen, to stand three times in the pillory, to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure, and find securities for his good behaviour for seven years.

Fortunately for the clever pamphleteer, the crowd that mustered to witness the infliction of the sentence at the pillory gave him on each occasion, at the Royal Exchange, at the conduit in Cheapside, and at the Temple, a perfect ovation. The pillory

* Earl Nottingham writes to the Lord Treasurer, May 25th, 1703:—"The person who discovered Daniel Fooe (for whom a reward of £50 was promised in the 'Gazette') sends for his money, but does not care to appear himself; if, therefore, your Lop will order that summe to be paid to Mr. Armstrong, I will take care that the person shall have it who discover'd the said Fooe, and upon whose information he was apprehended."—Treasury Papers, vol. lxxxv., 154.

itself was hung with garlands of flowers; the health of De Foe was drunk with enthusiasm, and when he descended he was received with shouts of applause, and conducted by his admiring friends to a place of refreshment. He sung with triumph, in his "Hymn to the Pillory"—

> "Shame, like the exhalations of the sun,
> Falls back where first the motion was begun;
> And he who for no crime shall on thy brows appear,
> Bears less reproach than they who placed him there."

The time was not yet come for a general raid on the Dissenters, but unceasing efforts were made to hasten on the intended and, as it was expected, decisive assault. At intervals might be heard the tone of calm persuasion, but it was soon drowned in the growing tumult. Archbishop Tennison, in his speech against the Bill for Preventing Occasional Conformity (1704), said:—

Conciliatory Speech of Tennison.

"At a time that all Europe is engaged in a bloody and expensive war; that this nation has not only such considerable foreign enemies to deal withal, but has a party in her own bowels, ready upon all occasions to bring in a Popish Pretender, and involve us all in the same, or rather worse, calamities than those from which, with so much blood and treasure, we have been freed; at a time that the Protestant Dissenters (however they may be wrong by departing from us yet) are heartily united with us against the common foes to our religion and government—what advantage those who are in earnest for defending those things can have by lessening the number of such as are firmly united in this common cause, I cannot for the life of me imagine. Therefore, I am for throwing out the Bill without giving it another reading."

In another tone the intolerant clergy demanded that the Church should be weeded of all who looked with favour on Nonconformists. "The Church,"

said "Will Skelbeck, clerk," in his petition to the Queen, "is overstocked with Calvinisticall forreigners, and domestic *occasionall* fools, whereas her own truly English and loyal sons are thrust out." *

Occasional Fools.

In the midst of this renewed agitation, JOHN HOWE was called to the enjoyment of the "Blessedness" he had long patiently expected. Wearied with the din of ceaseless contention, he went up to the "quieter region of holy contemplation."

Death of Howe.

"When contention," he said, "becomes a man's element, and he cannot live out of that fire; strains his wit and racks his invention to find a matter of quarrel; is resolved nothing said or done by others shall please him, only because he means to please himself in dissenting; disputes only that he may dispute, and loves dissention for itself: this is the unnatural humour that hath so unspeakably troubled the Church, and dispirited religion, and *filled men's souls with wind and vanity; yea, with fire and fury. This hath made Christians gladiators, and the Christian world a clamorous theatre*, while men have equally affected to contend and to make ostentation of their ability so to do. Surely it is highly pleasant to retire ourself."

"Thou hast set thy heart upon other things, and they have deceived thy most earnest, thirsty expectations. Death will not do so. Of one thing thou mayest say, 'I am sure.' Wait awhile, this peaceful sleep will shortly seize thy body and awaken thy soul. It will calmly periodate thy troubles, and bring thee to a blessed rest."

Calamy gives us this interesting account of his peaceful end:—

"Having employed his time, strength, and interest in the most valuable service, he was, by this time (1705), wasted with several diseases, which he bore with great patience and a resigned submission to the will of his Heavenly Father. He discovered

* S. P. Dom.

no fear of dying, but even when his end drew near, was very serene and calm. He seemed, indeed, sometimes to have been got to heaven, even before he had laid aside that mortality, which he had been long expecting to have swallowed up of life. It was observed that in his last illness, and when he had been declining for some time, he was once in a most affecting, melting, heavenly frame at the communion, and carried out into such a ravishing and transporting celebration of the love of Christ, that both he himself, and they who communicated with him, were apprehensive he would have expired in that very service. And though nature was considerably spent in him, yet was there somewhat even in the manner of his dying that was remarkable and worthy of observation.

"He would be very pleasant sometimes in his last sickness, and converse freely with such as came to visit him; and they were many of all ranks. Among the rest, RICHARD CROMWELL (who was now grown old, and had lived many years retired from the world, since the time when Mr. Howe was his domestic chaplain), hearing that he was going off the stage, came to make him a respectful visit, and take his farewell of him before he died. There was a great deal of serious discourse between them. Tears were freely shed on both sides, and the parting was very solemn. Many elder and younger ministers also frequently visited him, and he was very free in his discourse with them, and talked of another world, and that had raised uncommon hopes of that blessedness there which his heart had long been set upon.

"Having been very bad one evening, and being by the next morning unexpectedly recruited, he was visibly cheerful, which being taken notice of by those that were about him, he said he was for feeling that he was alive, and yet he was most willing to die, and lay that clog (as he called his body) aside. Of this there is plain proof that he once told his wife that though he loved her as well as it was fit for one creature to love another, yet if it were put to his choice whether to die that moment, or to live that night, and the living that night would secure the continuance of his life for seven years to come, he declared he would choose to die that moment. Being at last worn out, he finished his course with joy, April 2nd, 1705, and was translated into the calm and peaceful regions of the blessed above, where

nothing but charity and serenity reign for ever. He was interred in the parish church of St. Allhallows, Bread Street."

The strife of the time still went on. Convocation began to stir. On Feb. 14th, 1704-5, a paper was brought up by the Lower House, which represented to his Grace and their Lordships that

Convocation and Dissenting Teachers.

"Among many other encroachments of the Dissenting Teachers upon the office and rights of the Clergy, their frequent presuming to administer the Holy Sacrament of Baptism in Private Non-Licensed Houses, was a great abuse of evil consequence no way warranted by the Act of Toleration. They begg'd their Lordships would take into their wise consideration, and by all proper means endeavour to put a stop to all such bold intrusions upon the rules and discipline of the Church. They also intimated that they could not without great concern observe how *the numbers of Non-Licensed Schools and Seminaries was multiply'd*, and how the dangers arising thence encreased; and under a deep sense of what might be the fatal consequences of such irregular societies, as gave no security to Church or State, and which they believ'd were labouring the subversion of both, they earnestly beseech'd their Lordships to use their utmost authority and interest for *the suppressing of such Seminaries*, and thereby prevent the growth of Popery, schism, and sedition."

An incident occurred which gave occasion for the exercise of clerical power. In the preceding reign, Sir Humphrey Edwin, while Lord Mayor of London, being a Dissenter, went in civic state to a Meeting-house at Pinner's Hall.

Lord Mayor in the Meeting-house.

It was resolved not only to prevent the recurrence of such a demonstration, but also to put a stop to occasional conformity altogether. The state of political parties prevented an immediate enactment, but agitation for the purpose was begun in earnest. The clergy, who had but lately spoken

of Dissenters as their "brethren," now "changed their voice," and demanded that measures should be taken to abate their influence.

The episcopal clergy in Scotland took their part in the general agitation. Their twelve bishops, sworn adherents to the Stuarts, regarded James as the "Darling of Heaven." In a letter to him, dated Edinburgh, Nov. 3rd, 1688, they say, "We are amazed to hear of the danger from Holland." The revolution left them shorn of their influence, and in their absence from Parliament the Presbyterians regained their establishment, but it was the policy of William III. to bring all the clergy of England and Scotland under one regime. Practically, the Anglican Church was tolerated north of the Tweed, but it was stipulated by the Act of Union "that the form, purity, and uniformity" of the Kirk of Scotland should continue without alteration, and that it should be held as an Establishment as "a fundamental and essential condition of the aforesaid Union." The General Assembly, in virtue of this authority, passed an Act in 1707 against "innovations in the worship of God." In the face of this ecclesiastical decree, James Greenshields, an episcopal clergyman, came to Edinburgh, and used "the Liturgy of the Church of England in a Meeting-house." Heedless of warning, and setting the authorities at defiance, he was apprehended and sent to prison. He protested that the "Presbytery and good town of Edinburgh" had no foundation in law for their unwarrantable proceedings.

Scottish Bishops and the "Darling of Heaven."

James Greenshields.

"I am a legally ordained minister," he said, "and duly

qualified as such, and under the protection and favour of the Government, by several laws and Acts of Parliament, and particularly by the sixteenth Act of the Meeting of the States of Scotland, holden in 1699, whereby it is prohibited and discharged that no injury be offered by any person whosoever to any minister of the Gospel, either of Church or Meeting-house, in the possession and exercise of their ministry therein, they behaving themselves as becomes under the present Government."

Greenshields, as a prisoner in the Tolbooth, was not idle. By petitions to the General Assembly, and finally in an appeal to the House of Lords, he kept his case before public attention in connection with the rights of Episcopacy :—

"If," he said, "my persecutors are permitted to treat my episcopal brethren, as they do, *ad libitum*, and with impunity, I am afraid they will attempt the revival of their old Solemn League and Covenant. For, that many of them think that still binding on them, the following instance, among many others, may evince: At Stirling, within these ten weeks, they were placing a minister. Logan, who was the preacher, and examined the new intrant, asked him, amongst many other questions, in the Church of Stirling, many hundreds present, 'Whether he believed that the National and Solemn League and Covenant, as it was binding upon their fathers, who took it, so also it was equally binding upon them?' And he was answered, he 'believed it was'; which is downright treason, and contrary to many Acts of Parliament unrepealed; so that I think it may well be feared, that restless tribe, who are of this opinion, may once again attempt the reformation of the Church of England to their model, and endeavour to propagate the same rebellious notions in the southern parts of the Island, so that a toleration of episcopal ministers here, seems to be highly necessary for the preservation of the peace and union of both kingdoms, the service of her Majesty, and safety of the Church happily established in England."

The case of Greenshields was not a solitary one, as we learn from the following papers :—

"July 20th, 1708.

"SIR,—I have nothing of any moment to acquaint you with, save only that the magistrates here have confined five of the episcopal clergy to the Tolbooth.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"FFRA. PHILIPSON.

"Geo. Tilson, Esq., at the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sec. Boyle's office,
"in Whitehall, London."

A letter from the Bishops of Scotland to the Bishops of England :—

"May it please your Grace and your Lordships,—

"Since the lamentable suppression of the apostolical order of Bishops in this kingdom, some hundreds of the inferior clergy have been turn'd out of their cures and benefices, and thereby reduc'd with their poor children and families to such deplorable misery, as it does extort compassion from their bitterest enemies, and as hitherto they have been almost altogether supported by the pious bounty of good people amongst ourselves, so now the scarcity of money here, and the poverty of this nation, is such, that it is not able to afford them what may be necessary to preserve them from the last extremities, and unless they can be assisted from abroad, we don't see by what other human means they can be kept from starving.

Episcopal Clergy "Rabbled."

"Wherefore, as it is our indispensable duty, and that with the greatest fervour, to recommend to your Graces' and your Lordships' care, so hereby we most earnestly beseech you, in the bowels of our common and most adorable Saviour, to commiserate their sad and desolate condition, and to contribute to their relief, not only by your own Christian and fraternal charity, but also by exciting the clergy in your respective Provinces and Dioceses, to do the like as God shall enable them, and open their hearts and hands in so pious and necessary work, &c.

"JO. GLASGOW.

"ALEX. EDENBURGEN."

Credentials to the Rev. Dr. Scott :—

"The infinitely wise God, having in his unsearchable Providence permitted some hundreds of our episcopal clergy in Scotland to be violently rabbled out of their cures and benefices by

armed companies of furious men, acting without commission, contrary to the known rights of lieges, and establish'd laws of the nation, by which they and their families are reduced to extreme wants and necessities, &c.

"Jo. Glasgow.
"Geo. Aberdon.
"Will. Moravien."*

The Non-jurors in Scotland directed their attention to the Court of the Pretender, and the party concerned for the repression of Presbytery urged the renunciation of the Solemn League; and the gentry of Scotland, anxious to share the honours conferred by the English Court, welcomed the introduction of the liturgical service as more suited to their tastes than the order of the Kirk. In a pamphlet on "the Causes of the Decay of Presbyterian Churches in Scotland," the writer says the rudeness of the ministers leads him to think that it is in a sinking state.

Causes of Decay in the Kirk of Scotland.

"Your clergy (he says) are, for the most part, made up of the meanest of the people, as if Jeroboam had been your master-builder; they are a set of men of a scanty education, of no letters, and less manners, peevish and proud beyond measure, without any foundation to bear it out. And however pleasing this has been to some of the mob, to see these of their body raised up to be their spiritual guides, hoping some day or other to be advanced in their turns, yet it has brought you into no small contempt with the nobility and gentry, who are generally men of spirit and parts, and cannot bear with such a heavy load of sauciness and ill-manners."

The writer taunts the Presbyterian ministers with the loss of their power to enforce the observance of discipline by legal penalties, and tells them that they have lost both the favour of the courtiers

* S. P. Scotland.

on the one hand, and the confidence of the people on the other.

"I am afraid (he adds) ye have but a slippery footing, where there is no ground left you to stand upon but the inclinations of the people, who, dazzled with the seeming beauty and regularity of the English forms that are creeping in among you, are daily leaving you, and, if I be rightly informed, I should not wish that matters were just now put to a poll, far less in time coming; for if the friends of the Church of England continue their encouragement for promoting their service in Scotland, it will (as I am told) overrun your nation in a short time; and the Episcopal party, who have gained no small reputation by a steady and patient suffering of many years, will run you off your feet. And, to be plain with you, I am of opinion ye are so far from putting a stop to this inundation that is breaking in upon you, that ye have paved the way to your own destruction, by introducing a great many rarities into the service of the Church, unknown to all the other parts of the world.

"As ye have introduced these rarities, so have ye not been wanting to commit the like errors in the discipline; ye have given up a great deal of that power to the laity which of right should belong to the clergy.

"Another evil is the loose way ye have got in handling your preaching and your prayers. Scarce a day passes over but your sermon affords your hearers some jest or other, who tells the note about, and gives diversion to the neighbourhood. It would try a very serious mind to see a grave divine mount the pulpit, and then find out that Uz, where Job lived, was Geneva, and that the Chaldeans, who carried off the good man's camels, and killed his servants, were the French dragoons. It is common with your young men to try their hand with a few of the darkest texts they can find out. They'll give a turn or two to the wheels in Ezekiel; they are for opening the seals, sounding the trumpet, and pouring out the vials of the Revelations; but the great subject upon which they like to cant is Canticles, as best suited to their years, and gives room to their youthful imaginations; and after he has topped all these mountains, he flies high upon unions and communions, covenant relations and engagements; and if at any time he stoops

Loose way of Preaching.

lower, he talks a little of decrees, effectual calling, and the doctrine of assurance.

"As to your prayers, what wild work comes from your extempore effusions! Do ye think Mr. Burnet, at Falkirk, who makes one of the best figures among you, was inspired when he prayed thus: 'Lord, we hear that the tyrant of France is dead, but we are not sure of it; but we are sure his clergy play at cards on Sunday. Lord, we hear that the curates in this country played at the cards on Sunday, but we are not sure of it; but we are sure they played cards on Saturday. Good Lord, be graciously pleased, then, to make us sure of what we are unsure of, except Doomsday; for of that day and hour knoweth no man.'"

Prayer of Mr. Burnet.

Contrasting the order of the Church of England with the "unmannerly behaviour" at the Kirk, he says:—

"If the purity of a Church is to be measured by a lazy and easy service, or the nastiness and disorder of the place ye meet in, ye are the best reformed Church in the wide world."

The supercilious tone of the advocates of Episcopacy, the caricature of the worship, ministry, and discipline; which, with all their intolerance, had given the Presbyterians of Scotland moral force, unity, and decision; the flippant disparagement of their theology; and of the learning acquired at their ancient universities; naturally created an antipathy to the Anglican system, and chilled the fervour of their loyalty, when their support against foreign invasion was most required.

The attempt of the Pretender to land in Scotland in 1707 was prevented mainly by the mismanagement of his affairs; but the seeds of disaffection were widely sown, and his prospects brightened. His agents found their way to place and power at the

British Court, and formed their plans in accordance with the interests of the exiled prince, recognized as their real sovereign. The Nonconformists chiefly stood in their way, and the time came for the adoption of measures tending to prevent their growth in the faith, and to render the maintenance of their voluntary churches extremely difficult. The "drum ecclesiastic" was beaten very furiously by the High Church clergy. The anniversary of the royal martyr (30th of January) was devoted to the execration of the Presbyterians and Independents of the Commonwealth. LUKE MILBORNE, "curate of the Parish Church at Great Yarmouth," and afterwards "a Presbyter of the Church of England at St. Ethelburga in London," was a conspicuous performer on these occasions. For many years in succession he displayed his talent for coarse invective, and a volume of his collected discourses, still in existence, as a literary curiosity, exhibits his wonderful power of vituperation. Dissenters are railed at as "apes," "vipers," "hypocritical villains," and in other terms not properly admissible in these pages, even for the purpose of illustration. Milborne selected his texts with great felicity for his purpose. In a sermon on "The Utter Extirpation of Tyrants and their Families," he based his harangue on the words of the Prophet Isaiah, chapter xiv., and part of the 20th and 21st verses—"Because thou hast destroyed thy people, the seed of evil-doers shall never be renowned. *Prepare slaughter for his children for the iniquity of their fathers;* that they *do not rise,* nor possess the land."

Performance of Luke Milborne on the drum.

"The political instruction here intended for our use (said the preacher) is, that those who defiled their hands in the blood of their lawful sovereign, who cruelly desolated these three nations, who murdered so many thousands of their brethren, ought not to be remembered by any but with execration. *Their posterity ought at least to be kept under for the sins of their fathers*, and all just and lawful means ought to be made use of, that they may *never recover any power*, nor be able to usurp the government of these nations any more.

"It is true it lies in the breast of any *lawful sovereign* to mitigate the rigours of the law, if he thinks fit; but the suspending of the penalties laid upon the Dissenters from the Church of England by law, is a demonstration that the Government looks upon such Dissenters as *criminal schismatics*.

"The burnt child generally dreads the fire. What has been may be. We have been moved by men of those principles once; would their children show any abhorrence of them? Would they disown, declare against, mourn and fast for the sins of their predecessors? What understanding Christian would not take them into his bosom?

"But while they every day assert and publish the same pernicious principles as we find they do in the late abridgment of Mr. Baxter's life; while these things are visible to all that are not wilfully blind and ignorant, surely we have reason to stand upon our guard; and though we inflict no actual penalties, though we deny them no benefit of a legal indulgence, yet certainly we must be entirely forsaken and infatuated, if we can suffer them any more to ride over our heads.

"If they should rise and possess the land again, what quarter the commonalty, the nobility, the clergy, the sovereign might expect from them, we may easily guess; but if we can be so stupid as to permit it, who can pity us?"

Some of the Nonconformists were attracted by curiosity to witness these pyrotechnic exhibitions at St. Ethelburga. Their presence heightened the flame.

"I doubt not (the 'Presbyter' exclaimed) but some persons are present here whose business only, out of the abundance of

their piety and good manners, is to deride and pick quarrels both with the day and the preacher; but I hope by what they have heard they'll never expect to see the preacher at the head of atheists, rebels, or murderers.

"The principles in the writings of our Knox's, Buchanans, Miltons, Baxters, Sidneys, and the like agents of darkness, that the original of all power is from the people, that lawful princes are accountable, and punishable, and deposable by their own subjects, are principles fit for nothing but to ruin kingdoms and commonwealths, to overturn churches, to extirpate Christianity; and, if God would permit the infection to spread so far, would depopulate the universe."

On another occasion Milborne said—

"The sons of Belial call this day the *Madding-day*." "There are, it may be, several in this very congregation who come here only as spies, to affront their God and their sovereign by showing their faces *occasionally* only in the house of God, daring his vengeance, and glorying in the crimes of their predecessors. But we, so many of us as are sincere members of the Church of England, have not so learned Christ."

The moderate Nonconformists, who were anxious to prevent "clashing," could offer no effective reply to a furious tirade of this kind.

Bradbury, equally intrepid and skilful, alone met the blustering and scornful foe.

"It is very observable, Mr. Luke Milborne (he said) is very forward to distinguish himself in this service; but he does it with so ill a grace, that any one would think he has fallen into one of his old fits, and was now trying his skill how well he could lampoon Dissenters, and the principles of the revolution. This was an old talent he much addicted himself to at Yarmouth. Intrepidity of Bradbury.

"He charges the Dissenters with disloyal and seditious principles. After he had drawn up an odd scheme of political principles of his own forming, he says, 'These were preached by the Marshalls, Calamys, the Baxters, the Peters, Goodwins, Owens,

and others, the Boutfiens in the great rebellion. These,' says he, 'filled three kingdoms with sects and sacrilege, with blood and murder; and to complete their character,' he says, 'they are generally men of no religion, no principle, no honour, nor honesty who maintain them. They laugh at that religion they preach, and look upon the whole doctrine of the gospel as a pretty fable, by discoursing on which they may get a competent livelihood; and as for their future account, they little think of it, and, had they opportunity, would be as ready to cut off the precious life of our present gracious Queen as ever their fathers were to murder her pious and illustrious grandfather, being those who hate all monarchy and all religion, and that God who founded them.'

"This hellish description needs no answer, but only to beg the Dissenters would present their hearty prayers to God to forgive this man his notorious lying and malignity. Their character, behaviour, and principles are too well known to require a defence against such slanderous imputations; and I believe her Majesty will find it difficult to single out many of the Dissenting ministers who have contributed to forfeit the character of pious and sober so much as he himself has done. I will only observe this—we may see from hence how a degenerate clergy would usurp upon our faith, and brand every theory with the character of the devil that makes any opposition to their design. These can serve no other purpose than to amuse the vulgar. Mr. Milborne, to render them suspected to the present Government, insinuates that they would cut off the life of the Queen, whose government they have all along submitted to with the greatest applause and admiration. *Were they Dissenters who have all along railed at and bantered the revolution and the present settlement? Were they Dissenters who were in the assassination plot, and that were hanged at Tyburn? Were they Dissenters who embarrassed the affairs of King William, betrayed councils, hindered supplies, and opposed everything that was for the security of what we had gained by the revolution? Were they Dissenters who ventured upon the dangerous experiment of the Jack, which, if it had succeeded in a manner suitable to their wishes, it must have endangered the liberty of Europe, as well as the Protestant religion, both at home and abroad? Were they Dissenters who insulted the Queen in the libel called 'The Memorial of the Church of Eng-*

land?' Were they Dissenters who engaged in the invasion of the Pretender? Does not Mr. Milborne know that these sorts of men have always professed themselves to be members of the Church of England? What intolerable insolence is this, to charge anything of this nature upon the Dissenters, who are the most absolute friends of the Queen and Government, when it is notorious that it is men of his principles who are always insulting the Queen, rejoicing in the successes of the French, traducing the ministry, exerting their utmost endeavour to subvert our present settlement, and to throw all into confusion. *Yet it would be as notorious a fault to charge these apostate principles and practices upon the Church of England* as it would be the transactions of a few enthusiasts upon the whole body of Dissenters.

"Though we *are exceedingly happy in the glory and lustre that generally adorn our Episcopal sees*, yet it is too evident these principles have spread themselves upon the minds of the greater part of our ecclesiastics, and their zeal is no less to promote and establish them. When it is considered how they prevail in the two universities, and the disposition of the Lower House of Convocation upon the last election of the Prolocutor, it will hardly be thought I mistake in my calculation.

"The design of recovering the reputation of these absurdities at Court has proved abortive, and at last they are fallen under the happy censure of our legislature.

"Yet we may fear the distemper is too malignant for common remedies. The authority, learning, and the advantages the clergy have to recommend them are almost irresistible. And, besides, they have an inexhaustible fund of artifice, which upon occasion is easily drawn forth to serve a turn, and to amuse vulgar apprehension with terrible prospects, as if the Church was going to be swallowed up alone; when, alas! it is known the *word Church has been only made use of to make the imposture more imperceptible.* Every one has been sensible that the dignity, revenues, and discipline of the Church were never aimed at, or thought of, nor the Articles or Homilies even liable to exception. But it was only that narrow term the *High Church* which vented that dismal groan, as if their *all* was just expiring. It need not be a matter of admiration why the high clergy tend all the force of their zeal this way. If the earnings they intend to make of

it be but duly considered—which is *nothing less than a jurisdiction that may rival the Crown, and fetter the consciences of the laity* with their synodical determinations—or else they can as easily reverse this political maxim of the divine right of monarchy when it runs counter to their interest; for it would make one smile to observe how the bishops, who had been the greatest friends to prerogative, and had expressed a distinguished zeal in supporting all the illegal stretches of kingly power in the beginning of King James's reign; yet a little before his abdication they thought fit to give some testimony of the alteration of their sentiments in their address on Oct. 3, 1688.

"When we consider the universal spread of this infection amongst the clergy, and the dangerous tendency of it, no wonder if it appear to corrode our vitals. And also what an influence such a confederacy has to proselyte people to espouse their dictates, especially when we observe the methods of insinuation, and how the cheat is wrapped up in the venerable name of *Church* to make it current, it may justly awaken the nation to exercise a little circumspection. The word Church in their sense has a very narrow signification, and stands by itself; for it is distinguished from the Church established by law, as the derivation of its power and authority is pretended to be from the apostles by an uninterrupted succession, which, though it is one of the popish characters of a Church, is not wholly popish; so that its constitution is a perfect medley, a mere composition formed by their own fancies, and calculated in imitation of the popish hierarchy, to fetter mankind with its injunctions. *It is frauyht with an ambition superior to the fundamental laws of the Government, strikes at the civil constitution, and has made desperate attempts to superinduce a tyranny upon our national rights.*"

Shute and Mackworth.

JOHN SHUTE (first Lord Barrington), a member of Bradbury's congregation, took an effective part in the discussion. In reply to Sir Henry Mackworth, who, in his treatise entitled "Peace at Home," contended that in regard to the welfare of the nation, Dissenters should be excluded from all political power, Shute maintained their right to an absolute Toleration.

"It is as much the *interest* as the duty of the Government, to grant and maintain it. 'Tis the interest of the Government, because 'tis its duty. Duty and interest, propriety and advantage, being as inseparably connected as virtue and reward, vice and punishment. But it will appear to be more particularly the interest of the Government, by recapitulating the *disadvantages* of the contrary course. For to deprive the Dissenters of any privilege they now enjoy, and particularly of the offices which any of them hold at present, or of the capacity they have to enjoy for the future, is to weaken the Government. For it is to disoblige and discourage sober, industrious, wealthy, frugal men. It is to deprive the nation of the readiness of their loans, and the benefit of their informations. 'Tis to rob it of the help and assistance of their courage in the camp, and of their skilful experience in our navies and fleets. It is to sap it of the strength it receives from persons that are highly serviceable in a prudent discharge of the Commission Taxes, Peace and Lieutenancy, in the Bench of Aldermen, Common Councilmen, and assistance in the Courts of Judicature and Offices of State; in a word, of them that could assist in the making of wise laws in Parliament, as well as any other of their fellow-citizens, and in the execution of them out of it.

"To cashier such men as these from all public offices and employments, is, not only as Maximus told Valentinian, when he had murdered Ætius, a brave general, with one hand to cut off the other, but with one hand to provoke the other to rebel against the other; for 'tis not only the way to weaken the Government, but to endanger it. *It will destroy the balance that there is between the several parties in England, upon which the balance of power between the three Estates depends.* And it is upon the latter that the framing of good laws depends, and the due execution of them, as the latter does upon the former. Nay, 'tis mining the very constitution itself, and at once breaks in upon the prerogative the Sovereign has to command any one's service that is capable to serve, and the rights the country has to be served by them. In a word, whenever the power of England shall be put into the hands of one party, all the prerogatives of the Crown and the Liberties of the people will be swallowed up by it. The will of that party must be then, instead of the Sovereign's prerogative, and their

interest must come into the room of the general good of the people." *

Mackworth insisted that the admission of Dissenters to public offices would be inconsistent with the safety of the State. "Explain the terms," Shute replied.

"The State signifies the present Constitution (and its perpetuity in the Protestant succession); and the present Constitution consists in the rights of the people, and the powers of the government; and they are either the joint powers of the Sovereign and the two Houses of Parliament for making good laws, or the separate powers (1) of the two Houses of Parliament, which consist (besides the powers of impeachment and judicature) in giving their opinion and advice; and (2) of the Sovereign, which consists in the just exercise of the prerogative, the due execution of the laws, and pursuing the advice of the two Houses of Parliament, as often as the Sovereign shall judge it for the good of the people. The safety of the State consists in the preservation of the present Constitution and the Protestant succession, and in taking those measures which are necessary to that end. These at present seem chiefly to be the maintaining a good correspondence between the Sovereign and the two Houses; reducing the exorbitant power of France, which threatens both the Constitution and the succession; a security from the Non-jurors in the three kingdoms, who deny the government their allegiance, and can't be its friends; and from the Papists, who are subject to a foreign jurisdiction, and must necessarily be its enemies.

"This is what I mean by the State and its safety. But because some men affix other ideas to these words, and which are to be separated from them when they occur, I would just hint it, that by the State *I don't mean* any branch of arbitrary power, nor any of the measures necessary to introduce it. I would not, therefore, be thought to go about to prove that to admit Dissenters to offices is not in some measure inconsistent with the doctrines of Divine right of kingly authority, of its unlimited extent, or of the indispensable necessity of its being propagated

* The Rights of Protestant Dissenters, part i., pp. 62, 63.

in the right line; or with the doctrines of an absolute non-resistance and passive obedience to the Crown which spring from them; or with the practices which tend to restore them, such as stretching the prerogative in one reign to serve some turns, and the rights of the House of Commons in another to serve a different one; but which still manifestly tend to weaken the present happy Constitution and the Protestant succession, and to make room for the subversion of our liberties, the bringing in these principles of slavery and the pretended Prince of Wales. And I would here particularly desire Sir Henry Mackworth to take notice that I don't pretend that to admit Dissenters to offices is not inconsistent with giving 'the Sovereign a Dispensing Power, or with acknowledging his right to levy customs without consent of Parliament, or with flattering him that 'tis as good a right as any in Magna Charta, and more ancient, and thereby to destroy both property and Parliaments at the same time.'* If Sir Henry *means this* by asserting that the admission of Dissenters to public employments is in some measure inconsistent with the safety of the State, I have the honour to agree with him entirely. But all that I would contend for, to state the question clearly, and that there may be no subterfuge in the ambiguous terms of public employments, is, *that the admission of Dissenters to any offices or employments under the Government whatsoever, is no way inconsistent with the preservation of the present Constitution and the Protestant succession.*

"To *prove* this, it will be sufficient to show that the Protestant Dissenters, and particularly those whom this Bill was chiefly aimed at, and would have principally affected, have been always equally zealous in endeavouring to preserve the Constitution from alterations of every sort, either from a foreign source and invasion, or the illegal encroachments of the Crown or of the people; and to prove this, nothing more will be necessary than barely to recollect their conduct."

On the more "specious part" of Mackworth's argument, with respect to the "safety of the Church," Shute demanded "a distinct explication of its terms."

* Sir Henry's Address, presented to King James (*Gazette*, No. 2015).

"By the Church of England," he says, "I mean a society believing, or at least owning, those of the Thirty-nine Articles that are articles of faith, and approving and acting pursuant to those that relate to worship, ecclesiastical government, and discipline, to which certain powers and privileges are granted under the sanction of our laws.

"I know a great many people *mean something else* by the safety of the Church than the security of its Articles; and when they say that the admission of Dissenters into offices is inconsistent with it, they would have us understand that it is inconsistent with the preservation of those tenets which are either no part of the Articles at all, or of those which are the less necessary, and perfectly accidental to Christianity and true religion: such as the Divine right of episcopacy, the absolute necessity of an uninterrupted succession down from the Apostles, the episcopal form, together with the present rites and ceremonies of the Church, abstracted from its doctrine and discipline, the expediency of increasing the number of its rites and ceremonies, *its union with the Gallican Church*, its greater distance from Dissenters, and its independency from the State, though it have such large civil privileges and coercive powers. *These men think the Church in no danger of anything, but of a further reformation in its constitution, worship, and discipline, and a more absolute and impartial toleration of those that dissent from it.* To say the truth, I don't know but that the admission of Dissenters into offices may be an improper means to preserve these men's Church, though I cannot see how even this can ruin or destroy it.

"I can't see, as affairs stand at present, how the Dissenters, whom we have proved to be true friends to the State, *can be* any ways inconsistent with the safety of the Church, for the Church's danger is from the enemies of the State. When the Government is subverted, 'tis not likely that she should stand; but till it is, she will. She is so well secured by the defence of the laws and the number of her members, that 'tis impossible for anything but her own strength turned upon herself, or a foreign force, to destroy her. How then can it be inconsistent with the safety of the Church to give the Dissenters any civil power, who would use it to protect the nation from its formidable enemies of France and Rome?"

Reasoning of this kind, however cogent with men of judgment, had no force at all in arresting the tumult of passion excited by the frenzied leader of the High Church party, who now challenged universal attention by the vehemence of his pulpit harangues.

Sacheverell, the Prince of Demagogues.

HENRY SACHEVERELL, the Prince of Ecclesiastical Demagogues, began his orations in a style that distanced at once all his competitors. In his sermon before the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, he rebuked the Churchmen who had shown favour to the Dissenters in the following terms :—

"Men must be strange infatuated sots and bigots to be so much in love with their ruin as to seek and court it; and it is as unaccountable and amazing a contradiction to our reason, as the greatest reproach and scandal upon our Church, however others may be seduced or misled, that any pretending to that sacred and inviolable character of being her true sons, pillars, and defenders, should turn such apostates and renegadoes to their oaths and professions, such false traitors to their trusts in Church and State."

In another sermon, before the Lord Mayor, at St. Paul's, he denounced the Dissenters as traitors :

"These false brethren in our Government do not singly and in private shed their poison, but, what is lamentable to be spoken, are suffered to combine into bodies and seminaries, *wherein atheism, deism, tritheism, Arianism, with all the hellish principles of fanaticism, regicide, and anarchy, are openly professed and taught, to corrupt and debauch the youth of the nation* in all parts of it down to posterity, to the present reproach and future extirpation of our laws and religion. Certainly, the Toleration was never intended to indulge and cherish such monsters and vipers in our bosom, that scatter their pestilence at our doors, and will rend, distract, and confound the best constitution in the

world."* "If such were permitted to enter the Church, it would be a den of thieves, for they are *miscreants begot in rebellion, born in sedition, and nursed up in faction.*" "Their doctrines crucify God afresh," and they must be left to the "lake which burns with fire and brimstone," and to "the devil and his angels." He invokes the "supreme pastors" "to thunder anathemas on their heads."

Whatever sympathy might be felt with the practical object of the sermon, the terms in which it was expressed could not be passed over by the authorities. Sacheverell accordingly was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords, in Westminster Hall, March 7th, 1709-10, and offered a defence, prepared, it is said, by his friend and supporter, Bishop Atterbury. The decorous plausibility of the oration is very remarkable, as contrasted with the fiery harangue of his own composition :—

Oration composed by Atterbury rehearsed.

"Upon the second article," he said, "my Lords, I would humbly pray your Lordships to consider that I have nowhere in my sermon shown any dislike of the Indulgence granted to Dissenters; that, on the contrary, I have declared my approbation of it in the most express terms imaginable, which I beg leave once more to repeat to your Lordships out of my sermon preached at St. Paul's. 'I would not' (I there say) 'be misunderstood as if I intended to cast the least reflection upon that Indulgence which the Government hath condescended to give them; which I am sure, all those who wish well to our Church are ready to grant to consciences truly scrupulous: let them enjoy it in the full limits the law hath prescribed.' My Lords, this then *was*, and still *is*, my opinion, nor am I conscious that I have uttered one word inconsistent with it. I have indeed blam'd, and *perhaps with some warmth* and earnestness blam'd, the abuses which men of no conscience have made of the legal exemption granted to consciences truly scrupulous. Nor could I think that those reprehensions of mine would have drawn upon me the displeasure

* P. 15.

of any sincere Christians, which were levelled against hypocrites, Socinians, deists, and such as, under the umbrage of that Act (which permits Protestant Dissenters, and those only, to serve God, every man in his own way), think themselves at liberty to be of no Protestant congregation, of no religion at all. I will farther *ingenuously own* to your Lordships that I had in my eye some abuses made of that Act by the Dissenters themselves; who, I am told, do (both pastors and people) rarely observe the qualification prescribed by that Act, and who *erect seminaries for educating youth in principles opposite to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of our Church;* whereas that Act was intended for the ease of those whose minds, through the unhappy prejudices of education, were already estranged from the Church; not, as I humbly conceive, to indulge men in taking the most effectual methods to *propagate and perpetuate their schism.*

"My Lord, of any favours to Dissenters granted or intended by the law, I have no where complained; of Toleration, a word unknown to our laws, and implying, as I am informed, much more than our lawgivers intended or designed, *if I have said anything offensive,* I may, I hope, reasonably presume that it will not be judged by your Lordships in any wise to reflect on that Act of Exemption, which I have spoken of in no ways, I think, misbecoming a good subject, or *betraying any want of Christian moderation.* Nor is there, my Lords, any want of it, I conceive, in affirming that this Act, which relieves some Dissenters from legal punishments to which they were before obnoxious, hath not any ways altered the nature of schism, or extinguished the obligations to church communion, which is an evangelical duty, incumbent on all Christians by the rules of the gospel, antecedent to all secular laws, and can by no human power be dispensed with. If the Church of England, my Lords, impose no unlawful terms of communion, as she certainly does not, then all separatists from her communion will, notwithstanding the Indulgence, continue to be guilty of schism, the consequences of which may rest upon their souls, however it may cease to affect their bodies or estates, for as no human law can render that lawful which God hath forbidden, so neither can it make void that which God hath commanded. My Lords, I am accused under this head of maintaining that it is the duty of superior pastors to thunder out their ecclesiastical anathemas against persons

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entitled to the benefit of the Toleration. I hope it hath evidently appeared to your Lordships that I advance no such position. Sure I am, that my words do not in themselves carry such a meaning, nor does the connection of my discourse require that sense, or easily admit it. Schismatics, my Lords, are not the only persons against whom ecclesiastical censures may be denounced; the works of darkness, which I referred to as fit to be reproved in that part of my sermon, when I speak of these censures, are of the same kind mentioned by the apostle whose words I produced. All lewd and immoral practices: against these, my Lords, and against heresies and blasphemies (a black catalogue of which has been displayed before your Lordships), I thought the anathemas of the Church would be well employed. Such anathemas, I doubt not, my Lord, would be ratified in heaven, and would, therefore, by any power on earth, be irreversible."

The trial of Sacheverell caused universal excitement. The High Church party stirred up the populace to a state of frenzy on behalf of their champion, and their exultation was unbounded when the culprit was condemned to a merely nominal punishment—abstinence from preaching for three years. Riots, directed by the friends of the High Church hero, broke out in various parts of London. The houses of Dissenters were plundered, and chapels dismantled. The pulpit of Mr. Burgess' Meeting-house in Carey Street was torn down, and committed to the flames in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Mr. Earle's Meeting-house in Long Acre, Mr. Taylor's in Leather Lane, Mr. Bradbury's near Fleet Street, and Mr. Hamilton's in Clerkenwell, shared the same fate.

Sacheverell Riots.

Sir Joseph Jekyll sent the following report to the Secretary of State:—

"WREXHAM, *April* 4, 1710.

"My Lord,—I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 2nd instant, wherein I have the abundant satisfaction of her Majesty's gracious acceptance of my endeavours to serve her. I find myself under a further obligation of acquainting your Lordship that, on Friday, the 24th past, a great rabble of this town got together, to rejoice, as they said, for the mild sentence against Dr. Sacheverell, the news of the sentence that day coming by the post. They made bonfires, and went with a drum before 'em, to several of the Dissenters' houses, and broke their windows, and also those of the meeting-house, and offered to break into one house, but in that was prevented. This was before I came to this place. When I came hither, I found there had been some warrants issued by the neighbouring Justices of the Peace, but none of the offenders were in custody. I therefore issued my warrant to apprehend all those of whom I got any information (who were eight persons), which the High Constable, the officer that received the warrant, was no sooner endeavouring to execute, but a rabble rose again, and, excited by some of those mentioned in the warrant; upon which I ordered the sheriff, with what power of the county he could presently get together, to go and suppress this insurrection, and endeavour to apprehend the leaders of it. The sheriff, though very unwillingly, went; and upon his appearing, they immediately ran away and dispersed, but about an hour after got together again, whereupon I sent again to the sheriff, and ordered him to go a second time, which he did, and again dispersed them, but brought no prisoners along with him. This was upon Friday last, and ever since they have been very quiet, though but one of the offenders only in custody, the rest being fled; and he, for aught that appears, not concerned in these later tumults. I have taken a great many affidavits, which, when I come to town, I beg leave to lay before your Lordship. I have likewise examined as many persons as I could; and if I could have gained any information that any of the offenders were seen to offer violence to more than one house, which might have been an evidence of a general design, the offence might have been high treason, but none could prove that. *I am very sorry to have so much reason to attribute these outrages, or the fomenting them at*

Report of Judge Jekyll.

least, to some of the clergy in these parts. I have heard but one sermon since I came into the circuit which had not in it broad hints of the hardship the clergy lay under—or, in other words, of the dangers of the Church; but Mr. Jones, the curate of this place, came up almost to Mr. Cornwall, though he took care to soften or intricate his expressions, so as to screen himself from a legal prosecution. This I thought myself obliged to take public notice of, especially for that this was at a time when, in contempt of the royal authority administered by Judges of Assize, these unexampled disorders had been permitted. This had so good an effect, that some of the principal of the grand jury came to my lodgings, and, in the name of the grand jury, expressed their dislike of this sermon, which I mentioned afterwards in court, when the grand jury was present; though I can't say they intended I should make it public. And at the same time I took notice of the good temper of the vicar of the parish, who had endeavoured to prevent those rejoicings which had given rise to these tumults, and, upon my sending for him, had exprest a great concern for the ill-behaviour of his curate. In what manner the persons concerned in these disorders shall be prosecuted is most humbly submitted to her Majesty's wisdom; and where *violence, joined with a hypocritical zeal,* has arrived to this pitch, all the care imaginable seems to be requisite to put a stop to it. In the meantime, nothing on my part shall be wanting to prevent or oppose these parties.—I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

"J. JEKYLL."*

The Queen did not intend to lend her aid for the correction of these disorders. Under the influence of her advisers, she connived at the violence of Sacheverell, who proved a most successful agitator in the growing demand for a new Parliament. He was supported by zealous coadjutors. Edmund Archer, in a sermon before the Lower House of Convocation, Jan. 30, 1710 (p. 25), says:—

"When we consider that the boasted numbers of those who

* S. P. Dom.

unfortunately separate from us are, so far from joining with us in expressing this day their abhorrence and detestation of this horrid murder,* that they generally lock up their meeting-houses, and openly avow the principles of schism, which destroyed this Church, and stubbornly persist in the gainsaying of Korah (Jude 11), who rebelled against Moses as well as Aaron (Numb. xvi. 3), when we consider with what labour and industry these dividing principles are propagated, and what effectual care is taken that the contagion may spread to future ages, *by erecting and even endowing seminaries* in divers parts of this kingdom, directly contrary to the laws of this realm (23 Eliz. cap. i. sec. 6; 1 Jac. 1, 4, 9; 14 Car. 2, 4, 11), and in defiance to the two universities of England—in which nurseries of schism and division the *low and giddy youth, whom deluded parents have set aside for their pretended ministry,* have such principles instilled into them, as directly strike at the root of Monarchy as well as Episcopacy, and are taught to study profane cavils, and exceptions against the Common Prayer; when these several particulars are seriously weighed and considered, and that this fact was committed but sixty years ago, and the nation hath fasted and mourned but fifty, and what a great number of men are uneasy at the making this fast anniversary, truly we may assure ourselves that those Jews, who to this time observe the yearly fast for the murder of Gedaliah, will rise up in the judgment against the whole body of those that neglect this fast, and condemn them. If we could ever prevail with those of the separation only to have so much modesty, as to think it probable that the judgment and practice of the whole Christian Church for fifteen hundred years together, in point of Church government, ought but in good manners to be preferred to their modern, new-fangled scheme of their own invention; if we could once convince them of the great wickedness of that ungodly practice of gathering Churches out of Churches, and erecting altar against altar, then we might have some reason to expect, as the prophet said to the Jews, that this mournful fast might become a cheerful feast—a day of holy joy and spiritual gladness; but this can never be expected till men will give themselves up to be led by the peaceable influence of the Spirit of truth."

Archer's Sermon in Convocation.

* Decapitation of Charles I.

The Bishop of Chester addressed the Lords spiritual and temporal on the same day in a similar strain. He said :—

Speech of the Bishop of Chester.

"I know very well that there are some honest and good-natured men who persuade themselves that there are but very few, scarce any, of this sort left amongst us, who aim at any change in our constitution, either in Church or State. But why such industrious advancing of the power of the people, and depressing of the prerogative of the Prince, beyond and contrary to all law, which ought certainly to be the measure and standard of both? Let us beware of being too secure; for if these be the practices, if these speak the sense of any considerable party among us (which I pray God they do not), I must say that we are indispensably obliged, in all well-advised and prudent ways, to guard, though at never so great a distance, against all dangers gathering from this quarter. Especially considering that we have suffered so very much from it heretofore; and that, if ever we shall be so unhappy, through our own carelessness, as to suffer from it again, we shall justly suffer, without pity, and probably without remedy."

The Duke of Bolton writes to the Archbishop of Dublin, Jan. 30, 1710 :—

Letter of the Duke of Bolton to the Archbishop of Dublin.

"You cannot but be sensible of the great danger we are brought into by the turbulent preaching and practices of an impudent man, one Dr. Sacheverell, that, having been judged of high crimes and misdemeanours by the Parliament of this country, is now riding in triumph over ye middle of England, and everywhere stirring up the people to address her Majesty for a new Parliament. The danger is so great, that I cannot but tremble to think of it, if her Majesty should dissolve the Parliament and change her Ministry, which is the thing driven at by the addresses. But withal it is so visible, that I hope her Majesty cannot but see through all the false colours they put on it. I need not tell your Grace who they are by whom this work is carried on. The heads of them are such as have been formerly

in the ministry; and if they were so again, I should not be much concerned if they had taken a fitter time to try for it. But this is like to be the overturning of all in our circumstances. And *it is surely understood by all the Papists and Nonjurors of this kingdom. They push for it with all their might.* I could name sundry instances of this, but at present I have not time. And yet I cannot forbear acquainting your grace with one instance of this, which I guess will not be very strange to you. It is of Mr. LESLEY, that came out of Ireland, and has been writing these many years. I think '*ubi bene nemo melius, ubi male nemo pejus.*' At present he is writing against us that are not stark mad for the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience. One would think he were surely so now by his writing. And yet your grace remembers when he was otherwise, and gave, I think, great instances of it, especially in his declaration against King James, in the first beginning of the revolution in Ireland. I beg of your grace that you will get somebody to write me an account of that matter such as may be publisht without saying from whence I had the information." *

The Tories came into power. In the new Cabinet Harcourt (the defender of Sacheverell at his trial) was created Lord Chancellor, and Boling- Plans of Bolingbroke.
broke, one of the Secretaries of State, prepared measures in unison with their policy. He assigned the Cinque Ports to the care of the Duke of Ormond, and entrusted Scotland to the Earl of Mar, both in the interest of the Pretender. The Bill against occasional conformity, entitled, "An Act for Preserving the Protestant Religion, by Securing the Church of England as by Law Established, and for Continuing the Toleration Granted to Protestant Dissenters," became law, and everything promised a return to the severest restrictions on Nonconformists. It was enacted—

*S. P. Dom.

"That if any person or persons, either peers or commoners, civil, military, or naval officers, or any person in any other publick office or trust, shall, at any time after their admission into their said offices or employments, knowingly and willingly resort to any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, where there shall be ten persons or more assembled together, over and besides the household, if it be in a house where there is a family inhabiting; or if it be a house or place where there is no family, then, where any such ten persons are so assembled, or if they shall be present at any such meeting as aforesaid, where her Majesty and the Princess Sophia shall not be prayed for in express words, according to the liturgy of the Church of England, they shall forfeit forty pounds, and every such person shall be adjudged incapable of bearing any office or employment whatsoever under her Majesty. Provided always that if any person shall, after such conviction, conform to the Church of England for the space of one year, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites and usage of the Church of England, at least three times in the year, every such person shall be capable of any office or employment as aforesaid; and upon his admission to such office or employment, he shall take an oath of all these particulars, which shall be enrolled and kept on record."

Galling as was this oppressive measure to the Dissenters in itself, the fact that it was passed with the connivance or support of the Whigs rendered it still more obnoxious. The Earl of Nottingham, a Tory leader, promised his support to the Whigs against the Ministry with regard to peace, on condition that they sacrificed the Dissenters on the question of occasional conformity. He assured them that concession on their part in this point would gain for them the adhesion of others, and so open their way to power. The bargain was struck. The Whigs withheld their vote; but the object of their ambition, in a return

Dissenters betrayed by the Whigs.

to office, was prevented by Harley, who strengthened his position by a creation of peers.

"All the excuse," Burnet says, "that the Whigs made for their easiness in this matter, was that they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding of it might go towards quieting the fears of those who seemed to think the Church was in danger till the Act passed, and thereby to engage them to concur with them in those matters which might come before them." *

Sir Thomas Abney, Lord Mayor of London, and the representative of the City in Parliament, withdrew from the congregation to worship with his family. Other eminent Dissenters, anxious to retain their official position, followed his example, and became temporary Conformists. They assigned patriotic motives for their conduct, but their policy in the matter was severely condemned.

Dr. Williams, notwithstanding his anxiety to guard against extremes, earnestly protested against compromise at this trying juncture. In a sermon preached at the Merchants' Lecture at Salter's Hall, Jan. 22nd, 1711-12, he said :—

"For near two hundred years these human impositions have divided the nation, and caused warm and public contests. The consequences are to be lamented; for many thousands of faithful ministers have been silenced from time to time; love among Christians destroyed by mutual censure; many violent persecutions against multitudes, for no pretended crime except Nonconformity; foundations shaken; civil rights hazarded; much time and pains employed about the defence of these inventions, which had otherwise been laid out to the real benefit of souls. From these, our Popish enemies have been oft (and still are) encouraged to attempt and hope the restoration of Popery. It is too notorious that very many place the most of their religion and

Sermon of Dr. Williams on the Duty of Dissenters.

* Burnet, vol. ii., pp. 585, 586.

hopes of eternal life in their observance of these, though they remain ignorant and regardless of the essentials of Christianity. By these the most wicked and profane come to be necessitated to receive the Sacrament, and gain a handle to asperse and abuse men who appear to be truly godly. How many persons fit to serve the Government are rendered useless and incapable? These are some of the fruits of our impositions; and yet the *imposers* acknowledge that they are but small things, indifferent matters, no part of worship, not necessary to salvation, and what the Church may alter. Whereas *we*, on the other side, can't, without sinning against the dictates of our consciences, comply with or declare for them; and are persuaded we cannot be faithful to the interest of Christ Jesus, unless we in our stations endeavour a reformation of such *terms* of the Gospel ministry and communion of saints as He never appointed, and both are and will be attended with such pernicious consequences.

"How useful our Dissent has been to keep up the power of religion, and excite diligence even in the public ministry, I leave to the judgment of wise observers. Now, is it necessary to spend words to prove that *such of our people as are convinced that we ministers are pleading the cause of Christ Jesus, ought not to desert us, but to support our testimony in what concerneth ministerial as well as lay conformity.*

"I had not treated at all of these matters, if the following case could have been resolved, without supposing that the members of Dissenting Churches are persuaded that a reformation of the matters in debate at present, when attended with such consequences, is the cause of Christ, and what is implied in their relation to separate Churches.

"I proceed to state the question—

"I. *Negatively.*—It is not (1) Whether Dissenters may have occasional communion with the Established Church? This I grant, though it's more doubtful than heretofore. Nor (2) Whether Dissenters may do much service in offices of trust, and should not without such reasons quit that capacity for usefulness? This I affirm, and wish all offices were filled with men best qualified, of whatever denomination.

"II. *Affirmatively.*—The question is, *Whether the members of Protestant Dissenting Churches in office may altogether forsake our Public Assemblies for Worship, to become qualified to continue in*

their offices? This I deny, and am fully persuaded it is the will of Christ they should quit their offices, and adhere to our public assemblies where they have opportunity.

"I shall offer some *reasons* why they may not statedly absent from our public Assemblies, to become qualified to keep their offices.

"R. 1.—*It is against the nature of that Christian profession which the Word of God enjoineth.*

"We are not only to hold fast the faith in our hearts, but *we must hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering* (Heb. x. 23); *i.e.*, we must do nothing that appears a disowning of any article of faith, or of anything by which an unfeigned faith is to be instanced; and we must also openly avow these, when we have a just call and fit opportunity to do so. What is opposite to either of these is a disowning the faith and rejecting the profession of it. As it is a wickedness to deny Christ, so He reckons it an abomination to be *ashamed of Him and His words* (Luke ix. 26); *i.e.*, so as not to avow them.

"*Obj.*—We shall profess the same faith and words of Christ, though we forsake the Dissenting Assemblies.

"*Sol.*—You will profess them in part, but not to the full extent. You'll profess them in what is not contended, but you'll disown them in Christ's *present* contended point. For if the word of our blessed Lord require our Dissent, His interest then is concerned in our Assemblies; and you cannot profess an adherence to that part of His interest if you forsake our Assemblies. For the apostle declares the desertion of their Assemblies to be inconsistent with a right profession; and that their presence in those Assemblies was to be an instance of their profession. Heb. x. 23, 24—*Hold fast the profession of faith, etc., not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is.* Now, can any imagine that the private meeting of *nine* must not be a very defective profession in a place where public Assemblies are held? (But of this more hereafter.) Such a practice (as far as is evident) is a professing that Christ has not an interest in such deserted congregations to which you stand related.

"When Darius signed a decree that whosoever shall ask any petition of any God or man, save of himself, should be cast into the den of lions, Daniel did not shut his *windows*, or alter his *customs*, but thought it a matter of conscience to venture office,

and life, too, rather than let his enemies want evidence that no *decree* should restrain him from daily praying to his God (Dan. vi. 7, 9, 10).

"R. 2.—*It is a deserting of those persons whom God requireth you to own and adhere to.*

"We find it expressly charged (2 Tim. i. 8)—*Be not ashamed of the testimony of Christ, nor of me, His prisoner;* which informs us that when some are eminently exposed for the testimony of Christ, it is a fault in others to carry towards them, as if ashamed to own them (Heb. x. 33; 2 Tim. i. 16; 2 Tim. iv. 10, 16). To apply this to our case. Such of you as shall now forsake our public Assemblies, do refuse to share in the reproach of our incapacity for public offices, for you desert them to continue your public employment in a time when those who are present in them are not allowed to be in any office. If all we Dissenters were in office, then all these public Assemblies must cease, and be reduced to the number of nine persons at most (besides the family). For why may not all such do the same as you? Moreover, by absenting from our Assemblies, you withhold from them whatever reputation, safety, strength, and assistance your presence would afford.

"R. 3.—*Your desertion is directly contrary to the rules by which our Lord Jesus has appointed his Church to walk.*

"As you are members of the Church, you are by the rules of the gospel obliged to *meet in one place with the Church* (1 Cor. xi. 18, 20; 1 Cor. xiv. 23; Acts xv. 22—25). As you have opportunity, there you are to partake of the Lord's Supper, and other public ordinances. To neglect this is a plain breach of gospel order, and must bring every Church into confusion.

"R. 4.—*It is an approbation of what reflects on the communion of saints, which ought to be regarded as a great article of the Christian faith.*

"If you retain your offices upon the present terms, you declare against communion with all of us in any of our Assemblies. You must have no communion with the French or Dutch Churches among us, who use not the national liturgy. Where will this end? Is this the unity, charity, and fellowship so oft recommended by the Spirit of God? (Eph. iv. 2, 3, 4).

"R. 5.—*It condemns all who suffered for the Dissenting cause, and for keeping up their assemblies in times of persecution.*

"R. 6.—*This cannot be without giving great offence and scandal.*

"Some are likely to imitate your example against the dictates of your consciences. Many in the country, who cannot find ways for those separate meetings of 'nine' (by which you palliate the matter) will be led by your compliance to cast off all that seems any adherence to this interest; it will fortify the charge of hypocrisy which the censoriously wicked imputed to you heretofore.

"A dismission from all places of public trust is unanimously given by *both* parties (whatever different views they had); nor can I doubt that the first springs of this affair at *present* were moved by better purposes than the nature of it imports, and not from such ill designs against us as many may suggest.

"However that be, I cannot but think so uncommon a providence has some answerable purpose to serve by it, and loudly speaks to us as a discriminated body. Without any doubt it calls to us to be humbled, try our ways, and to repent of whatever may forfeit or unfit us for public trust on God's account; it compels us also to be wiser and more united, and requires our charitable assistance to such as shall, by the loss of their places, become unable to maintain their families.

"I dare not pretend to any positiveness as to the further reaches of this Providence. It may be for our safety; it may be God intends for some time to *confine our activity more to what concerns the improvement of our liberty to spiritual purpose*, waiting for further light, in accomplishment of Zech. xiv. 7—'*At evening-time it shall be light.*'

"I have delivered my own soul; and since it was necessary that some or other of us should guard our people against the present temptations, I was the willinger to undertake it, because it is known that my subsistence is no way concerned in any men's forsaking or abiding with us; and therefore I can have no regard to any secular interest when I declare my judgment."

In view of the seriousness of the crisis, the ministers in London published an address, entitled, "A Serious Call from the City to the Country, to join with them in setting apart some time, viz.,

from seven to eight every Tuesday morning, for the solemn seeking of God, each one in his closet, in this so critical a juncture."

Silence of Watts.

The voice of Watts was not heard in the discussions that arose on the question that affected his friend, Sir Thomas Abney, and others in a similar position. His silence is accounted for in some degree by the serious indisposition that compelled him to withdraw from active ministerial service, as we learn from the following letter:—

"To the Church of Christ meeting in Bury Street, of which the Holy Spirit hath made me overseer.

"Dearly beloved in our Lord,—Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied to you from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

"It has been a very sore aggravation of my long sorrows that I have not been able to encourage your Christian visits, to converse with you singly, to receive your consolations, and relate my own experience. Nor have I been capable to express my constant concern for your welfare by writing to you together as a Church, as I often designed. But you are upon my heart more than ever, whilst God chastises my former want of zeal by *silencing me for a season*. I bow to his wisdom and holiness, and am learning obedience by the things that I suffer, and many lessons of righteousness and grace, which I hope hereafter to publish amongst you; as I have been long pleading with Him for pardon for my negligence, so I ask you also to forgive. Long afflictions are soul-searching providences, and discover the secret of the heart and omission of duties, that were unobserved in the day of grace. May the blessed Spirit reveal to each of us why He continues to contend with us! I cannot reckon up all my obligations to you for your kind support of me under my tedious and expensive sicknesses, and for your continued and constant prayers for my recovery, which gave me the first ground of hope that I should be restored, which hope and expectation still remain with me, and I think are supported by the Word and Spirit of

God. It seems at present more needful for you that I abide in the flesh (Phil. i. 24—26), and I trust I shall yet abide for your furtherance and joy of faith, that your rejoicing may be more abundant in Christ Jesus for me, by my coming to you again. And whilst I am confined as the prisoner of God, I request the continuance of your supplications for patience and sanctification as well as health. I rejoice also to hear of your union, your love, and your attendance on the worship of the Church. This has been a great comfort to my thoughts in the time of my affliction and absence; yet I am in pain for your edification, because you have no one among you to administer the spiritual and sealing ordinances; and since it is your earnest desire to know my opinion on that affair that lies before you, I have at several seasons been enabled to write it under these heads:—1. That there were in the primitive Churches several preaching elders, bishops, or overseers. 2. That where their gifts were different, some were called pastors, or elders for exhortation, to feed the flock, and to exhort the saints; and others were called teachers, or elders for doctrine, to instruct the hearers in the principles of Christianity, chiefly the younger Christians, and to bring in new converts. 3. The Scripture does not determine when, or how often, one or other should preach or administer holy ordinances; and yet it is necessary there should be some rule to decide it, lest ambition or controversy should arise among the elders in this matter. 4. The Scripture makes no distinction, nor subordination of power, betwixt them in the Church, but seems to give all elders an equality of power. 5. Therefore I believe the Church (to which the light of nature and Scripture hath given all power in things indifferent, that are necessary to be determined) has power to appoint the times, seasons, and places of their ministrations. 6. It is for the certain advantage of a Church to have more elders than one in it, that they may more frequently visit the Church, more fully take care of them, and regularly administer all holy ordinances; if one or other be sick or absent, may also better keep the Church together, and encourage young converts to join themselves to it. 7. That it is for the advantage of a Church to have such an elder chosen, whose gifts have been tried and approved in the Church, and been owned and blessed of God for the good of souls. Such a one may most likely please and profit.

"Now with regard to our Church in particular—1. It is my opinion that, whether I live or die, if such an elder be chosen by the universal desire and voice of the Church, it will be much for their advantage, in all probability. 2. Whether I live or die, if another elder be chosen with the desire of a few persons, and the opposition of a few, and the bare, cold assent of the major part, it will not be for the advantage of the Church; and I am sure my worthy brother, Mr. SAM. PRICE, on whom your thoughts are set, hath too tender a sense of your spiritual interests, and too wise a sense of his own, to accept of such an imperfect call to fixed office in the Church. 3. If another elder be chosen, with pretty general desire of the Church (though not universal), it will be for the advantage of the Church if I live, and am restored to your service; and I shall rejoice to have you supplied with all ordinances in my absence by a man that I can most entirely confide in; and, on my return, shall rejoice to be assisted in all services to the Church by one whom I love and esteem highly; and I write as much with an eye to your future benefit as to your present want. 4. If God, for my sins, shall refuse to employ me again (for I have justly deserved it), and if He shall deny the long and importunate requests of his people (for He is a great Sovereign), I trust He will direct and incline your hearts to choose and establish one or more elders among you, who may give universal satisfaction, and especially to such as may now be less satisfied, and may be for your future edification and increase. 5. If my beloved brother PRICE be chosen as one elder among you, I hope your diligent and sincere attendance on his instructions will give you more abundant sense of his true worth, of the exactness of his discourses, of the seriousness of his spirit, and of the constant blessing of God with him—all which I have observed with much pleasure.

"Now I have fully delivered my sentiments in this affair, and you see how sincere and hearty I am in it. Yet I will give you two reasons why *I do not think it fit to propose it to the Church*—1. Because it is the *proper business of the Church to seek after elders and officers of itself*, from a sight and sense of their own spiritual interests, both as Christians and as a united body; especially considering the elder you propose to choose is *not to be my deputy or servant*, but *your minister and overseer* in the Lord. 2. Because I never would have anything of such impor-

tance done in the Church *by the influence of my desire, without your own due sense and prospect of your own edification and establishment as a Church of Christ.* Nor would I influence you in this affair, unless the judgment of your minds concur with mine; for *as I never had any interest divided from the interest of the Church, so I hope I never shall.*

"And now, brethren, dearly beloved, I intreat you, by the love of Christ to you, and by the love you bear to Christ, our common Lord, that there may be no contentions among you. I should be glad to find every affair that belongs to the Church determined by as many voices as, I trust, I have hearts and affections among you. However, *with freedom let every one speak his sentiments as under the eye of Christ, the great Shepherd, without bias or resentment, and with zeal for the Church's interest. Let everything that is debated be with great calmness,* and so much the more in my absence, each of you believing concerning one another that you sincerely seek the honour of Christ, and the union and peace of the Church, as I believe concerning you all. Let each of you be ready to lay aside his own former opinions or resolutions, as you shall see reason arise, for the common welfare. If there should be quarrels and wranglings, reflections and hard speeches, it would be a grief too heavy for me to bear, and the most effectual way to overwhelm my spirit, and delay my return to you; and as I know you have the utmost tenderness of my peace, you ought to be as tender of each other's spiritual advantage, and the union and peace of the body, and to indulge no secret whispers or backbitings that may hinder the edification of your brethren by the ministrations of the Church. But I will not give myself leave to entertain such suspicion concerning you, *who have so many years walked together in constant love.* I pray heartily that the all-wise God and Jesus Christ our Lord may preside in your consultations, direct your hearts, and determine all things for you, that you may be established and edified, and be a joy and blessing to each other, as you have been, and I trust will be, to your most affectionate and afflicted pastor,

"*Nov.* 4, 2713. "ISAAC WATTS." *

* *London Christian Instructor*, vol. iii., p. 359, *et seq.*

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL changes in Europe brought to the Colonies of the New World an interval of rest and continuous growth. The war between England and France terminated in the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. New England, freed from predatory expeditions on its coasts, extended its borders. Twenty-four Congregational Churches were formed in Massachusetts from 1714 to 1720. In some places there was greater spiritual prosperity, and new workers were called into the field. THOMAS PRINCE, the founder of the Congregational Library in Boston, commenced his ministry in the Old South Church on the 25th of August, 1717. After an absence of several years in Europe, he landed in Boston (July 21st, 1717), on the Sabbath, "about a quarter of an hour after the meeting had begun." Five hundred people came down to the wharf at noon to see him; "but," he says, "I silently went up to the Old South Meeting, and none there knew me but Mr. Sewall, then in the pulpit, Mr. Levers praying and preaching at that time with them." Joseph Sewall, to whom this reference is made (the father of Judge Sewall), continued pastor of the Old South Church till he had survived three colleagues, and nearly attained the age of 81.

The struggle in New England for ecclesiastical freedom continued under varying circumstances. On the settlement of PETER THATCHER as assistant to JOHN WEBB, as a preliminary step to the proceedings on that occasion, it was voted by the Church "that the Church shall go before and lead in the choice, according to the professed principles and practice of the Churches in New England." Opposing Councils were convened on the occasion. None of the Boston ministers attended on the day of installation, and only two from other places, with one delegate. The malcontents assembled at the same hour in a house which the Council would have to pass on their way to the church, and sent a committee of their number to remonstrate against any further proceedings, threatening at the same time to prevent the settlement of Mr. Thatcher, "peaceably if they might, forcibly if they must." To avoid collision in the street, the ministers went by a back way to the church, and conducted the service, though not without painful interruption. Mr. Thatcher continued an acceptable ministry for eighteen years; but the incident just recited led to the formation of another Church, and to earnest discussion on the authority of councils on the one hand, and of the rights of the Church on the other.*

Mather on Councils.

Dr. Increase Mather, "with the concurrence of other ministers of the gospel in Boston," issued a tract, entitled, "*A Seasonable Testimony to Good Order in the Churches of the Faithful; particularly declaring the usefulness and necessity of Councils in order to preserving Peace and Truth*

* Clark's Hist. Sketch of the Cong. Ch. in Mass., p. 131, *et seq.*

in the Churches," in which he maintains that "if any of our Churches presume to transact their weighty affairs, and such as are of a common concern to the Churches in the neighbourhood," without the use of councils; "or if they shall upon grievous differences among them, refuse the advice of those who urge them to make use of this remedy; and, much more, if they shall proceed in matters after the neighbouring Churches have signified that they cannot countenance their proceedings," they virtually "exclude themselves from communion with the faithful," and may be proceeded against, even to excision.

On the other side, a pamphlet was published, entitled, "A Brief Declaration of Mr. Peter Thatcher and Mr. John Webb, Pastors of the New North Church in Boston, in behalf of themselves and said Church, relating to some of their late ecclesiastical proceedings," in which they contend that

Thatcher and Webb on the Right of Individual Churches.

"*It is an essential right belonging to particular Churches to enjoy a free liberty, within themselves, duly and regularly to enquire*" *into their own affairs,* "*and to judge upon them as becometh creatures endued with reason and conscience, who are ever to be supposed more nearly concerned for their own spiritual interests, than others can be supposed to be for them;*" at any rate, that "they ought to have the privilege reserved unto them of regularly determining when and in what cases to call in the help of their brethren."

"According to the constitution of these Churches," they said, "neither the declaration of ministers nor of councils to any particular Church is to be received by it as *law*, only to be understood and so obeyed, but as *counsel* to be advised on, weighed, and determined upon, *according to the Word of God, by the body of Christians to whom it is made*, though we freely confess the

affair ought to be managed with the greatest honour and respect to those that give their advice in a solemn way and manner, as well as with a due regard to their own both Christian liberty and holy edification."*

These were hard sayings to the leaders of the "Theocracy," who, in the Cambridge Association, including all the Boston ministers, had claimed, in a resolution on "the power of synods with respect unto particular Churches," decisive authority in questions brought before them; and in a second resolution, "on the power of elders in the government of a Church," the right of the pastor to impose a negative or veto on the decisions of the Church. They were so possessed with a sense of the infallibility of their judgment, and of their transcendent moral excellence, that they could not imagine a Church could act alone with safety in a critical emergency, and without their special guidance.

The College in Connecticut, after much discussion, and a series of local difficulties, was permanently established.

Yale College, at New Haven.

"The building," says Samuel Johnson, one of the College officers, "went forward apace, so that the hall and library were finished by the Commencement. A few days before Commencement, came the news of the good success of some gentlemen's endeavours to procure some donations from Great Britain. For at Boston arrived a large box of books, the picture and arms of King George, and two hundred pounds sterling worth of English goods, all to the value of eight hundred pounds in our money, from Governor YALE, of London, which greatly revived our hearts and disheartened our opposers. We were favoured and honoured with the presence of his Honour, Governor Salstonstall and his lady, and the Hon. Col. Taylor, of Boston, and the Lieutenant-Governor,

*Clark, pp. 132, 133.

and the whole Superior Court, at our Commencement, September 10th, 1718, where the trustees present—those gentlemen being present—in the hall of our new College, first most solemnly named our College by the name of YALE COLLEGE, to perpetuate the memory of the Honourable Governor Elihu Yale, Esq., of London, who had granted so liberal and bountiful a donation for the perfecting and adorning of it. Upon which, the Honourable Col. Taylor represented Governor Yale in a speech expressing his great satisfaction; which ended, we passed to the Church, and then the Commencement was carried on. In which affair, in the first place, after prayer, an oration was had by the Saluting Orator, James Pierpont, and then the disputation, as usual; which concluded, the Rev. Mr. Davenport (one of the trustees and minister of Stamford) offered an excellent oration in Latin, expressing their thanks to Almighty God, and Mr. Yale, under Him, for so public a favour and great regard to our languishing School. After which were graduated ten young men, whereupon the Hon. Geo. Salstonstall, in a Latin speech, congratulated the trustees in their success and in the comfortable appearance of things with relation to their School. All which ended, the gentlemen returned to the College Hall, where they were entertained with a splendid dinner, and the ladies at the same time were also entertained in the Library; after which, the first four verses in the 65th Psalm, and so the day ended." *

The following letter of Jonathan Edwards, to his father, gives us a picture of College life :—

"NEW HAVEN, July 21st, 1719.

"EVER HONOURED SIR,

"I received, with two books, a letter from yourself, bearing the date of July 7th, and therein I received, with the greatest gratitude, your wholesome advice and counsel; and I hope I shall, God helping of me, use my utmost endeavours to put the same in practice. I am sensible of the preciousness of my time, and am resolved it shall not be through any neglect of mine, if it slips without the greatest advantage. I take very great content under my present tuition, as all the rest of the scholars seem to do under theirs.

Letter of Jonathan Edwards.

* Johnson's MS.; Woolsey's Historical Discourse, pp. 24, 25.

Mr. CUTLER is extraordinarily courteous to us, has a very good spirit of government, keeps the school in excellent order, seems to increase in learning, is loved and respected by all who are under him; and when he is spoken of in the school or town, he generally has the title of President. The scholars also live in very good peace with the people of the town, and there is not a word said about our former carryings on, except now and then by Aunt Mather. I have diligently searched into the circumstances of Stiles' examination, which was very short, and as far as I can understand, was to no other disadvantage than that he was examined in Tully's Orations, in which, though he had never construed before he came to New Haven, yet he committed no error in that or any other book, whether Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, except in Virgil, wherein he could not tell the preteritum of requiesco. He is very well treated among the scholars, and accepted in the College as a member of it by everybody, and also as a freshman; neither, as I think, is he inferior, as to learning, to any of his classmates.

"I have enquired of Mr. Cutler what books we shall have need of the next year. He answered, he would have me to get, against that time, Alstead's Geometry and Gassendi's Astronomy, with which I would entreat you to get a pair of dividers, or mathematician's compasses, and a scale, which are absolutely necessary in order to learning mathematics; and also the *Art of Thinking, which I am persuaded would be no less profitable,* than the other necessary, to me, who am

"Your most dutiful son,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"P.S.—What we give a week for our board is £0 5s. 0d."*

The College might have prospered under the care of President Cutler, but a change of views led to his removal by the trustees. In the "large box" from London he found certain books, the perusal of which decided him in favour of Episcopacy, and he could no longer be content without ordination at the hands of a prelate.

Effect of the Books in the "Large Box."

* Memoirs of Edwards, prefixed to his Works.

On the 5th of November, 1722, accompanied by Samuel Johnson and Daniel Browne, he embarked at Boston for England. On the 15th of December they landed at Ramsgate, and proceeded the same evening to Canterbury. Their first visit the next morning was to the Cathedral. They were exceedingly charmed with the beauty of the service. In the afternoon they presented themselves at the Deanery, as "*gentlemen from America come over for holy orders.*" The object of their visit was well known to the Dean, who told them that their declaration in Connecticut, in favour of the Church of England, had already been published in the English journals. Their reception in London by Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dawes, Archbishop of York, and Robinson, Bishop of London, was equally flattering. Cutler was appointed to a new Church to be opened in Boston; Browne was to be entrusted with a mission at Bristol, in Rhode Island; and Johnson to be stationed at Stratford, in Connecticut. The completion of these arrangements was prevented for a time by the illness of Cutler, who had a severe attack of small-pox, but at the end of March he and his two friends were ordained Deacons and Priests. Within a week after, Browne was seized with the fearful malady from which Cutler had suffered, and died on Easter Eve.

American Priests at Oxford.

The newly-ordained Priests were received with acclamations at Oxford. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was given by diploma to Cutler, and that of Master of Arts to Johnson.

James Wetmore now joined their ranks, and, in

a few months afterwards, having received their licence from the Bishop of London, they set sail for America, July 26, 1723. Upon their arrival, they proceeded forthwith to their respective posts. Johnson intimated to his congregation of West Haven that if they concurred with his views, he would return to them as a clergyman of the Church of England; but they declined to make the transfer. The students of Yale were not prepared to surrender at discretion, though for four years they were greatly tried for want of a rector in the place of Cutler, who "made a grand figure as the head of a college."

The care of the College devolved chiefly on Jonathan Edwards, and two of his fellow-tutors. President Stiles says: "The Honourable William Smith, the Honourable Daniel Edwards, and the Rev. President Edwards, were the pillar tutors, and the glory of the College, at the critical period between Rector Cutler and Rector Williams. Their tutorial renown was great and excellent. They filled and sustained their offices with great ability, dignity, and honour." The service to which they were called was arduous in the extreme, and Jonathan Edwards bewailed its effect on his spiritual condition. "After I went to New Haven," he says, "I sunk in religion; my mind being diverted from my eager pursuits after holiness by some affairs that greatly perplexed and distracted my thoughts." Tutorship of Edwards.

He entered upon the work before him with fear and trembling. His first entry in his diary is to this effect:—

"Saturday Night, June 6.—This week has been a very remarkable week with me, with respect to despondencies, fears, perplexities, multitudes of cares, and distraction of mind—it being the week I came hither to New Haven, in order to entrance upon the office of tutor to the College. I have now abundant reason to be convinced of the troublesomeness and vexation of the world, and that it will never be another kind of world."

The sensible enjoyment of Edwards in religious meditation was diminished by the difficult duties he had to fulfil in the direction of the College; but the service was of great value to the institution, and afforded the occasion of necessary discipline to himself, preparatory to the pastoral work to which he was called shortly afterwards. He had been devoted to books from his infancy, and his attainments in mathematics and logic, as in natural and mental philosophy, we are told, were of the highest order; but it was important that he should have some practical acquaintance with human nature in its different phases of disposition and conduct.

In 1726 Elisha Williams was installed Rector of Yale College, and for thirteen years filled his chair with great usefulness and honour. During his rectorate, Dr. George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, sent the deed of a farm he held at Newport, in Rhode Island, as a gift to the College, the rents of which he directed to be appropriated to the maintenance of the three best classical scholars, who should reside at College at least nine months in the year, in each of the three years between receiving their first and second degrees—the surplus of

Gifts of Dean Berkeley to the College.

money arising from accidental vacancies to be distributed in Greek and Latin books to such undergraduates as should produce the best Latin composition on some moral theme that should be given them. The Dean also presented nearly a thousand valuable books for the library of the College.

Dr. Cutler and his coadjutors in Boston began their new campaign in favour of the Church of England fortified by the assurance that they would be supported by men of the highest rank and most commanding influence at Court. A second Episcopal Church was erected and opened for public worship on Dec. 29, 1723. For a time Cutler was hindered by a fierce and bitter contention with Henry Harris, who accused him of collusion with John Checkley, a Jacobite in Boston. Cutler, on the contrary, complained of the irregularities of Harris. In the following letter to Dr. Zachary Grey he relates his troubles, though not with the elegance of style we should have expected:—

New Campaign in favour of the Church of England.

"BOSTON, N. ENGLAND, *April* 2, 1723.

"Rev. and Dear Sir,—Your very kind and valuable packet lodged in this town two months in y^e^ bottom of a Dissenting chest before ever it came into my hand or knowledge. I heartily thank you for the present wherein my friends have their share, according to your order. As to Mr. Lucas's friend, Dr. Masters, I am credibly informed that he dyed above ½ a year agoe, for which reason I have kept the letter by me till my present despatch of it to you. Please, sir, to give him my humble service, and tell him I wish it lay in my power to express my regards to him. We are particularly obliged to you for the good pains you have taken to expose the quibbles and falsehoods of our worthless great man, and think

Letter of Cutler.

it wants no emendation. To be sure, sir, I have more modesty than to pretend to make any, except I should leave out your text in the front, wherein I hope for your pardon. A bookseller promises me to get it printed, tho', indeed, New Eng. is too dull a place for such a work. As to y^e^ disposal of your 'Answers to Pierce,' I refer you wholly to Mr. Checkley's letter, as also ab^t^ y^e^ state of his own affairs. Some good friends in town have made his fine easy to him; and whatever his sufferings have been, we reap this advantage by it—that we have an instance of a Barefaced Persecutor; for by the verdict of a jury he is acquitted from anything seditious relating to the civil government, and is only fined for detecting their schism, when the blackest and most hellish things are vented ag^t^ y^e^ Church with commendation. I rejoice in the growing greatness of Cambridge, and pray God favour it. I think Mr. Doughty's sermon to have been a fine introduction to y^e^ noble design, and y^e^ plan promises what I should think myself very happy to see with my own eyes. In the meantime, I cannot help envying of you, when here is a snotty town of y^e^ same name, where there are near 300 scholars, among whom a Ch^ch^. man durst hardly say that his soul is his own; and I think it will never be well till that College become an Episcopal one, or we have one founded with us. I am obliged to you for your account of books. I have had a thousand longings for Cotelerius since your letter. But since my abilities will not reach it, I must be contented without it. But if Bp. Chandler doth well answer the Freethinkers' book called 'The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion,' I will upon your good character send for them both. I have sent you two of Mr. Honyman's pieces (which he modestly desires I would apologize for), with some more that I fear nobody will find time to answer. I am oppressed with y^e^ labour of making two or more sermons a week, or would enter the lists with them. I find that, in spite of malice and y^e^ baseness (that our godly enemies can easily stoop to), that the interest of the Ch. grows, and penetrates into the very heart of this country. Within eight miles of good Mr. Johnson (of whose welfare I have lately heard) there is a considerable congregation of Churchmen, and it will not be long before they petition the Society for a missionary. Mr. Johnson's reputation grows, and good success attends him.

This great town swarms with them (Churchmen), and we are so confident of our power and interest, that out of 4 Parliament men which this town sends to our great assembly, the Church intends to put up for 2, tho' I am not very sanguine ab^{t} our success in it. However, it is worth trying for; and could we fill our lower House with Ch.^{s} men, we might get repealed some cruel acts, which bring men considerable charge to maintain a Dissenting teacher and y^{e} Church too. My Church grows faster than I expected; and while it doth so, I won't be mortified by all y^{e} lyes and affronts they pelt with. My great difficulty ariseth from another quarter, and is owing to the covetous and malicious spirit of *a clergyman in this town, who in lying and villany is a perfect overmatch for any Dissenter that I know*, and, after all the odium that he contracted heretofore among them, is fully reconciled and endeared to them by falsehood to the Church and spite at me. I have a clear conscience towards him, and have tried to gain him, and for the peace of the Church have passt over many affronts, that everybody would not have thought supportable, and have not stirred till he gave such a vent to his furious malice, that none but an ass would bear. Upon which I have made my complaint, which I need not be particular in, because I doubt not the Dean of Ely hath related it to you. I am greatly obliged to that Rev. Gentleman for the comfort he gave me of a *very tender letter upon it, even under the remainder of a very heavy fit of gout.* I doubt of his readiness to assist me, but am not very ready to promise myself any good successes from it. However, I have done justice to myself, and this shall be my satisfaction, be the event as it will.

"We are told Col. Smith is to come again over to us, which surely will be much better than if our fanatick country prevailed in their cause against him. And certainly if he hath any sense in him, he will not think our fanaticks worthy of any more of his favour. If this find you in London, I should be obliged, and to you, sir, for an account of his affairs. Please also to give my service to Mr. Wheatly, and be a motive to him to perform his promise in writing to me. Likewise to Dr. Marshall, of whom *I should be glad to know whether he hath received any Made(i)ra wine by my means to his content*, never forgetting the Rev. Dean, whom I thank for all his compassions towards us, and hope for his prayers as long as he lives; and herewith would I include his

good lady and yours. Sir, this is ye first opportunity since your last letter. Your opportunities this time of y^e^ year will be frequenter, by which I hope you will not forget your unworthy but sincere friend and most humble servant, "TIM CUTLER."

"Sir, I am impatient to see your answers to Calamy, which you promise me some of." *

The Bishop of London endeavoured to heal the breach between Dr. Cutler and his clerical opponents in Boston. In a letter to Mr. Myles, dated Fulham, Sept. 3, 1724, his lordship writes:—

Bishop of London's Letter on Differences.

"I am very sorry to find by accounts which I have received of late from New England that the differences among the clergy at Boston are grown to such an height, and that they have spread themselves into other parts of that Government, and are like to spread more and more. The representations which come over hither concerning the true ground and foundation of these unhappy differences are so various, that I am not able yet to form any certain judgment about it, nor to see who is most to blame. But as in cases of this kind there is usually more or less blame resting on both sides while passion prevails against reason, so I earnestly entreat and require both sides to lay aside passion, and to think seriously of peace. They should remember that they belong to one and the same Church, that is yet in its infancy, and in the midst of enemies, who will take a great advantage against it from these unhappy feuds, and animosities among its ministers and principal members. The letters from thence, both to the society and myself, are full of the hardships that the ministers of the Church of England suffer from the Independents there, which one would hope would be a lesson to the ministers to unite firmer among themselves, and support one another, and instead of reproaching and aspersing their own brethren, to enter into the most proper and Christian methods of defending themselves against the oppression of their adversaries, and of preserving, and by degrees enlarging, that poor Church committed to their care."†

* Dr. Raffles' Collection of Autograph Letters.

† Fulham MSS., unbound, Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church, Massachusetts, pp. 166, 167.

Notwithstanding these internal dissensions, the Anglican party continued their resistance to the Theocratic regime, and with decided success. Petitions, memorials, and letters were presented incessantly to the authorities, both in England and America, that some restraint might be imposed on the State Congregationalists. Governor Shute issued a peremptory order to the Justices of the Peace and select men of the town of Marblehead in the following terms:—"These are to require you to forbear laying any tax or assessment on the people belonging to the Established Church in your town towards the support or maintenance of any Dissenting minister, and to this I expect due obedience will be paid."

Success of Anglican Opposition to the "Standing Order."

A more decisive victory was gained over the "Standing Order" in the inhibition of a proposed General Synod. Four Assemblies of this kind had been held in 1636, 1648, 1662, and 1679, each by an Order of the General Court, passed at the request of ministers. In accordance with this ancient usage, the convention of Congregational ministers at their meeting, May 27, 1725—

"Considering the great and visible decay of piety in the country, and the growth of many miscarriages," made application to the provincial legislature that they would "express their concern for the interests of religion in the country by calling the several Churches in the province to meet by their pastors and messengers in a Synod, and from thence offer their advice upon that weighty case which the circumstances of the day do loudly call to be considered. What are the miscarriages whereof we have reason to think the judgments of heaven upon us call us to be more generally sensible; and what may be the most evan-

gelical and effectual expedients to put a stop unto those or the like miscarriages" (Hutch., vol. ii., 292).

The application was granted in council, but the House did not concur, and by the Governor's consent it was referred to the next Session.

An opportunity was given by this delay for raising an effective agitation, which was conducted with the utmost diligence and zeal by the opponents of the Synod. Cutler set in motion every part of the needful machinery in Massachusetts, and the Bishop of London lost no time in bringing the matter, as one of urgency, before the Government, in the following letter:—

"FULHAM, 17th August, 1725.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"I take the liberty to enclose the 'Flying Post' of this day, for the sake of the address in the first column from the convention of ministers in New England, and I humbly conceive that there are two things which deserve to be considered. First, what use the ministers may make of their being suffered to meet in a regular Synod; and next, whether the suffering of the ministers in New England to hold a Synod will not be a fresh handle of complaint amongst those of the clergy here who are apt to clamour for a sitting convocation. If there be no weight in these points, your Grace will, however, forgive the trouble from, my Lord,

"Your Grace's very faithful servant,

"EDMD. LONDON.

"To the Duke of Newcastle." *

More light broke upon his Lordship, and in four days he wrote:—

"Aug. 21st, 1725.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"I troubled your Grace lately with an account of what

* Lambeth MSS., No. 1123.

the Independent ministers in New England are doing to obtain powers for holding a regular Synod. To what I then mentioned as deserving, in my opinion, the consideration of the ministry, I desire to add, that it may be a doubt before the Act of Union between England and Scotland whether the Independents in New England are any more than a *tolerated ministry and people*. The Act of Uniformity (13 and 14 Car. II.) extends no further than the realm of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and, therefore, left the Crown at liberty to make such worship and discipline as the King or Queen for the time being (might appoint as) the established worship and discipline of the other territories. But by the Act of Union (6 Anne, c. v.) every King and Queen, at their coronation, shall take an oath to maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as by law established, within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the dominion of Wales, town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and the territories thereunto belonging.

"*If by this clause the ministers and people of the Church of England in the plantations be made the Established Church within the several governments, then all the rest are only tolerated as here in England;* and, if so, this double ill-use may be made of permitting the Independent ministers of New England to hold a regular Synod. The Established clergy here may think it hard to be debarred of a liberty *which is indulged the tolerated ministry there, and the tolerated ministers here may think it equitable that their privileges should not be less than those of their brethren in New England.*

"I think it my duty to suggest these things for the consideration of your Grace and the other ministers, and perhaps it may not be judged improper to take the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor-General upon the fore-mentioned statute of the 6th Queen Anne.

"I am, &c., "EDMD. LONDON.

"To the Duke of Newcastle." *

The matter was duly examined by the legal ad-

* Lambeth MSS., No. 1123.

visers of the Crown, and on receiving their report, the Lords Justices directed the following letter to be sent to the Governor of New England :—

"WHITEHALL, Oct. 7th, 1725.

"SIR,—The Lords Justices being informed from such good hands as make the truth of this advice not to be doubted, that at a general convention of ministers from several parts of his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, at Boston, on the 27th of May last, a memorial and address was framed directed to you as Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and to the Council and House of Representatives, then sitting, desiring that the General Assembly would call the several Churches in that province to meet, by their pastors and messengers in a Synod; which memorial and address being accordingly presented by some of the said ministers in the name and at the desire of the said convention, was considered in Council the 3rd of June following, and there approved, but the House of Representatives put off the consideration of it to the next session, in which the Council afterwards concurred. Their Excellencies were extremely surprised that no account of so extraordinary and important a transaction should have been transmitted by you, pursuant to an article in your instructions, by which you are directed upon all occasions to send unto his Majesty and to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations a particular account of all your proceedings, and the condition of your affairs, within your Government.

"As this matter does highly concern his Majesty's royal prerogative, their Excellencies referred it to Mr. Attorney and to Mr. Solicitor-General, who, after mature deliberation and making all the proper enquiries, reported that from the charters and laws of your colony, *they cannot collect that there is any regular establishment of a national or provincial Church there*, so as to warrant the holding of Convocations or Synods of the clergy; but if such Synods might be holden, yet they take it to be a clear point of law that his Majesty's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs being a branch of his prerogative, does take place in the plantations, and that Synods cannot be held, nor is it lawful for the clergy to assemble as in a Synod, without authority from his Majesty. They conceive the above-mentioned application of the said ministers, not to you alone as representing the King's

person, but to you and the Council and the House of Representatives, to be a contempt of his Majesty's prerogative, as it is a publick acknowledgment that the power of granting what they desire resides in the Legislative Body of the Province, which by law is vested only in his Majesty and the Lieutenant-Governor and Council and Assembly. Intermeddling therein was an invasion of his Majesty's royal authority, which it was your particular duty, as Lieutenant-Governor, to have withstood and rejected, and that the consent of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Council, and House of Representatives, will not be a sufficient authority for the holding of such a Synod.

"Their Excellencies, upon consideration of this opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, which they have been pleased to approve, have commanded me to acquaint you therewith, and to express to you their surprise that no account of so remarkable a transaction, which so nearly concerns the King's prerogative and the welfare of his Majesty's province under your Government, has been received from you, and to signify to you their directions that *you do put an effectual stop to any such proceedings*; but if the consent desired by the ministers above-mentioned for holding of a Synod should have been obtained, and this pretended Synod should be actually sitting, when you receive these their Excellencies' directions, they do, in that case, require and direct you to cause such their meeting to cease, acquainting them that their assembly is against law and a contempt of his Majesty's prerogative, and that they are to forbear to meet any more; and if, notwithstanding such signification, they shall continue to hold their assembly, *you are then to take care that the principal actors therein be prosecuted for a misdemeanour*, but you are to avoid doing any formal act to dissolve that Assembly, lest that might be construed to imply that they had a right to assemble.

"This, Sir, is what I have in command from their Excellencies to signify to you, and I must observe to you that the precedent quoted in the above-mentioned memorial of such a Synod being held forty-five years ago, falling in with the year 1680, and that the former charter upon which the Government of your Province depends was repealed by *scire facias* in the year 1684, and the new charter was granted in the year 1691; from whence it appears that if such a Synod or Assembly was holden, as is alleged, it happened a short time before the repealing of the old

charter, but none has been held since the granting of the new one.

"I am, &c., "CHARLES DELAFAYE." *

Triumph of Cutler.

Emboldened by his triumph, Cutler would have gone much further in measures of repression, and prepared an elaborate memorial, setting forth the obnoxious colonial laws to be repealed, but on investigation it appeared that the Legislature of Massachusetts had not exceeded their powers under the charter.

The New England ministers subjected to this pressure were anxious to retain their hold of the districts occupied by them, and to extend their borders.

Church Extension at Taunton.

Samuel Darnforth, in a letter to the ministers of Boston and the General Court, directed to Cotton Mather, and dated Taunton, Aug. 8th, 1720, urged the necessity for more strenuous effort to evangelize the districts of the country that had been too long neglected. He reviews with great satisfaction the work that had been already accomplished in Freetown, Tiverton, Dartmouth, and Nantucket, and adds :—

"We have reason to be thankful to God that the General Court, representing the whole body politic, have done considerably by their bounty out of the public treasury, as also by renewed acts and orders from year to year for the bringing order into those towns, and for encouraging the preaching of the gospel in them, and the Justice of the Peace in their stations, and in their public sessions, have from time to time acted laudably for the countenancing and promoting this good work.

"That we have met with obstructions and disappointments

* Lambeth MSS., No. 1123.

in pursuing this work, is no more than was expected by those who set it on foot; and God sees it needful it should be so, to maintain us in a daily sense of our sins, which expose us to the frowns of heaven even when we are engaged in most laudable enterprises, and to maintain in us an entire dependence on our Lord Jesus Christ for success in our essays for the enlargement of the bounds of His vineyard on earth; finding by our own experience that all our projections and essays of accomplishing anything that is for the glory of God and for the souls of men will avail nothing, till the Lord Himself appear in His glory for the building up of Zion, and be pleased to work with us; and, therefore, to His name alone must be given the glory of every successful step taken in forwarding this His temple-work.

"If any such thought should arise that we have taken pains enough already, and may now content ourselves with what hath been done, and may now sit still and wait God's time for the settling the gospel ministry and ordinances in those plantations, I humbly offer this thought in opposition to the former, that we have hitherto been waiting on God in the use of means, which did quiet our spirits, and our waiting was of the right sort. *But can that be thought to be an acceptable waiting on God, which gives over and ceases from the diligent use of means for obtaining the end desired?* If we cannot think of other means and methods besides those we have made use of already, yet I hope we are capable of continuing a while longer in the use of the same means and methods which have been hitherto used. The Province cannot say that the disbursements out of the public treasury for the promoting this work have impoverished the public. The Christian assemblies that contributed to this work have no reason to think that they fare worse for making that offering to the Lord. While this work hath been engaged in, we have enjoyed a considerable measure of health in our land; a considerable degree of peace in the civil state and in our Churches; the heathens have been restrained from making insults on our frontiers; the earth has of late plentifully yielded its increase to us. *God hath wonderfully preserved the life of his Majesty, our sovereign lord, King George, to reign over us, whose reign hath hitherto been very comfortable to all true Protestants; and under him we have been favoured with Governors (or chief leaders), one after another, who have countenanced us in our enjoy-*

ment of gospel privileges; and at this present time have cause to bless God for our present Governor-in-Chief, who doth not discourage or weaken our religious interests, but under his administration such whose hearts are engaged for the promotion and propagation of religion are not made the underlings of the people, but allowed to use all lawful endeavours for promoting learning and religion, without being frowned upon or brow-beaten for their pains.*

"I make bold to add that the difficulty of gospelizing the above towns hath been of service to make the *Government very careful that all new towns shall be provided with gospel ministers at their first settlement.* And though it hath exercised our patience to observe the slow progress of religion in those few dark corners of our land, yet God hath refreshed our spirits in the meantime by observing the great addition made to our Churches, yea, the multiplication of Churches in our land, proportionably to the energy of the people. And as every stroke of Noah in building the ark had a voice in it, so every step taken for the advancement of religion in these towns above mentioned is doctrinal to the observers of them. The young generation hath occasion given them to consider what meaneth the often travelling of preachers to Tiverton, and the other destitute towns? What moves the best sort of men in the land to be so forward to contribute to and promote this work, and for such an ignorant and ill-bred people that will not give them thanks for it. This leads them to think of the worth of the souls of men, and the need of a gospel ministry to help forward the salvation of men's souls; and that, were it not for gospel light, ministry, and ordinances, the towns we live in would soon become as ignorant, erroneous, and vicious as those destitute towns now are?

"We expect no other but Satan will show his rage against us for our endeavours to lessen his kingdom of darkness. He hath grievously afflicted me (by God's permission) by infatuating or bewitching three or four who live in a corner of my parish with Quaker notions, who now hold a separate meeting by themselves; yet, such is God's great mercy, that the rest of the rising generation do not fall in with their notions, but all becoming more studious to know the principles of true religion, and to arm themselves against false doctrine, and have set up eight young

* Samuel Shute, Esq., who arrived in 1714, and left the Province in 1723.

men's meetings for religious exercises, which are upheld with good, warm affection and seriousness. And having intelligence that *great sums of money are distributed at Newport, at their anniversary Quaker meeting, which comes yearly from England, to which they add what they collect at their quarterly meetings, for the rewarding their itinerant false teachers*, it moves the people to be more forward than formerly for the upholding the true worship of God, and should convince us all of the great need there is to continue our earnest endeavours to plant the gospel and sound doctrine in these destitute towns, that are our frontiers, bordering upon or near to the place where Satan hath his throne, whence he sends forth his emissaries to make invasions on and inroads into our province. Should not all ranks of men in the land, in their several stations, unite their forces in resisting and opposing Satan, and weakening his kingdom of darkness and errors? I hope the reverend ministers in Boston, seeing they live in the metropolis of the land, where the General Courts are held, will once more take the pains to represent to the General Court, at their next sessions, the present need there is of passing such acts and orders as in their wisdom they judge sufficient, to encourage the continuance of the preaching in Freetown, Tiverton, Dartmouth, and Nantucket. Will not the adversaries of sound doctrine triumph if we should give over this work? Will it not give them too much occasion to reproach the religion and doctrine which we profess? Will they not insinuate unto men that we were in doubt whether our cause was good, else we should not have deserted it? Will our Lord Jesus Christ take it well if we should faint, and despond, and cease from his work, and rebuke us, saying, 'O ye of little faith, wherefore did ye doubt of my presence with you, and my helping hand to support and succour you in my work? And seeing I have by my providence put these few destitute towns under the care of your province, you must not neglect any means to prevent their perishing from want of vision.'" *

Cotton Mather, who preached the second convention sermon, May 31, 1722, in the parlour of Judge Sewall at Boston, was less sanguine. He

* Emery's Ministry of Taunton, vol. i., 261, *et seq.* Massachusetts Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. i., 4th Series.

told his audience that the "truths which all real and vital piety for ever lives upon" were "threatened with a sentence of banishment from the ministry in some Churches," to which they had once been a "beauty and safety."

There can be no doubt as to the aims of the ecclesiastical parties brought gradually into collision. The home-born colonists were anxious to train the entire inhabitants of the country in the religious principles dear to them, and as they judged essential to the stability, freedom, and progress of the various settlements planted by them, and under their fostering care. They had always regarded it as the duty of the State authorities to render help from the public treasury, and to protect the Church from hostile influences. The promoters of the Church of England, equally conscientious, imported their system, with the manifest design to supersede, if not to uproot altogether, the Churches constituted by the original settlers, and to advance in their propagandism, not by argument and persuasion, but with the sanction and co-operation of the supreme power of the Government in England. Every step of their progress was looked upon as an intrusion, and plans that, under other influences, might not have been deemed objectionable, awakened suspicion and serious apprehension, as putting in jeopardy the interests of freedom. The Quakers, in consistency with their principles, raised the funds required by voluntary contribution; and though bitterly reproached, and often grievously misrepresented, still maintained their ground, and lent a very decided influence in promoting the cause of religious freedom.

INCREASE MATHER, so active in the public service, prolific in his pen, influential as President of the College, and so earnest as a preacher, and diligent in the pastoral care, now closed his honourable and useful career. His intellect did not decline with advancing years. On the day that he attained to fourscore, he preached an appropriate sermon from Ezek. xvi. 5, afterwards published from the notes of one of his hearers. His prayer on a Fast-day, held on the 25th of September, 1722, was long remembered for its peculiar unction and fervour. Within two days after he had a slight apoplectic affection, from which, though partially relieved, he never recovered. Admonished that the time of his departure was at hand, he penned a valedictory message to the Churches:—

Last days of Increase Mather.

"I am now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and under a feebleness in the valley of the shadow of death—wherein the Lord is yet a light unto me, and makes it but a *shadow* of death—and I am every hour waiting and longing for my dismission to a better world. In these circumstances I do declare that the *principal design* upon which these colonies were first planted was to profess and enjoy, with undisturbed liberty, the holy religion of our God and Saviour, exhibited in the sacred Scriptures, and rescued from the inventions and abuses of men, and more particularly to set up Churches for our Lord Jesus Christ that shall keep themselves loyal to Him, their glorious King, and faithful to the religion of the second commandment. It is now the *dying wish* of one who has been for about threescore and six years, after a poor manner, but I hope with some sincerity, serving the best of masters, in the blessed work of the gospel, that the Churches may stand firm in the faith and order of the gospel, and hold fast what they have received, and let no man take away their crown. But there may be danger of a generation arising which will not know the Lord, nor the works done by Him and for Him among his people

His Dying Wish.

here. And, therefore, from the suburbs of that glorious world into which I am now entering, I earnestly testify unto the rising generation, that if they forsake the God, the hope, and the religious ways of their pious ancestors, the glorious Lord will punish their apostasy, and be terrible from his holy places upon them. Now the Lord our God be with you, as He was with your fathers! Let Him not leave you nor forsake you!

"Lord, let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children!

"Signed— INCREASE MATHER, Nov. 10, 1722." *

The shadows of the dark valley passed over the venerable man, and for the time he felt their chilling influence; but he had glimpses of light, and evinced a lowly, confiding, and tranquil spirit. The end came, and he breathed out his life in the arms of his eldest son on the 23rd of August, 1723, aged eighty-four years. His funeral is said to have been more numerously and honourably attended than any in the province had ever been.

His loss was keenly felt in the Mission of the New England Company. Samuel Sewall, in a letter to The Honourable Robert Ashurst, Esq., dated Boston, N.E., Sept. 27, 1723, writes:—

Letter of Sewall.

"HONOURABLE SIR,—These are to advertise you of the death of our excellent doctor, Increase Mather, with whom much of the strength and glory of New England is fallen. As he far excelled in age, so he was the senior by I know not how many years, in the commission for the Honourable Company for the Propagation of the Gospel. He kept house ever since this time twelve months. His last public exercise was at a fast in his meeting-house last September, when he prayed, and blessed the congregation, which was very great, many of the other Churches being there. He was entombed in

* Chandler Robbins' History of the North Church, p. 164.

the North Burying-place on Thursday, Aug. 29th. The funeral was attended by a vast number of followers and spectators. We must now make our retreat to the omnipotent and unchangeable God, who cannot but live and reign for ever.

"The Rev. Mr. Rowland Cotton, not very long before his death, ordained Simon Papmounet a pastor of the Church and congregation at Mashpan, who is now grown very aged and infirm, altogether incapable of administering to his flock, for which reason the Commissioners have treated with Mr. Joseph Bowen, a junior bachelor of about 22 years old, recommended for his sobriety and learning as a very suitable person; and have agreed with him to help the congregation at Mashpan for one year upon trial. It is a convenience that his father dwells near the place, and wishes well to the Indians; and this son of his could formerly speak Indian, and, upon application, may the more easily recover the language, which will give him the advantage of ingratiating himself with the people he is to gospelize. The Company's Bills of Exchange are all well paid, except that which was drawn upon Mr. John Williams for £520, and accepted the 6th of May last. I went to him to-day, and he promises to pay me to-morrow. I purpose to send my account by some of the next ships, and what else is desired. I have been much interrupted by the horrors of the war extended from the east as far westward as Connecticut River. Two men were lately killed at Northfield, on Connecticut River, as they went to work in the meadow. The Kennebeck Indians went away to Canada; and sheltering themselves there, they watch for opportunities to stay and spoil us, notwithstanding our costly preparations to defend ourselves and annoy them. I have been also enfeebled by the great heat of the last summer, and the long continuance of it. I hope the approaches of winter will afford me some recruit. Yet my age, eighteen months above seventy years, should put me in mind to set my face homeward, as the phrase of the Indian delegates was. I humbly thank God for the use hitherto granted me of my eyes and ears, and hands and feet. Yet I, ought also to take notice of their gradual failure, according to the most righteous sentence. I am ashamed of my incurable dilatoriness in writing letters. I thank the Honourable Company for the honour they did me in taking me into their service as treasurer, and continuing me therein so long, two-and-

twenty years; and pray now their favourable dismission of me, for the reasons above mentioned. I have enclosed half-a-dozen funeral sermons on Dr. Mather, and one occasioned by the death of Madame Usher, who has left a good name behind her as a gentlewoman and as a Christian; as also twelve of Mr. Stodard's discourses, which he sent me of his own mere accord, for the propagation of the gospel, which I hope will be useful and acceptable.

"Praying God to keep your Honour and the Honourable Company, I take leave, who am your Honour's most humble and obedient servant,

"SAMUEL SEWALL."*

* New England Company's MSS.

CHAPTER V.

THE discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton at this period, hailed with wonder in the scientific world, gave a powerful impulse to investigation of every kind. His methods were imperfectly understood, and most difficult to follow. Of his own countrymen, Maclaurin was the only mathematician apparently capable of entering into his profound calculations, but the results of his enquiries were sufficiently palpable to convince intelligent observers that his theory of gravitation, in particular, was correct, and that confidence might be placed in the exactness of his statements in relation to the order of the solar system and the mechanism of the universe.

Effect of Newton's Discoveries.

The impression was produced on the minds of many, excited by the grandeur and sublimity of the facts demonstrated in astronomy, that all truth might be ascertained by a similar process.

Continental philosophers, by simpler calculations, arrived at certain conclusions confirmatory of the Newtonian theory, and were so satisfied and elated with their success that they seemed inclined to accept no light from divine revelation, but to trust entirely to their own observation and the deductions

of reason in the higher problems affecting the condition and final destiny of the human race.

To meet the demand for evidence more direct and certain than that required for moral conviction, the attempt was made to apply mathematical reasoning in questions of morality and religion. Dr. Francis Hutcheson showed the method of stating the importance of a *character*, rather than the degree of virtue in any *particular* action, by the following formula :—

"Let M signify the *moment*, or degree of *good* produced by the person whose character is under consideration; B, the *benevolence* of his temper, and A, his ability; then, $M = B \times A$, *i.e.*, in a compound ratio of his benevolence and ability; when in any two beings their abilities are the same, $M = B$; when their benevolence is equal, $M = A$. On the other hand, it appears from the former view, that $B = \frac{M}{A}$, *i.e.*, *directly* as the moment of good, and *inversely* as the ability.

Mathematical Morals.

"When present *interest lies on the side* of virtue, if I express it, then $B = \frac{M-I}{A}$, but if it lies *against* virtue, then $B = \frac{M+I}{A}$. He adds, that is the perfection of goodness when $M = A$, for then the virtue of any two beings compared will be equal, *i.e.*, $= 1 : 1$, whatever their abilities are.

"To express the degree of *moral evil* in any character, let M signify the *degree of evil* produced, and H *hatred* or ill-will; and the former canon (*mut. mutand.*) may be applied." *

Dr. SAMUEL CLARKE, in his "Boyle Lecture" at St. Paul's Cathedral, entitled, "A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God," persuaded himself that he had laid the most solid ground of proof in defence of the truth against

Clarke.

* Hutcheson's Enquiry, pp. 168, 174—177, 178.

Hobbes, Spinoza, and their followers. "I have confined myself," he says, "to one only method or continued thread of arguing, which I have endeavoured should be as near to mathematical as the nature of such a discourse would allow."

WILLIAM WHISTON, successor to Newton in the Mathematical Chair at Cambridge, greatly distinguished himself in the new line of thought. He hoped everything from the amazing progress made in his special department. Whiston.

"The wonderful Newtonian Philosophy," he says, "I look upon as an eminent prelude and preparation to those happy times of the *restitution of all things which God has spoken of by the mouth of all His holy prophets since the world began* (Acts iii. 21). Nor can I forbear to wish that *my own important discoveries* concerning true religion and primitive Christianity may succeed in the second place to his surprising discoveries, and may *together* have such a divine blessing upon them that the kingdoms of this world, as I firmly expect they will, may become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of His Christ, and He may reign for ever and ever. Amen and Amen."

On some points Whiston claimed pre-eminence, and hinted that Newton was jealous of his superiority, and on this account he kept back the most wonderful of his own discoveries until his precursor in the field of investigation was removed from the world.

In his "Astronomical Principles of Religion," Whiston flattered himself that he had settled the most difficult questions of chronology, and determined the final abode of departed souls. The air is invisible, and therefore he concluded that, as spirits are also unseen, they must float in the atmosphere. A cavity in the centre of the earth, he was convinced, was the abode of the Astronomical Principles of Religion.

impenitent prior to restoration, and that in the tail of a comet would be found the place of final punishment. He contended that both heaven and hell would terminate in annihilation, and that Christ Himself would cease to exist.

No "discovery" filled him with more delight than that of the real date of the Deluge.

"I cannot," he says, "but look on the solution of the Deluge by that very comet which I myself saw, A.D. 1680—1681, to be in a manner certain; and, by consequence, I cannot but esteem the evidence thence arising for the truth of the sacred history in this important case exceeding strong and satisfactory. Nor do I think that so unexpected an attestation (as that of the circumstances and period of this comet for solving the Deluge lately discovered most certainly is) has ever been by any so strange an hypothesis before since the world began, which thing cannot but be *highly pleasing to myself*, and I think it is highly worthy of the observation of others also." By a still more extraordinary "hypothesis," Whiston anticipated the "conflagration of the world by the approach of a comet after broiling in the sun." *

Real Date of the Deluge.

Finding some difficulty with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, in order to broader views, Whiston, for reasons not clearly explained, transferred his confidence from the New Testament to the patristic work called "Apostolical Constitutions," and on the basis of that peculiar production projected a scheme for promoting primitive Christianity. Societies for this purpose were to be formed, with certain rules, of which the twelfth is to this effect:—

Whiston Societies.

"To examine, in particular, the authority of the Apostolical Constitutions, the only remaining system that claims to deliver

* Whiston's Astronomical Principles of Religion, p. 148.

us an entire and methodical account of the origin and complete settlement of Christianity; to compare all their doctrines, language, and rules with other sacred and primitive records, before they admitted as obligatory to receive and put in practice such of them as thereupon appear to be genuine and apostolical, and to leave the rest more at liberty till further satisfaction about them."

All existing Churches were to be considered as nonentities, and even the laws of the country to be suspended or to give place to the "laws of God," discovered by reformation societies formed under the guidance of Whiston.

His zeal and activity were untiring, and he put himself in communication with all the religious associations willing to consider his schemes.

Never resting himself in one point, it is not surprising that he found those who entertained his speculations equally unsettled.

"Mr. Chubb," he says, "of Sarum, from one of the most judicious Christians when I published for him his eight arguments on the supremacy of the Father, degenerated into one of the most foolish and injudicious of modern unbelievers." Chubb.

"As I went to Bath and Bristol, I passed through Marlborough, and there met with one Mr. Morgan, who was then a Dissenting minister there, but soon left off that employment, and, so far as appears, because he was become of us that are called Arians. However, he soon fell upon the study of physic with great pretences of nostrums, and with a great degree of skill in the Newtonian philosophy. When he came to London, things did not succeed with him. He turned infidel, and with very little knowledge of Scripture, fell upon them outrageously."* Morgan.

On one point Whiston remained perfectly immutable. He never lost his self-appreciation.

* Whiston's Memoirs, &c., p. 318.

"It may not be amiss," he says, "to take notice of the consolation I used to receive by Milton's character of the seraph Abdiel, who was the only one of the innumerable crew of invisible beings who continued obedient to God and His Messiah when all the rest fell. *It is so near fitting my case, who have almost alone attempted to restore primitive Christianity, when the rest of my fellow-labourers seem to give it up.*

"'Faithful found
Among the faithless, faithful only he.'
"'As to the sacred hill
They led him high applauded, and present
Before the seat supreme.'" *

Whiston was of opinion that no Church in Christendom had a proper foundation.

Thomas Woolston, Fellow of Sidney College, Cambridge, went still further, and undertook to prove that all "the clergy or hireling priests, of what denomination soever," were worshippers of the "Beast" in the Apocalypse.

Woolston.

"*I am the man*," he said, "*and the only man in the world*, that understands the Fathers, and undertake to perform all that can be expected from such a one. I will not only endeavour to turn the hearts of this generation to the doctrine and right understanding of the Fathers, but will give you the history of Christ's Church from the crucifixion to this day, by opened parables and enigmas of prophecy, without departing from the authority of the Fathers; and will put you into a straight path out of your errors and confusions to the city of the New Jerusalem, the city of the living and true God.

"Your ministry has done so much mischief to the world, that I may say, better had it been for the people of these nations if they had been entertained on a Sunday with a bear and a fiddle, with a tumbler and a rope-dancer, than with the sermons of such vain babblers, who for these two hundred years last past have been preaching and printing, and swearing and lying, and for-

* Whiston's Memoirs, p. 282.

swearing and subscribing, and shuffling and turning backwards and forwards, to the dishonour of God, the scandal of religion, and confusions of the understandings of men; and under all the deformations of the Church, and tergiversations of yourselves, have you had the impudence, the abominable impudence, to account yourselves ministers of Christ."*

ANTHONY COLLINS,* who, after some trouble, obtained ordination in the Church of England, published anonymously a treatise on "Freethinking," in which he maintained that, by unaided mental effort, the highest attainments might be made in "virtue," citing examples from Pagan philosophers, who, without the light of Revelation, became eminent for moral worth. Epicurus, with his disciples, thinking in his garden, and despising science, history, and learning in general, reached a higher degree of virtue than that required by our holy religion. The Bible, Collins says, is the "divinest of books," but to understand it requires a knowledge of "physick, pharmacy, mathematicks, and everything else that can be named." The clergy, he insisted, were only blind guides. "We have priests," he said, "who acknowledge the doctrines of our Church, which they have solemnly sworn to keep up, to be contradictory to one another and to reason, and several abuses, defects, and false doctrines are crept into the Church; and they profess they will not tell the truth themselves, and make it matter of reproach in the Church to tell the truth."

The only remedy under these circumstances, he tells us, is for every man to follow the guidance of his own mind. "Freethinkers must have most

* Woolston's Gift to the Clergy, p. 45.

understanding, and they must necessarily be the most virtuous people." By free thought they must "expel all those vicious dispositions and passions by which every man out of action is toss'd and govern'd."

"Free-thinking" is equivalent to "free-sight." The student in the university, according to this theory, will make most progress who reads no books, and listens to no instruction. The libeller, the libertine, the felon, and the murderer have only to indulge freely their own thoughts to become true, pure, honest, and benevolent. A man, overtaken by the shades of night, blinded by a snow-storm on a trackless heath, has only to "think" to find his way home—this theory, of which the foundation corresponded with the superstructure, Collins advanced in the service of Christianity; and, most singularly, his disciples claimed for themselves exclusively freedom of thought, and despised all who did not accept their vagaries as in a state of mental servitude—mere "crack-brained enthusiasts."

In opposition to these insane pretensions, Matthew Henry and others insisted that, in examining with becoming care and seriousness the evidences of divine revelation, and then accepting its practical guidance, and testing its doctrines by willing obedience, they were Freethinkers in the proper sense. "For my own part," said the judicious expositor, "if my thoughts were worth anyone's notice, I do declare I have thought of this great concern with all the liberty that a reasonable soul can pretend to or desire; and the result is, that the more I think, the more fully I am satisfied that the Christian religion

is the true religion, and what, if I submit my soul sincerely to, I may venture my soul confidently upon."

Bolingbroke, the chief of the Freethinkers, entered into an alliance with the High Church party for the suppression of Nonconformity. "To make government effectual," he said, "there must be a religion; this religion must be national; and this religion must be maintained in reputation and reverence. *All other religions or sects must be kept too low to become the rivals of it.* These, in my apprehension, are *the first principles of good policy.*" * An habitual drunkard and a notorious profligate, he nevertheless resolved to uphold the Church. He would not admit that the Dissenters were tolerated. "The penalty of the law," he said, "is only suspended, and they by consequence are only indulged. Since people barely indulged are so ready to contend for a party, it is much to be feared that, if this point were once yielded to them, they would soon struggle for a superiority." † In conformity with these views, with the aid of William Windham, a firm adherent of the Pretender, he framed the Schism Bill. It enacted that

Alliance of Bolingbroke with the High Church party.

Schism Bill.

"No person should keep any public or private school or seminary, or teach or instruct youth, as tutor or schoolmaster, unless he subscribed this declaration, 'I, A. B., do declare that I will conform to the liturgy of the Church of England, as by law established,' and shall have obtained a license from the archbishop or bishop, or ordinary of the place, under his seal of office. And whosoever should be found doing this without these

* Essay 4, section 46. † Letters, etc., by Parke, vol. i., p. 43.

qualifications was, upon conviction, to suffer three months' imprisonment. No license should be granted unless the person produced a certificate that he had received the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England, at some parish Church, and within the space of one year. If after this the schoolmaster should be found present at any religious assembly, or at any other place of worship than the Church of England, he was to be imprisoned three months, and from thenceforth he was incapable of teaching in any school or seminary, or instructing any youth as tutor or schoolmaster. 'And be it further enacted that if any person, licensed as aforesaid, shall teach any other catechism than the catechism set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, the license of such person shall be void, and such person shall be liable to the penalties of this Act.' "

Strenuous resistance was offered to the Bill. "Instead of preventing schism, and enlarging the pale of the Church," said Lord Cowper, "this Bill tends to introduce ignorances, and its inseparable attendants, superstition and irreligion. In many country towns, reading, writing, and *grammar-schools are chiefly supported by the Dissenters*, not only for the instruction and benefit of their own children, but also those of poor Churchmen; so that the suppressing of these schools will, in some places, suppress the reading of the Scriptures."

"My Lords," said Earl Wharton, "it is not less melancholy than surprising that, at a time when the Court of France prosecutes the designs long since laid to extirpate our holy religion, when not only secret practices are used to impose a Popish pretender on these realms, but men are publicly enlisted for his service, it is melancholy and surprising, I say, that at this very time a Bill should

be brought in which cannot but tend to divide Protestants, and consequently to weaken their interest and hasten their ruin. But then the wonder will cease when it is recollected what madmen were the contrivers and promoters of this Bill."

"The Bill," said Bolingbroke, "is of the greatest importance. It concerns the Church of England, the great support of the monarchy."

Various modifications of the Bill were proposed, but it passed in its essential intolerance, and its opponents were obliged to content themselves with the negative satisfaction of recording an earnest protest.

Meetings were held by the Nonconformist Churches for special prayer.

In the "application" of a discourse preached at St. Helens, from Eccles. vii. 14, THOMAS REYNOLDS said:—

"My brethren, this being the first opportunity we have had, both ministers and our several congregations, to unite our prayers, since a law so much to our disadvantage has obtained the royal assent; and it falling to my turn, according to our usual quarterly course, to preach to you, I confess it has given me much thought what I should say in the present juncture, and upon the most melancholy occasion that has happened since my entrance upon the miuistry. I hope I can truly say, I am desirous to know my duty, and faithfully to practise it, as I am also to direct and assist you to my power in what I think to be yours. I am sensible there are two things which we that are employed in the ministry do greatly need, and for which I am satisfied my brethren do concur with me in begging your prayer. These are *wisdom* and *courage*: the one, that we may not in anything baulk or flinch from our duty; the other, that we may not transgress or go beyond it. I would not offend in either extreme. I shall now do what I think to be my part, and leave it with God.

"I cannot, therefore, forbear saying, that whoso shall consider the present face of things with respect to us *Protestant Dissenters;* the steps that have been lately taken with success against us; in how tender a part we are now affected, over and above what we were before by the Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity; how far we are abridged of those privileges we had for many years enjoyed with very little interruption; how many are in danger of immediate ruin, or of making shipwreck of a good conscience to preserve themselves from it, to the great scandal of religion and the grief of good people: again, whoso shall reflect how we are joined with the Papists, and put upon the same foot with them, as if equally threatening danger to the Established Church, and that the design of the present law is to take care that whatever liberty be granted for the present to us, our posterity shall be effectually debarred of it; how God also is removing from us those that have been most eminent and useful,* whilst men are doing what they can to deprive us of a succession in their room; whoso shall add to this, how we are all of us now exposed to the censures and insults of the ignorant multitude, being set forth as wicked schismatics, and this, too, with such aggravations as I know not whether it be advisable for me to mention, and therefore shall leave it to your own recollection. Finally, whoso shall further consider the improvements bad men may make of this law, by straining it to the great vexation and disturbance of innocent people; whoso, I say, will allow himself time sedately and seriously to think of these things, will, I believe, unless he be very stupid, admit it to be a *day of affliction* and adversity with us.

"Our duty at such a time is to '*consider,*' not barely to pore upon our affliction, but in order that we may know what we are to do, and how we are to behave ourselves at such a time.

"*Consider the nature of our affliction.* What is now come upon us is a further addition to what has been done by a former law, by means of which many have already fallen under great hardships. Some have been exposed to great temptations for the sake of a livelihood; others have been debarred from joining in public worship with their brethren; and many families

* MATTHEW HENRY died suddenly in a journey to Chester. The afflicting tidings of the event reached London, June 14th, 1714—the very day the Act intended against us received the Royal assent.

have been actually reduced to great difficulties and straits. How much this *new law* is like farther to affect us, a little time will begin to discover. This does not only renew our sorrow, but our troubles are enlarged and rendered much heavier, as this new law does, in my opinion, strike deeper than anything that hath yet been framed against us.

"*What can go nearer our hearts than to be debarred the opportunity (as many will now be) of giving our children a free and liberal education,* and of fitting them for that service in their generation which they are capable of? What can more sensibly affect us than the not being allowed to breed them up in our own way, which we and others must think we are bound to do so long as *in our consciences we judge* to be most agreeable to the mind and will of God? How can we but be deeply concerned whilst we are obliged either to deliver our children to be instructed and educated in a way that is dissonant from us, or to keep them in ignorance of the *learned sciences,* so as at the best they shall be only capable of living by mechanical arts and labour, and in time, through decay of knowledge, become fit to be made, as the poor Gibeonites, 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'? What an affliction this is, everyone that has children can sensibly judge. What grief and difficulties this must expose many thousands to, who does not apprehend? Consider, *whence all this evil is come upon us.*

"It is natural and but too common with us to stop at second causes, and to carry our reflections no farther than the instruments of our troubles, upon whom *we are apt to bestow too plentifully our invectives, and sometimes to launch forth into those indecencies which the Christian religion (an institution of meekness and patience) does by no means encourage.* I own we ought to maintain very feeling apprehensions of the afflictions and hardships that are upon us, that we may the more reverence the Providence of God, and at the same time testify to men that we are not insensible of their displeasure; but, then, in expressing our resentment, we are to take care we do not exceed those bounds religion has set us, and should make our *principal business to observe the Hand of God in our adversity,* by whose permission these evils are come upon us, and without which it were not in the power of any creature to do us the least hurt or damage.

"Instead, therefore, of all unchristian and unbecoming clamours, let us humbly regard the awful hand of God in the present dispensation, and let us *diligently search out the true cause of our afflictions.* It is, I must own, a ground of great consolation, that *with respect to men,* how much soever we have been traduced, calumniated, and reviled, we are not (at least, as to the generality) conscious to ourselves of having done anything to forfeit the liberty we peaceably enjoyed for many years; but, alas! we have not been so thankful for it, nor made those improvements of it, as might have been expected from a people that were brought out of great trouble, and who, one would have thought, should have learned to prize their mercies by their having been so long deprived of them. To our great shame, we soon lost much of that charity which under persecution we professed and cherished towards one another. We presently grew wanton, foolish, and disorderly, and, which is worst of all, though we pleaded for greater purity than others, yet we ourselves soon began to fail in our practice. God points out our sins in our punishment. That too great slight and contempt of a *gospel ministry,* as well as not profiting under it, which has been with too much reason complained of even among Dissenters, seems to be remarkably frowned upon in God's threatening the removal of the ministry from us, or at least a very great weakening of it without speedy repentance. That *unconcernedness* and negligence we have betrayed in the religious education of our children, seems evidently pointed at in our being deprived in a great measure of the very means of education. The *worldliness* of spirit that has been discovered in our over eager and vehement pursuits after temporal enjoyments, to the scandalous omission of private and family religion, is loudly reproved in God's threatening to abridge and take away from us our spiritual privileges and mercies.

"The method which He takes in removing gradually from us, abridging us first of one privilege, and then of another, is different from what our adversaries may design thereby, viz., to let us know how loth He is to depart, how willing that we should repent, how ready to return unto us, how backward to proceed to the last extremity, and how desirous that we should take the proper course to prevent it. Herein He deals with us as He did of old with the Jews, when He caused *His glory to remove*

(Ezek. x. 11) *from the cherub to the threshold of the House*, where it stayed a while; *then to depart from off the threshold of the House, and stand over the cherubims* (not those in the Most Holy Place, but those that Ezekiel now saw in vision), where it rested also for some time; then to *stand at the door of the east gate;* then to go *from the midst of the city* to the opposite *mountain on the east side of the city.* And all this to show how much it went against His heart to leave this people; like one who, being driven away from a place of long and most delightful residence, departs with much slowness and regret, making now and then a stop, and wistfully looking back to see if anything were done to invite his return, and how glad he would be to embrace the opportunity. There is the same voice in those gradual steps which God seems to take in departing from us."

After a series of practical counsels appropriate to the times, the preacher closed with two requests.

"The first is" (he says), "that you would not be *cast down* at any present hardships you are laid under *merely from your conscientious Dissent* from the Established Church. We cannot but be persuaded in our minds that it is the cause of God we are suffering for—a cause which has been *controverted* ever from the beginning of the *Reformation.* So has it stood, and we doubt not will yet stand, all the brunts it shall be exposed to.

"Why, after so many years' peaceable enjoyment that has been granted us, should our brethren be so very angry with us? What have we done to deserve these hardships we are laid under? Will any say we are enemies to the Civil Constitution and Government? We solemnly profess we are not; and for proof of this, we appeal to all the world about us, to all that know our principles and behaviour. If, after this, we may not be believed, we have no more to say, but refer ourselves to the *great Searcher of Hearts.*

"Is it for our Dissent from the Established Church? How can we help dissenting, whilst those things are required and imposed which we cannot conform to without sin? Will they, by an instituted and unnecessary imposition, *force us to Dissent*, and then *punish* us for dissenting? We pray them to think of our affliction.

"But if they will not regard our expostulations and entreaties—if they will not hear our cries, nor be moved by the most sorrowful complaints, we know that there is *One* that will, who is both able and willing to help. We will not, therefore, be cast down.

"The second thing I have to request is, that you would, with such meekness of spirit, submit to the present rebukes of Providence, as to convince all the world that, whatever the Dissenters suffer, and under what odious characters soever they are set out, yet that neither we your ministers preach, nor you our people practise, anything to deserve them. Let us all hearken to the call of God under the melancholy prospect we have of things.

"Thus doing, we shall have abundance of peace in our own souls, we shall honour profession, please God, and edify all good people; and who knows but our superiors, after they have beheld our peaceable and Christian behaviour, may restore us to favour again? But be this as it will, we may be sure that God will accept us, will approve our carriage, in due time will plead our cause; and who knows but we may outlive our troubles? However, although nothing but affliction should abide us in this world, we shall have matter of the strongest consolation and joy from the certain prospect and fullest assurance of an inconceivably glorious reward in the next" (Matt. v. 11; Luke vi. 22, 23).

Similar discourses were given by other ministers in different parts of the country.

Nathanael Weld inculcated the doctrine that "it should be the practice of good men, under such circumstances, to stand before the Lord, and to speak for those that use them ill" (Jer. xviii. 20).

Josias Maultby enjoined "steadfastness of principle"; and John Cummings called attention to the "general corruption and defection of the times in matters of religion."

It is a point of some interest to ascertain how the Churches provided the means for their instruction and conservation at this trying juncture.

From the Church Books we learn that "Associations" were formed for mutual aid and instruction, guarding, at the same time, most carefully their individual liberties.

The question was proposed at a messenger's meeting—

"What was the intent of the messengers of the Churches assembling together?" and in reply, "It was unanimously professed and declared by the messengers, that they and also the Churches they belonged to, did not pretend to be, but *utterly disclaimed any manner of superiority or superintendency over any particular Church*, but that the whole intendment was to hear any difficult case, and to be assistant to one another therein, by giving counsel and advice, and to report the same to the respective Churches whereto the said messengers belong, declaring it also to be their judgment that whatever is so determined is not binding to any Church till the consent of that Church be first given; the same thing being concluded among themselves." *

On the subject of ministerial gifts they held the views of Dr. Owen.

"To set up a ministry," he said, "that is destitute of spiritual gifts, is to despise Christ, and utterly to frustrate the ends of the ministry. To set up a ministry which may be continued by outward forms and orders of men only, without any spiritual communication of gifts from Christ, is to despise His authority and care; neither is it His mind that any Church should continue in order longer, or otherwise, than as He bestows these gifts for the ministry.†

"It will one day appear that there is more glory, more excellency, in giving one poor minister unto a congregation, by furnishing him with spiritual gifts for the discharge of his duty, than in the pompous instalment of a thousand popes and cardinals.

* College Street Church Records, Northampton.

† Owen on Spiritual Gifts, p. 225.

"To erect a ministry by virtue of outward order, rules, and ceremonies, without gifts *for the edification of the Church*, is but to hew a block with axes, and smooth it with planes, and set it up for an image to be adored. To make a man a minister who can do nothing of the proper peculiar work of the ministry, nothing towards the only end thereof in the Church, is to set up a *dead carcase, fastening it to a post, and expect it should do your work and service.*

"Where God calleth any, or chooseth any unto an office, charge, or work in the Church, He always furnisheth them with gifts suited unto the end of them. Yea, His call is no otherwise known but by the gifts which He communicates for the discharge of the work or office whereunto any are called.

"Most men greatly insist on the necessity of an outward call unto the office of the ministry, and so far no doubt they do well, for God is the God of order, that is of His own appointing. *But whereas they limit this outward call of theirs unto certain persons, ways, modes, and ceremonies of their own, without which they will not allow that any man is rightly called unto the ministry, they do but contend to oppress the consciences of others by their power and with their inventions.* But their most pernicious mistake is yet remaining, which is, If persons have or do receive *an outward call in their mode and way* (which, what it hath of a call in it I know not) they care not whether they are *called of God* or no. For they continually admit of them to their outward call on whom God hath bestowed no spiritual gifts, to fit them for their office. Whenever it is as evident, as if written with the beams of the sun, that He never called them thereunto. And *they are as watchful as they are able; that God Himself shall impose none on them besides their way and order, and their call.* For let a man be furnished with ministerial gifts, never so excellent, yet if he come not up to their *call*, they will do what lies in them for ever to shut them out of the ministry; but they will impose upon God without His call every day; for *if they ordain anyone into office in their way, though he have no more of spiritual gifts than Balaam's ass, yet if you will believe them, Christ must accept of him for a minister of His, whether He will or no.* But let men dispose of things as they please, and as it seemeth good unto them, Christ hath no other order in this matter, but *as every*

*one hath received the gift, so let them minister as good stewards of the grace of God.**

"It is true, that no man ought to take upon him the office of the ministry, but he that is, and until he be, solemnly called and set apart thereunto by the Church; but it is no less true that no Church hath rule or right to call or set apart any one to the ministry whom Jesus Christ hath not previously called by the communication of spiritual gifts necessary to the discharge of His office."

The methods employed by the stricter Churches for calling forth the gifted brother were orderly and well considered.

The messengers of the Churches meeting at Kimbolton, Nov. 7, 1708, gave special attention to the matter.

"It was propounded among the messengers *what may be judged to be the best method for the encouraging and accomplishment of young men for the work of the ministry, who are gracious, and in some measure gifted and inclined that way.* Resolved—That such young men give themselves to reading and study at spare hours—not laying aside their worldly employ—that such books as may be useful for the understanding the signification and acceptation of the word, etc., be allowed them at the charge of their parents, if able, otherwise at the common charge of the Churches; and that *a teacher be set apart in every distinct Church* if it can be; or for want thereof, one or two (related to any of the Churches in communion) to be concerned to *make it their business a day or two every month* (at such places as may be appointed for that purpose) to *examine and instruct such men in the principles of the Christian religion, both as to doctrine and discipline.*

Method of calling out gifts.

"March the 23rd, 1709-10, the brethren appointed as messengers to attend the messengers' meeting at Northampton, May 24th last past, now acquainted the Church (not having time before to consider it), with the messengers' advice upon the queries proposed by our Church, and that they advised them

* 1 Pet. iv. 10; Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8.

upon as follows:—As to the *First*,—viz., *What methods may be most requisite to be took by a Church of Christ for finding out gifts among themselves?* Resolved, that it behoves the brethren, I. To pray and open the Scriptures in their families. II. To stir up one another in more public meetings, to speak to a word. III. That the Church call the brethren to pray in public. Forasmuch as the exercise of gifts in the Church, 1. Is the will of Christ our Lord; 2. It was the practice of the primitive Churches, as appears from 1 Cor. xiv. 2, resolved that gifts consist in judgment and utterance; and therefore, 3. It was resolved —that a Church may judge that a brother hath a gift if they do discern and find upon his exercising, etc., (i.) That he be *sound in the analogy of faith;* (ii.) That he have *a chain of truth in his heart and head*, Heb. v. 12; (iii.) That he be *consistent with himself in what he delivers;* (iv.) That he be savoury in his discourse, apt to teach and have love to souls.

"As to the *Third*,*—viz., *What methods to be took by the Church for the encouraging such gifts when found out*—Resolved as to this, as the messengers of Churches at Kimbolton judged, November 3, 1708. Then as to the *Fourth*, but little was said upon it. Particular Churches must act therein as they judge fit. Another query was upon these proposed—viz., *What a Church ought to do in case a person exercising be judged not to have a gift, and yet some be taken with it, and approve of it.* Resolved 1. That such an one be meekly restrained; 2. That his admirers be treated with to forbear so doing. This advice and judgment of the messengers (as to these matters) was approved by our Church, who now declared themselves to be in each particular of the same faith and judgment."

Examples occur in which the judgment of the Church recorded is unfavourable, after hearing a brother, Aug. 20, 1712—

"Brother Mark Weston, now exercising his gift, the Church in giving judgment thereof signified a dislike thereof, disapproving of several things by him. The words that he fixt on as the subject or text to be discoursed upon were these in Ephesians ii., the last clause of the 5th verse: '*By grace are ye saved.*' What the Church chiefly disapproves of in his discourse

* The "second" we omit, as relating to another point.

was, I. His saying that 'the words,' or the apostle in these words, ran high, but might have run higher. It is 'By grace are ye saved,' but it might have been 'By grace ye were never condemned,' which is much higher. II. His saying that these words of his text were not in the original. The reasons he alleged were, 1. 'Because they are in a *parenthesis*,' whence he judged they were put in by the translators; 2. Because they are printed in smaller letters, or in a less character (which they are not). III. His asserting that Christ as God (with respect to His divine nature) possessed the human nature from eternity.' Prov. viii. 22. Hereupon the Church took occasion to discourse with him, in order to convict him of his gross mistakes and error in these particulars; yet withal signified to him that they were not for discouraging of him, but for farther trial of his gifts, and therefore expected that he should exercise his gifts afresh, and he expressed himself willing to comply to what your Church thought meet as to that matter.

"*Nov.* 14, 1712-13.—Brother Mark Weston (being now present, was treated with ab^t^ ye aforesaid matters as to that of his supposing the words of his text not to be in ye original, he fell under, acknowledging his ignorance and mistake therein. But as to ye other matters alleged against him, he endeavoured to justify his notions and vindicate himself with respect thereto, intimating that he was still of the same mind. Hereupon ye Church concluded to caution against meddling in his preaching with such things as he understood not, and against broaching or maintaining any notion or opinion in doctrine that be not constant to the analogy of faith."

To return to public affairs. The fears of the Dissenters with respect to the Schism Bill, were removed in a marvellous and unexpected manner. In the midst of the violent contentions of the rival ministers, Oxford and Bolingbroke, the Queen sank under the power of an incurable malady. Dr. Mead, the physician, demandod that those who were really in favour of the Protestant succession in the Royal household should send a report of Her Majesty's

symptoms to the Elector of Hanover's physician, who would pronounce how long Anne, Queen of Great Britain, had to live; but he staked his professional credit that Her Majesty would be no more, long before such intelligence could be received.

On hearing the news, the Duke of Argyle came without summons, and found the Duke of Shrewsbury ready to act with him in the emergency. Bolingbroke went to her, and told her the Privy Council were of opinion it would be for the public service if the Duke of Shrewsbury were made Lord Treasurer. The Queen immediately consented, but the Duke refused to accept the staff, unless the Queen herself placed it in his hand. He approached the bed, and asked her if she knew to whom she gave the white wand? "Yes," the Queen replied, "to the Duke of Shrewsbury." Bolingbroke fell from his pre-eminence; and at half-past seven o'clock on the morning of August 1st the Queen died, and without hindrance or delay George I. ascended the throne.

Bradbury, it is said, was the first to make public announcement of His Majesty's accession, whilst conducting the service in his congregation at Carey Street (to which he had removed), learning by a preconcerted signal, given by a messenger who entered the chapel, that the sceptre had been transferred by the demise of the Queen; he offered devout thanksgiving for the deliverance and prayer for the House of Hanover. The Nonconformist Churches were filled with wonder and thankful gladness. The Schism Bill, which was to have come

into operation on the day of the Queen's death, was at once suspended.

In a sermon preached to a congregation of Dissenters, at St. Albans, Aug. 22, 1714, upon the occasion of the death of Her Majesty Queen Anne, SAMUEL CLARK said :—

Clark of St. Albans.

"The Lord suffered a dark and gloomy prospect to overspread us, that we might be sensible of our deserts, turn from our sins, and fly to Him by fervent prayer for mercy. On a sudden he has dissipated our fears. They are all vanished away. We are surprised into a secure settlement, a state of unshaken tranquillity. Let us not return to do wickedly;.....He has in an instant broken all the measures of the enemies of our religion and liberties. He has fixed on the throne the Protestant succession, for which there were so many trembling hearts, without the least opposition or disturbance. May these wonderful mercies fill all hearts with gratitude and zeal for the divine honour and glory. Let every one heartily endeavour to oppose the growth of irreligion and profaneness, and to promote the power of piety and godliness.

"Particularly let us Dissenters gratefully improve those liberties and privileges, which though lately attacked and invaded, we may now hope will, by the favour of the Government, be continued and secured to us. It is our part to use them to the most valuable ends and purposes, for the advancing of the kingdom of Christ, and the spreading of religion in its power and beauty, and let the danger we have been in, and our deliverance from it, stir us up to the greatest seriousness, diligence, and holy zeal, that so God may delight to bless us, and dwell among us and do us good."

The disaffected Jacobites opposed to the Hanoverian dynasty, and the bitter enemies of the Nonconformists were frustrated in their plans and severely disappointed in their sanguine expectations, but their purposes remained unchanged, and they resorted to other methods for their accomplishment.

Bolingbroke escaping from the penalties of treason in the failure of direct evidence, left his country to join the adherents of the Pretender at Bar-le-Duc.

Leslie was in the centre of operations, and acted as chaplain to the non-jurors at the Court of the Stuarts. In a letter to a member of Parliament in London, dated Bar-le-Duc, April 23, 1714, he expounded the views of his royal master :—

Views of the Pretender expounded by Leslie.

"The Pretender," he writes, "has promised to hear, but because every man who is in earnest with religion must think that to be truth which he professes, and while he so thinks cannot suppose he will change his opinion; therefore the Pretender has made provision, that whatever be the issue of his hearing as to his own private judgment, *the Church of England may be no less secure.* For it was always his fixt persuasion that the security of the Crown and Church of England, was next under God in their mutual support of each other, and the Church of England has found it true by experience, that as he well expresses in his letter, 'the Crown was never struck at, but she always felt the blow,' and because the greatest hurt any king of England can do the Church of England is putting bad bishops upon her, this being a corrupting of the fountain. Therefore to avoid all jealousies, *he is willing during his reign so far to waive his prerogative in the nomination of bishops, deans, and all other ecclesiastical preferments in the gift of the Crown,* five bishops should be appointed, of which number the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being, to be always one, who, upon each vacancy, may name three persons to them, of whom he will choose one, and that the Church of England as by law established, shall be secured in the sole possession, not only of all the Churches, but of the universities and even schools. And as a further mark of his favour, he remitted during his time the tenths and first-fruits payable by the bishop and clergy to the Crown. This has since been done by his sister, to whom it will be no reflection that it was done by him before she came to the Crown; for all this he gave under his hand and seal, in his instructions bearing date March 3, 1701-2, and promises again to make good in his letter of May,

1711; and if the Parliament will have it passed into an Act, *he will give the Royal assent to it, or to any further security they can devise, for the safety of the Church of England, and of the constitution in Church and State*, their laws, and liberty, and property. This is all he can do, or be demanded of him. But the greatest of all securities is, that, as I said, it will not be in his power to do otherwise, which cannot be said of any of the other pretenders who may come after him or get before him.

"He has informed himself of past miscarriages, and knows well the office of a king. He will concern himself with no man's religion, but is resolved to defend that which is legally established, and whose principles are true to monarchy and safe for government; for whose satisfaction and for his own restoration he thinks himself obliged to do everything that is consistent with conscience and honour. This has been confirmed to me by several steps to which I am witness."

Whilst assuring the Anglican Church of this excellent bargain, in the perpetuity of their livings and the concession of truths in return for their support, the Pretender urgently appealed to his Holiness the Pope to raise him troops for the invasion of England, on the ground of the advantage it would be to the Church of Rome.

Pretender's Appeal to the Pope.

The efforts to inflame the populace by the friends of the Pretender were everywhere successful. At Oxford the gownsmen were furious. A recruiting officer, on making his proclamation, was met with the cry, "Down with the Roundheads! Down with Marlborough! Bolingbroke and Ormond for ever!" followed with the song, "The King shall enjoy his own."* At Norwich there was similar excitement.

Oxford Riots.

On the evening of the 29th of May, 1715, a mob of gownsmen and other inhabitants of Oxford gutted

* S. P. Dom., Aug. 22, 1715.

the Presbyterian Meeting House, breaking all the windows, and carried away the doors, benches, and wainscot to make a bonfire. The Friends' Meeting House was threatened.

"Having heard of their intention," Gough says, "to do to our Meeting House, as they had done that of the Presbyterians, an advertisement thereof was drawn up, and directed to the Mayor, and sent by a friend. The Mayor was not at home, but his servant promised to deliver it to him. We obtained no benefit by our application to the magistrate for protection. Hearing a noise at a distance about nine in the evening, we had soon an account that they were using our Meeting House as they had done that of the Presbyterians the night before. They broke in by violence, and took away all the forms and seats that were loose; and taking off the doors from their hinges, they burned them in their bonfire. They broke into the dwelling-house of our ancient friend Thomas Nichol's daughter, who was a widow, making great destruction and shedding some blood. From thence they went to the Baptist Meeting House, and destroyed it in like manner.

"We went next morning to view the ruins of the Meeting House, and of our friend Nichol's dwelling; and as we were at the former, I stood upon a small eminence, and looking over the ruins, many scholars and other people being there, I said, pretty loudly so that all might hear, '*Can these be the effects of religion and learning?*' Some of the scholars seemed ashamed, and said it was the mob; but a spectator said, 'You yourselves were that mob, and you will be overtaken with just punishment.'"

JOHN REYNOLDS, after describing the excesses of the Jacobites in June, July, and August, 1715-16, says:—

"In Salop we were threatened with the ruin of private houses for divers nights together. The rioters usually came in the night, and worked at pulling down the chapels till they had demolished them as far as they pleased. Untoward boys carried on the desolations by day. My house was particularly threatened. So we came voluntarily

Jacobites in Salop.

to sit up in the defence of it. One night, upon information of the danger, the Mayor was pleased to send three constables to watch it. For two or three weeks my friends thought it needful for me to be out of my own house. The Friday night after the Meeting House was pulled down is a night not to be forgotten.

"The beginning of it was terrible to Dissenters. That afternoon, three of the rioters, taken in the street with their axes and instruments of desolation, were, by the Mayor's order, sent to the jail. In less than half-an-hour they got out of their jail and irons, and at the head of a vast mob, ran with fury and wildfire in their faces, by the magistrate's door, hallooing and shouting through the chief streets of the town. I narrowly escaped, stepping into the front of them. No Dissenter's house seemed to be safe that night; many were threatened, and most stood upon their guard. It scarce seemed in the magistrates' power then to resist their numbers and fury, but God sits upon the mighty waters."

Benjamin Stinton, in his Diary, gives the following account:*—

"The disappointment that the Jacobites and Tories met with by the Protestant success now taking place did greatly provoke and enrage them. However, they entertained some hope that the French and other Potentates of the Romish religion would assist the Pretender, and if we may credit the report an alliance of this nature was formed by several Princes of Europe. The King assured his Parliament that he had certain intelligence of preparations made to invade his kingdom, and several tumults were raised in different parts of the kingdom by persons disaffected to his Majesty and Government. Where these were up, their first work was to pull down the Meeting Houses of the Dissenters, crying out of danger of the Church, and saying, 'No foreigners! no Presbyterians! King James the Third!' etc. These tumults were so frequent and in so many parts of the kingdom, that the Parliament thought to make a new law for suppressing mobs, and

Stinton's account.

* Angus MSS.

addressed his Majesty first to assure him of their stedfast loyalty and readiness to support his title and government against the Pretender and all his adherents; in the next place, to put the laws in execution against rebellious tumults and disorders, and to make good the damage which his faithful and loyal subjects sustained by these disorders. After the Parliament had led the way, and addresses were brought from several parts of the kingdom to the same purpose; and among the rest the Protestant Dissenting Ministers in and about the cities of London and Westminster presented one, on the 16th of August, 1715. It was not now thought proper for the whole body of the Ministers to go up, but four of each denomination were chosen out of the rest to attend on the presenting it; and according to the method agreed upon when they first united in addressing, the presenter was now to be one of the Baptist denomination, and Mr. Nath. Hodges was unanimously chosen to perform the ceremony. They were introduced by his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, and their address, with his Majesty's answer, was put in the next *Gazette*, and was as follows:—

"'The humble address of several denominations in and about the City of London and Westminster.

"We, your Majesty's most loyal subjects, think ourselves obliged, in duty and gratitude, humbly to acknowledge the seasonable protection which your Majesty has been pleased to give to those of our persuasion from the late rebellious tumults, and for your gracious answer to the address of your faithful Commons. Whereon they desire that a full compensation be made to those whose sufferings they so justly impute to their zeal and firm adherence to your Majesty and Government.

Address to the King.

"'We can assure your Majesty that *no just occasion has been given by us to our fellow-subjects for any such treatment*, nor can the principles which oblige us to dissent from the Church of England be a reasonable provocation to any who have the least regard to the common rights of mankind, or the rules of the Christian religion.

"'We desire nothing more than to enjoy our civil rights with a just liberty to profess our own religious sentiments, which we take to be a privilege due to all men. We have always been

ready to assist the Church of England in defence of the Protestant religion when in real and imminent danger, being agreed with them and all Protestant Churches in those principles that began the Reformation, and which alone can justify and support it.

"'When there has been a design to introduce Popery and arbitrary power, the Protestant Dissenters have generally been first attacked; nor know we any other reason why we have now suffered the outrage of Papist nonjurors and other disaffected persons, but that they were sure we were a body of men fixed in our duty to your Majesty, and lay the more exposed to popular insults, against which your Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, in your great wisdom and goodness, have given us a seasonable, and we hope effectual, security for the time to come.

"'Whilst your Majesty's Government is disturbed at home and threatened with an invasion from abroad, we can answer for those of our persuasion that there are not any of them whose principles and inclinations will not influence them to assist and support your Majesty and the Protestant religion to the utmost of their power. We look upon ourselves bound, by the strongest ties of duty, gratitude, and interest, to acknowledge and maintain your Majesty's right and title to the imperial Crown of these realms, and declare our utmost abhorrence of all attempts, either at home or abroad, in favour of a Popish Pretender. May the gracious Providence which has so signally appeared in bringing your Majesty to the throne of these kingdoms continue to protect and defend your royal person and family against all attempts of your open and secret enemies.'"

"I am very much concerned," the King replied, "at the unchristian and barbarous treatment which those of your persuasion have met with, in several parts of the kingdom, and care shall be taken that a full compensation be made for their sufferings."

Dissenters promised protection.

The Royal promise was fulfilled. It was enacted "that if any persons riotously and tumultuously assembled together, to the disturbance of the public peace, and did unlawfully and with force demolish

or pull down, or begin to demolish or pull down, any Church or Chapel, or any building for religious worship, certified and registered according to the 1 W. 18 (the Act of Toleration), the same shall be adjudged *felony*, without benefit of Clergy; and the Hundred, where such tumult is committed, shall answer for damages, as in cases of robbery."

Scotland left defenceless.

With the mass of original correspondence before us it would be easy to trace the course of the Jacobites in England and on the Continent; but it is sufficient for our present purpose to refer to a few documents indicative of their spirit and aim. There is abundant proof that Scotland had been purposely left defenceless. James Spence writes, Edinburgh, Aug. 1715:—

"There is a company of Jacobites, about thirty or forty horse, that go skulking from place to place, near the border, threatening and insulting the friends of the Government upon all occasions. It was proposed, they say, in one of their meetings, which are ordinarily in the night time, to *follow the example of the English mob*, but that their numbers are not thought sufficient for that."

Hay writes Sept. 20, 1715:—

"It now appears that the constant accounts we have all the year of an intended rebellion in this country were too well founded, and the tenth part of the expenses of the Government must now be at, would have been sufficient some months ago to make rebellion impracticable." *

The leaders of the rebellion distrusted each other. The Master of Sinclair says:—

"The more our misfortunes thickened upon us, the more need there was for lyes.† When Mar had got time to recover himself—

* S. P. Scotland.

† "Lyes" were magnified by distance, and in the remote regions long remained uncontradicted.

for I observed a dead calm for eight days or more, after our getting back to Pearth, sprung up of fresh with more impetuosities than ever, as if he had opened a new sluice, and that torrent having had time to feel pulses, and get new assurances, and confirm all his friends in their dutie, carried all before it. Tho these were still the old lyes, for man's imagination could contrive no more than we had already heard, yet they had new vigour, and every man was to doe his best to deserve his pension or pay. What struck me most, being intirelie new, and surpassed all I ever heard, was a sermon which was pronounced by one Barclay, a Scot-Irish priest of the Church of England, chaplain to Mar, if I'm not mistakne, on a day of thanksgiveinge, on the first Sunday after our return to Pearth, I won't be positive; who, after raising our hopes by the great advantages gained in our battle, turned to Mar, and took up the greatest part of a longe sermon in expostulateing, exhorting, and begging and praying him, with expressions of more zeale and passion than he addressed himself to God Almightie, not to hazard on another occasion, as he had done so latele, that so dear, inestimable, and invaluable person of his, the loss of which nothing could repair to his countrie. I must confess I don't pretend to pass for the most devote, and can allow myself freedom enough, but this made my hair stare, to see God so visiblie mockt, as well as men abused, the Church profaned, and the chair of veritie prostituted, and that by one of a Church who has the power of ordination. Believe me, he was on the right who said, Priests of all religions are the same. How little doe they stand, on all occasions, to make an ingratiating libation of the blood of their countriemen, and without the least scruple! This parson was very useful to him, and as active in the streets, in spreading Mar's stories as he was impudent in the pulpit; and it was he who wrote some little papers that were printed at Pearth. He had a bloodie tongue before we fought, and being a thwacking fellow, no man became a broadsword better, or threatened to make more use of it. His air and carradge was much liker than that of a dragoon than a priest; but when it came to earnest he ran away, and franklie owned he was mistakne in his man, and, not knowing himself, believed he had more courage, which I confess was very

Master of Sinclair.

honest of him, and the virtue, next to courage, to own the want of it." *

Captain Douat, Governor of Annapolis, writes, Nov. 6, 1717:—

"The priests are doing all in their power to prevent the English settlement in this country, and at this time have spread over the country. Some of their forged intelligences report that a priest about thirty leagues hence, has received a letter from his correspondent in France, in which he pretends to have an account that this country is to be given back into the hands of the French, with the circumstances following. That the Pretender was again landed in Scotland, and that his Majesty King George sent for French troops from the regent to assist him; which troops soon after they landed in England, they declared for the Pretender, and that they had establisht him on the throne of Great Brittain, and that for the service those men had done him, he intended to give the French all they should ask; therefore it was not to be doubted that this country would be included in their requests."†

An unpublished narrative, written by a soldier in the Pretender's army, gives a circumstantial account of every stage of the march into England, and of the bitter contentions of the several commanders:—

Contentions in the Pretender's army.

"We were deluded," he says, "with lies and fair promises. Our generals and lords were all alike—either fools or knaves, or all three (except the Earl of Wintown and Derwentwater, and the Lord Mar, who were all very right and firm) for they changed their minds, and kept in no resolution but those which were ridiculous to any person, and ended in our ruin." ‡

The capitulation at Preston he attributes to the treachery of Foster.

* Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland 1715, by John, Master of Sinclair, p. 261.

† S. P. Nova Scotia. B. 6.

‡ S. P. Dom.

"The enemy were soundly beaten, having above 180 killed, and those officers we took prisoners concluded the day was lost to them. At the other attack little was done, for the enemy did not dare to approach. Such as ventured were knocked on the head, and this was the posture of our affairs on the Saturday night. The enemy desired a cessation for burying their dead, which was granted, and we afterwards believed that during the cessation Foster and Widdrington sent Oxburgh unbeknown to us nor anybody else, made their terms, contrived our ruin, and the method of betraying us. Next morning many of the nobility and gentry earnestly solicited Foster that we might be allowed to make our attack on the enemy, which could not have failed of success, for we were uppish, and had not lost six men, whereas many of the enemy were killed and wounded, and were much fatigued and dispirited, being mostly raw and new levied troops. But our general positively refused, alleging it was too hazardous, and he liking us so well (honest friend) that he would not expose us. In the meantime, having privately agreed to the cessation, the first knowledge we had of it was by hearing Colonel Cotton in the streets with a drum, and we were told that there was to be a cessation the next day, which we were to consider and determine whether we would accept of a capitulation or not. This occasioned great heats, and some said we were betrayed. This being a trick of the enemy, who wanted ammunition or waited for succour, and therefore pressed to break up the cessation and attack them immediately; others reproached Foster, calling him rogue and villain to his face, and proposed shooting him for an example. The poor man had little to say, but that he found he was not fit for the post. He was very sorry for what had been done, and wept like a child. But Widdrington pretended to defend the reasonableness of the capitulation. Mr. Basil Hamilton (with tears in his eyes, not for fear, but anger and rage), Major Nairn, Earl of Wintown and Derwentwater, Captain Lockhart, and Lord Charles Murray, and Captain Shafto, showed a great resentment against the cessation, saying it was downright treachery. But Nithesdale, Cornwath and Captain Dalzel approved Foster and Widdrington's actions. As for Kenmure, he seemed altogether stupid. Matters being in this deplorable condition, the several gentlemen who had quitted

their horses mounted immediately, and repaired to the mercat place, where it was often urged to sacrifice Foster. Many expedients were proposed, but at last it was resolved that the English, with Derwentwater and his brother Mr. Radcliffe, two gallant gentlemen, should join the Scotts, and fight their way out at the gate leading to Lancaster Ward. They behaved themselves gallantly, and all signalized themselves. The enemy attacked very resolutely, but were as well received and frequently repulsed by our foot, at which their foot began to fall off, and kept at a little distance; whereupon a body of their horse advanced, to meet which Captain Lockhart marched up with his horse, and the first body came to close work with sword and pistol, in which we had not one man killed, but we killed several of their's, and indeed our gentry mauled the enemy bravely with their broadswords. The dispute lasted a long while, but at length the enemy's left gave way before Mr. Lockhart's troop, which was on our right; whereupon that captain, with a great deal of courageous conduct, calling to his men that the day was their own, made them wheel off to the right, and, marching at their head, galloped round the enemy, and again formed his men between them and their foot, and drove them before him. In the meantime the enemy's right seeing their left give way, fled in great confusion, and trampled down their foot; whereupon Mr. Basil Hamilton wheeled about to the right with his troop, and advanced to the other side of those; Captain Lockhart's troop was flying, and some of our foot seeing this advanced on the third side, so that we drove them into a corner, took about fifty prisoners, with three officers, who were brought into the town and secured." *

Trial of the Rebels.

The correctness of this story we do not vouch for, but it exhibits unmistakeably the temper of the party. At the close of the conflict came the trial of the rebels. Amongst other reports of the judges we find the following:—

"CARLISLE, *Dec.* 7, 1716.

"On that and several following days, Bills of High Treason were found by the Grand Jury against thirty-seven of the

* S. P. Dom.

said prisoners; who as the Bills were found against them were brought to the Bar, and had copies of their indictments and of the Jury given them, with notice of trial, and three Bills preferred to the Grand Jury were returned Ignoramus. One and thirty of the said prisoners against whom Bills were found, having advised with counsel assigned them, came into Court and pleaded guilty to the indictments, and in a very decent and submissive manner acknowledged their sorrow for their past guilt, and promised to endeavour to atone for it by a future dutiful and loyal behaviour towards his Majesty, if by his Royal grace and clemency their lives were given them, which they owned they must owe to his Majesty's mercy, and desired the judges to recommend them to his Majesty for that mercy, and to lay their humble petitions for it before them.

"Against Hay and four-and-twenty others of the prisoners who had pleaded guilty, judgment was prayed and pronounced in the usual form, but execution was respited; the judges conceived it most prudent not to execute any who had waived all defences and thrown themselves upon his Majesty's mercy, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known concerning them, and the rather because the intimation had been given that the likeliest way to obtain that mercy was to rely upon it and make an ingenuous acknowledgment of their guilt. Against seven others who pleaded guilty no judgment was prayed for the causes following, represented by his Majesty's counsel to the judges, and by them thought reasonable. Not against the four first because they were youths—the eldest of them not above eighteen years of age, and the others some years younger, and they appeared to be carried into the said rebellion by the command or importunity of parents or friends about them;" others were liberated for similar reasons.*

"The act of grace and free pardon was the last measure of the Session 1717. By its merciful provisions the Earl of Carnwarth—Lords Widdrington and Nain were released from the Tower; seventeen gentlemen under sentence of death, in Newgate; and twenty-six in Carlisle Castle were set at liberty; many likewise from the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and in the custody of Messengers. At Chester about 200 of the prisoners of Preston were set free; in Scotland

Clemency of the Government.

* S. P. Dom.

all persons remaining in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling received the same benefit; and, in short, the prison doors were thrown open in both kingdoms. Besides the Earl of Oxford, there were some other exceptions named, especially Lord Harcourt, Prior, and Thomas Harley; but, on the whole, no act of grace in like circumstances had for ages past been clogged with fewer."*

The clemency of the Government was amply justified, for not a few of the prisoners had been coerced into the ranks of the rebels—as we learn from petitions of this kind:—

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"Petition of Charles Garden, of Bellastren, prisoner in Carlisle Castle, sheweth,—

"That I was in my younger years brought up in the true Protestant religion, in which, by the blessing of God, I have continued stedfast to this day. That consequently I was ane enemy to popery and all popish pretenders whatsomever to the Crown of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; and upon all occasions evidenced my inclinations to the succession of these realms as at present happily established.

Petition of Garden.

"That for many years, in defence of the religion and liberties of my country, with the utmost peril of my life, I fought against the French and under the auspicious banner of the late immortal King William of glorious memory.

"That after the late unnatural rebellion commenced, I embraced all the opportunities of evidencing my dissatisfaction with the measures of the late arch rebel Marr and his adherents, that I refused to enter into any rebellious measures, notwithstanding of the threats and menaces of the Laird of Auchterhouse, curator to, and manager for, the Earl of Aboyne, my superior.

"That thereafter the said Auchterhouse, upon my declyning to join the rebels as aforesaid, did send a party of sixteen armed Highland men, with orders to drive away my cattle and burn my small interest, unless I should join the rebels, which I declineing

* Mahon i., 418; Tindal Hist., vii., 100; Lockhart's Memoirs, ii., 5.

to do, the said party, in consequence of their orders, did drive away my cattle and burn a great part of my household plenishing, and at last threatened, and were about putting my house on fire, whereby my wife and six infants would have infallibly perished. By which manifest acts of force and unchristian violence, I was to my great grief and shame, though contrair to my inclynenations, obleidged in person to joyne the rebels. These facts are so weill documented, viz., by the declaration herewith produced signed by Alex. Garden of Troup, one of the King's counsel at this place, and by the concurring evidence of four witnesses herewith likewise presented, that it is hoped there is no ground or sheddow of dubity left. Your Majesty's humble petitioner begs leave furder to represent that during my short time of abode with the rebels, I was so narrowly watched that no opportunity offered for my escape, except once at Perth—where I deserted the rebels, but was unfortunately retaken by a party of armed men, by whom I was made a prisoner, and carried back to Perth; and that when the rebels marched to Auchterarder, where I fell sick, they, notwithstanding of my indisposition, carried me along with them, until they passed Allanwater, where they were obleiged to leave me, and where I was found by the King's forces in a very deplorable condition. Since then I am but a poor man —my estate not exceeding five pounds and ten shillings per annum—and that I am the first prisoner at Carlisle who had the honour and happiness of throwing myself upon your Majesty's mercy and clemency and pleading guilty—I do with the utmost submission. "CHAS. GARDEN."*

The Dissenters, on the suppression of the Rebellion, presented to George I. a loyal address. It was the desire of the King to acknowledge the support they had given to the House of Hanover; but the obstacles in the way for a time were insuperable. The Bishops could not be conciliated, as we learn from the following extract of a letter from the Bishop of Carlisle to his brother, dated March 19, 1716:—

* S. P. Dom.

"Yesterday I waited on his Majesty from the Archbishop and Bishops. The King had been told that the Bishops would consent to the repeal of the late Acts against Occasional Conformity, and a Bill was proposed and intended to be moved in the House of Commons. I presumed to acquaint his Majesty that 'twas most certain that eighteen of the Bishops would not agree to the repeal, whereupon this dialogue ensued:—

Opposition of the Bishops.

"'*King.* What reason have the Bishops for not consenting to the Bill?

"'*Answer.* If I, who confess myself to be one of the eighteen, may guess at the reason of others by my own, I believe it to be a general persuasion that the Act (which was consented to by the whole Bench of Bishops, and thought to be for the service of the Established Church) would not so easily be given up by the Prelates, some of whom voted for the enacting of it.

Dialogue between the Bishop of Carlisle and the King.

"'*King. But have not the Dissenters since that time given good proofs of their loyalty?*

"'*Answer. Yes, sir;* but the Toleration wa sthought a sufficient recompense for their fidelity to King William, and the security of that is all that the honest men amongst them seem to desire.'

"It is hoped the Archbishops will put an effectual stop to this project to-morrow, at least for this Session. The scene now opens, and all men see their designs, the early discovery of which may, it is hoped, be a means to prevent them." *

Sir John Fryer, one of the Nonconformist members of the London Corporation who had retained his office after the Act of Occasional Conformity, freely expressed his sentiments to one of the Ministers of State:—

"Sir,—Some little time since, Sir Thomas Abney and myself were to wait on you with our sincere thanks for the espousing of the cause of our friends. We had not the happiness to meet with you, but imparted the same to Mr. Buckley, who, we doubt not, communicated them to you. The design of those last Bills against us and our friends,

Letter of Sir John Fryer.

* S. P. Dom.

it is evident, was to exclude us out of those places in which we could any way contribute to the interest of his present Majesty. For our parts we were so sensible of it, that *it engaged us to frustrate that device, and on no other view have we continued in them to this day* (though the separation from our friends is matter of uneasiness), it is now no small satisfaction to us to hear of so many worthy patriots joining with yourself to release us from those fetters; and since you have surmounted those difficulties (now, we hope, incapable of clogging the wheels), endeavoured to lay in the way to retard it, we are not without hopes of seeing it effected, and *are very sure it will be a strengthening of the King's Protestant interest to show that favour to a body of men who, by all the threats, tricks, and designs of a party in several reigns, could never be brought from adhering firmly thereto*, when the Ministry that laid these last irons on us would fain have cajoled the Dissenting Ministers to come into their measures. I had some share in advising against that, and so had that valuable gentleman, Mr. William Benson, who met many of them at my house. His services, not only in that but as making the first stand against them (by publishing the seasonable letter to Sir J. Banks), and his indefatigableness to serve the true interest of his country, together with his capacity for further service, gives me no small hopes of seeing him now regarded. May you have the Divine assistance to enable you to surmount all those difficulties which the enemies of God, our King, and yourself may any way contrive, and be under His continual direction, are the sincere wishes of—Your faithful servant, "JOHN FREYER."

"*London, April* 13, 1717."

That the Nonconformists suffered in their exclusion from municipal affairs, is clear from communications like the following:—

"LEEDS, 15*th April*, 1717.

"May it please your Excellency,—At a time when we might expect to live happily under the best of Princes, your Excellency will permit me to represent to you our very hard fate. We live in a corporation the most arbitrary of any in Europe; the subjects of France and Sweden are not greater slaves than we are to the caprice and humour of our governors. *There are not above seven*

Treatment of Dissenters by the Corporation of Leeds.

or eight families in all this very populous place that frequent the Church of England as by law established, who are hearty friends to the King and his family. We have great numbers of Dissenters; they are all vigorous assertors of the right of King George, but not being qualified by law to serve their country, they are useless. On all occasions these Dissenters, as well as our few Churchmen, have to bear the burthen both as to assessments, and in all offices our persons are daily insulted. In the night-time our windows broke; many designing assassinations on our persons, as will appear by the enclosed copies of information; but the King's evidence, by the threats and other indirect methods of some Jacobite Aldermen, is now unwilling to give any evidence at all. The King is openly proclaimed an usurper in the Market Place on a market-day by Alderman Preston's servant, yet no prosecution. The indignities daily offered the King, and the affronts put upon the few friends he has here, are such as no true English spirit can bear.

"Whatever we are assest by our Corporation and their tools —either land-tax, church, poor, or any other assessment—we are obliged to pay, though it be double to our Jacobite neighbours. To appeal for a redress of our grievance is only to subject ourselves to be laughed at or menaced with heavier impositions.

"Whenever any vacancy happens in the Corporation, immediately 'tis filled with the hottest Jack they can find; a notorious instance of which lately happened in the choice of one Pease, who has forty times been seen to drink the Pretender's health on his knees.

"May it please your Excellency, hitherto we have opposed their vile and scandalous practices against our present happy establishment; nay, in the worst of times we have stood in the gap. We therefore humbly hope for the protection of the Government. If some method be not taken to purge and reform the Corporation, we are resolved to leave the town. These arbitrary proceedings are to any Englishman intolerable.

"I am, may it please your Excellency, your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

"JAMES IBBETSON.

"To his Excellency James Stanhope, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. Present." *

* S. P. Dom.

Sir William Lowther gives a similar report of the state of Leeds, and in a letter dated July 6, 1717, he says, "the Jacobites choose the members of Corporation at Pontefract. They will not admit of any who does not entirely oppose the King." For the security of the throne it became important that some relief and protection should be afforded to the Nonconformists, its tried and faithful supporters.

The King, sensible of his obligation to the Dissenters, in his address to Parliament, said:—

"I could heartily wish that at a time when the enemies of our religion are, by all manner of artifices, endeavouring to undermine and weaken it, both at home and abroad, all those who are friends to our present happy establishment, might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the Protestant interest, of which as the Church of England is unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so will she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing by the union and mutual charity of all Protestants."

The King in favour of the Dissenters.

The Lords, without debate, voted an address as the echo to the speech. The High party in the Commons asked whether the Church was to come over to the Dissenters, or the Dissenters to the Church, and moved that they should say, "to concur in the most effectual methods for strengthening the Protestant interest of these kingdoms as far as the laws now in force will permit." Public meetings were held by the Dissenters, to agitate for the repeal of the Corporation Test Acts. Two hundred members of Parliament met to promote the object, and were addressed by Lord Molesworth and Sir Richard Steele. The King pressed the affair

with his ministers to the utmost, but was assured by the Earl of Sunderland that the measure was impracticable, and that to demand the repeal of the Test Act would ruin all, and informed the Dissenters, through Lord Barrington, that it was the wish of the King to defer this question, with the assurance that, at a future period, the Test Act should be repealed.

Earl Stanhope brought in a Bill to repeal the Occasional Conformity, Growth of Schisms Bills, and certain clauses in the Corporation and Test Act, and was supported by Earls of Sunderland and Stamford, Lord Buckinghamshire, Earl of Nottingham, and others.

The Archbishop of Canterbury said the Dissenters had abused the liberty afforded to them in the Revolution. The Archbishop of York followed on the same side. Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, and Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, supported the measure, and Lord Lansdowne offered the most virulent opposition. The Bill passed with modifications, and received the Royal assent on Feb. 18, 1718.

CHAPTER VI.

Some of the first-fruits of the Whistonian philosophy appeared in Exeter. A Dissenting academy was established in that city of some celebrity, under the care of Joseph Hallet, the son of an ejected minister, and the pastor of a church there from the year 1689. First-fruits of Whistonian Philosophy.

In 1710 he studied the writings of the self-admiring author of "Astronomical Principles of Religion," and his son, following his example, introduced them covertly to the students. Fox, one of their number, says, "We were about five or six who understood one another in this affair, but we conversed with great caution and secrecy."*

James Peirce, a collegiate pastor of three united churches in Exeter, also became an ardent disciple and a prominent leader in the movement. Whiston gives us an account of his religious opinions:— James Peirce.

"In 1708, *my great friend, Mr. Peirce*, near whom I had formerly lived in intimate friendship at Cambridge, and *who was really the most learned of all the Dissenting Teachers* that I had known, but was at this time a preacher at Newbury, in Berkshire, heard that I was become an heretical Eusebian or Arian,

* Original MS. in the possession of Mr. Rooker.

wrote me a letter dated, Newbury, July 10, 1708, in the way of a true friend and good scholar, but a zealous Athanasian.

"Soon after I had published my four volumes, he met me accidentally at Mr. Bateman's, the bookseller's shop, in Paternoster Row. I asked him whether he was reading my volumes. He confessed he was not, and began to make some excuses why he was not bound to read them. Upon this I spoke with great vehemence to him, that a person of his learning and acquaintance with me, while I had published *things of such great consequence*, would never be able to answer his refusal to read them to God and his own conscience. This moved him. *He bought* my books immediately, and read them, and was convinced by them to become a Unitarian, or Eusebian, as I was."

Peirce in early childhood had been left an orphan, though in good circumstances, under the care of Matthew Mead, of Stepney.

"I was put," he says, "to other grammar schools, and at last sent to Utrecht, and heard such men as Witsius, Leydecker, Grovinus, Leusden, De Vries, and Luyts, and was well-known to the most famous Reland. The latter part of my time abroad I spent at Leyden, where I attended Perizonius, Noodt, especially hearing Gronove, Mark, and Spanheim occasionally. After I had spent four years and upwards at these two places, I lived privately in England, for some time at London among my relations, and some time at Oxford, where I lodged in a private house, and frequented the famous Bodleian library."

From this scholastic training under so many distinguished Professors, Peirce was qualified in his "Vindication of Dissenters" to answer Dr. Nicholl's both in Latin and in English; but in the exclusive attention given to the cultivation of his intellectual powers, his moral nature seems to have suffered to some extent. He was grievously deficient in candour and honesty. In a sermon he preached on "Presbyterian ordination proved regular," he said, "those who are admitted to the

Moral deficiency.

office should be *believers. The necessity of this is very obvious*—that which is necessary in a private Christian to give him a right in the sight of God to the communion of the Church, must be for those who are to be admitted into the ministry—a *profession of their faith;* and that is why it is made among us at the time of ordination." Yet he practised himself habitual dissimulation. Arian as he really was, he entered on his pastorate in conjunction with Hallet on the clear understanding that he held entirely different views. He tells us with what adroitness he managed to prevent suspicion:—

"In conversation," he says, "I had always avoided such intricate points, and might easily do so still. But my chief concern was about my preaching and praying. Concerning the former I was resolved to keep more close to the Scripture expressions than ever, and venture to say very little in my own words, of a matter about which I was in so much doubt myself. As to the latter I could not find there was any occasion for making much alteration, whichever notion should appear like truth. I was by this time thoroughly convinced that the common doctrine was not according to the Scriptures, and *was settled in my present opinion, and from my first coming I avoided the common doxology.*"

The success of this evasive mode of teaching was only partial. The doctrines so studiously avoided by Peirce were regarded by the Churches as of vital importance, and though by the dexterous use of Scripture phrases, apart from their obvious meaning, he escaped for a time full detection; there was a vacuity in his ministrations felt by all who looked for spiritual nutrition. Hallet and his students, moreover, did not conceal their admiration of the Whistonian theories. Distrust, in consequence, was felt, and many freely

Hallet and his students.

expressed their doubts as the soundness of the views of Peirce, which were not removed by a sermon which, at the request of his people, he preached on the point, in which his teaching was at least ambiguous.

The excitement increased, and extreme solicitude was felt lest the Churches should depart from the faith. JOHN LAVINGTON alone seemed to adhere firmly to the Trinitarian system. Thirteen gentlemen, appointed as managers, invited seven ministers from the county to a conference, with a view to an inquiry into the state of things. To satisfy the people, they agreed to declare their faith in the doctrine of the Trinity in the terms of the First Article of the Church of England, or in the words of the Assembly's Catechism. To this proposal Peirce, Hallet, and others demurred, on the ground that the Scripture was the only rule of faith. In reply, it was stated that this was distinctly acknowledged, but in this particular instance the practical question was as to the mode in which the rule should be applied; in other words, what was the doctrine to be deduced from the declarations of Scripture, since many, under a profession of adherence to Scripture, preached doctrines directly contrary to that which had been hitherto held. The leaders of the "new scheme" still refused to make an explicit confession of their faith, and, as might be expected, the congregation declined any longer to listen to their teaching. In the hope of deriving help from their counsels, application was made by both parties to the ministers in London. The subject was earnestly discussed, and as the question attracted public

Alarm in the Churches.

Advice sought from the Ministers in London.

attention, the Nonconformist Churches in the Metropolis began to feel alarm in the spread of what they deemed to be pernicious doctrines. The London ministers were anxious to restore harmony between the pastors of Exeter and their congregations, and some of their number drew up a paper of advices, adapted in their view to meet the circumstances of the case, and submitted it to the consideration of a committee of the three denominations.

After this paper had undergone repeated discussion, they concluded themselves unauthorized to send it to Exeter in their own name; but since it was to them highly important and concerned the general welfare of the Churches, they called together all the Dissenting Ministers in London and its vicinity, that, if it were approved by them, it might be sent to the West, strengthened with all the weight of their united recommendation.

The General Body being called together at Salters' Hall, it was agreed in a numerous assembly to consider the paper with minute attention. Some progress was made on the first day of the meeting, and in the proceedings on the second day, one of them proposed that the advice should be accompanied with a declaration of their own faith in the doctrine of the Trinity. Such a step, he said, would give them greater weight with the friends of truth, and serve to discountenance the abettors of error.

Meeting at Salters' Hall.

A warm debate was the consequence of this motion, and it was carried, by a majority of fifty-seven to fifty-three,* that a declaration con-

* Bradbury says they had 25 or 26 pastors in London; we had 41.

cerning the Trinity should not be inscribed on the paper of advice. By those who espoused the sentiments of the non-subscribers, this decision was celebrated as the triumph of liberty over oppression, of liberality over bigotry, of Divine authority over human usurpation, and of the Sacred Scriptures over creeds and confessions of faith.

The following is a contemporary account of the result:—

"These proceedings made a powerful impression on the opposite party, who felt deeply concerned in the decision of the great question. The refusal of their ministers to make a declaration of their faith in the doctrine in dispute, awakened, in the minds of many private Christians, a fear that they either did not believe the doctrine of the Trinity, or were not so zealous for it as they might have been. These fears were loudly expressed, and a considerable number of the ministers perceived the agitation on the breasts of the most pious of their flocks, which it was of the utmost importance to allay. With this view, when they assembled the third time, a motion was made that, without relation to the advices, and as a step entirely distinct, the ministers should make an explicit declaration of their belief of the doctrine of the Trinity, and especially of the divinity of Christ, which was the subject agitated in the West. This measure, it was urged, became necessary, in order to vindicate themselves from the misrepresentations which were gone abroad against their character, to give satisfaction to the members of their respective congregations, and to exhibit their sentiments to the Dissenters in general throughout the kingdom. The Moderator on this occasion, conceiving the motion to be an interruption of the business under reconsideration, refused to put it to the vote. Sixty of the ministers, highly displeased with his conduct, immediately withdrew from the Assembly, and meeting together in another place, they unanimously resolved to adopt the words of the first article of the Church of England, and the answers to the fifth and sixth questions of the Assembly's Catechism, as a form of words on which the Scripture doctrine of the Trinity is professedly expressed. Both the subscribing and non-subscribing ministers

professed their belief in the doctrine in question, and after holding their separate Assemblies, they both communicated their advices to the Dissenters at Exeter, earnestly recommending the exercise of moderation, peace, and love. But these counsels arrived too late, the Ministers were already dismissed.

"The Dissenting ministers in the West, roused by the proceeding in London, to a more thorough investigation of the subject, thought that something still remained to be done in order to testify their firm adherence to the orthodox faith. When, therefore, the Exeter Assembly was convened at its half-yearly meeting, the doctrine of the Trinity naturally became the topic of conversation. It was resolved to publish their sentiments upon this point more explicitly to the world, and they thought they could not do this in a more unexceptionable manner than by affixing their names to the first article of the Church of England. It was accordingly subscribed by the ministers of Devon and Cornwall to the number of fifty-six, who accompanied their subscription with a letter of advice to their respective congregations, 'to adhere steadfastly to the received doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity.' Nineteen, however, professed to act on the principles of the non-subscribers in London, and refused their concurrence, among those were the two Exeter ministers.

"Those fifty-six ministers who subscribed, having espoused the cause of their subscribing brethren in London, also addressed a letter to them, and expressed their sentiments in the following words:—

"'We, the united ministers of Devon and Cornwall, are very sensible of the great service you have done to the common cause of Christianity, in so open and vigorous an opposition to the dangerous error relating to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, which of late has been so industriously propagated, and take this opportunity, now that we are assembled together, to express our joy in the harmony that is between us, and our thanks for your seasonably interposing in a matter of so great importance.'"

To prevent, if possible, the introduction of Arianism, they entered into a resolution that no person should be admitted to preach as a candidate, nor ordained by them, nor recommended to any congregation, unless he gave them satisfaction of

his soundness in the faith, by subscribing the first article of the Church of England, and the answers to the fifth and sixth questions in the Assembly's Catechism, or assenting to the collective sense of the preceding assembly. Ultimately seven ministers, JOHN BALL of Honiton, WILLIAM HORSHAM of Topsham, SAMUEL HALL and JOHN MOORE of Tiverton, JOHN WALROND of Ottery, JOSEPH EVELEIGH of Crediton, and JOSEPH MANSTON of Lymson, after inquiry and conversation with Peirce, prepared a circular letter to the following effect:—

Circular letter of Exeter ministers.

"We, being invited by the thirteen managers for the three meetings in Exon, to give them our advice in their distressed circumstances, agreed on the following things:—

1. "That there are some errors in doctrine that are a sufficient foundation for the people to withdraw from the communion of those ministers holding such errors.

2. "That denying the true and proper divinity of the Son of God—viz., that He is one God with the Father, is an error of that nature contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and the common faith of the Reformed Churches.

3. "That where so dangerous an error is industriously propagated, to the overthrowing the faith of many, we think it the indispensable duty of ministers (who are set for the defence of the gospel) earnestly to withstand it, and to give reasonable satisfaction to the people of their soundness in the faith. And we likewise judge it to be the duty of the people to hold fast the truth in love, avoiding anger, clamour, and evil speaking, and to behave themselves with all charity and meekness, as becometh Christians."

Withdrawal of Peirce and his adherents.

Peirce withdrew, with the assistance of friends built a chapel, and lost no opportunity to denounce what is called the persecutions of the orthodox, and to declare boldly the opinions he had so long concealed.

The advocates of the "new scheme," no longer fettered by their former position, wrote vehemently and bitterly against the commonly received doctrine of the Trinity. They denounced the conduct of the subscribers as oppressive, inquisitorial, and unjust. The true Protestant principle, they maintained, was to discard all creeds and confessions, and to leave individuals and Churches to form and to assert their own opinions without interference of any kind. None who were sincere, they said, would be condemned. For Churches to decline the ministrations of pastors who had relinquished the faith they formerly professed, they insisted was altogether opposed to the freedom for which they had so long contended. The ministers and Churches who retained evangelical views were of necessity put on their defence.

Trinitarian Defence.

BENJAMIN WILLS, in a sermon preached at Exon, before an assembly of the united ministers of Devon and Cornwall, showed that the gospel is worthy of defence, and that it is the duty of ministers, as watchmen and stewards of the mysteries of God, to vindicate its doctrines, not indeed by "force of arms, but by dint of argument; not by human tribunals, or the vain terrors of men, but by Scripture evidence, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God."

"With what little reason and justice," he said, "have some men cast black and odious aspersions upon the Assembly, and made frightful and tragical outcries against our late proceedings? After all the noise and clamour which have been raised against us; upon a serious review we need not be ashamed of our conduct. The necessity and importance of the case will justify all the steps we have taken; and if we suffer reproach for a good cause, and a good conscience, let us take it patiently, and not

render evil for evil, and railing for railing. We may venture to appeal to all impartial and unprejudiced judges, whether the methods we have pursued in defence of the gospel have not been just and righteous? *We have wronged no man, we have corrupted no man, we have defrauded no man*, 2 Cor. vii. 2. Whose right have we invaded? Whose liberty have we corrupted or violated? What engines of cruelty have we invented to extort a confession of faith? what rigours have we used? or what hardships and severities have we inflicted? We pretend to no coercive power in matters of religion, but hope we shall ever maintain those principles which are most friendly to mankind, and most agreeable to the spirit and genius of the gospel. And as we would crave leave to judge for ourselves, and act according to the sentiments of our own minds, so we trust the methods we have pursued in defence of the truth are far from persecution, and can scarce think they are entirely free from the charge, who have attempted to fix this odium upon us. *Does a voluntary declaration of our faith look like an imposition upon our brethren, or a claiming jurisdiction over men's consciences?*

"If any of the ministers who subscribed, did it with reluctance, or if they were constrained to it by any worldly views, let them speak out, and answer for themselves; and before they do so, it is too bold and assuming to judge the secrets of their hearts, or determine the principles and motives by which they were acted. Can it be fairly interpreted as setting up a Court of Inquisition, to give an expressed assent to the doctrine of the Trinity, as we conceive it is plainly revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures, or to form a resolution not to invest any with the sacred office, who will not satisfy us as to the soundness of their faith in this important article."

Excitement at the Weigh House.

Thomas Reynolds entered zealously into the contest, and in conjunction with three other London ministers, published a treatise on the Trinity. James Read, his assistant at the Weigh House, was one of the non-subscribers at Salters' Hall, and his friends were very sensitive in hearing the observations of Reynolds on the subject from the pulpit. James Hawkins, a

member of the Church, March 23, 1719, wrote to him in the following terms :—

"Since that wicked and scandalous flame broke out at Salters' Hall, your mind appears so discomposed and ruffled, so full of angry resentments as not to forbear throwing the ashes among our own people, and so interest them in a quarrel for which this generation will be for ever infamous. This you have sometimes done in a manner obvious to everybody. At others more obliquely by inuendoes and insinuations which as really tend to disunite them, and beget the same discord amongst them as amongst you. This is a matter of great grief and trouble to many of us; and what adds to the affliction is, that whilst you are expressing yourself in an unguarded manner against error and heresy, you are understood to mean the whole body of the non-subscribers, inclusive of Mr. Read, whose reputation and usefulness as a fellow-labourer, though not our pastor, ought to be more tenderly regarded.

"I heartily wish that an affair no way relating to the laity, and which does neither increase nor diminish my esteem for one minister or another might no more come from the pulpit. This will be the most likely way to preserve the peace of the Church, prevent separation, and stop the mouths of the watchful enemies of the Dissenting interest. I have only one thing to add, though none are apprised of my writing, yet you may be assured I speak the sense of a considerable number of your people."

The incriminated pastor in his reply, March 25, 1719, said :—

"How wicked and scandalous soever you imagine the flame to be that broke out at Salters' Hall, I thank God I am able to go as far as any in defending myself from the guilt of it. As to the part I had in that matter, I can reflect upon it with comfort, and doubt not the divine approbation, notwithstanding the infamy that you may brand it with. I am not conscious of bringing at any time into the pulpit a mind discomposed and ruffled through angry resentments, nor that I have delivered anything in relation to the affair you mention, with other views than to awaken the vigilance of my people against error, and beget in

them a just concern for the most important truths; and in doing this have taken care to recommend to them, with much earnestness, a spirit of meekness and charity. I have ever acted a plain part, and used the same freedom everywhere else that I have done with my people, and know not that I have said anything so unguarded as not to be able, through divine assistance, to defend it. I take it to be my indispensable duty to interest people on the side of truth, and wish I had done it more; but that I have used any indirect or unscriptural methods, or thrown out any unjust reflections, on the nonsubscribing brethren, or particularly on Mr. Read, or done it with design to alienate my people's affections from him, are charges you will not be able to support.

"I am sorry you think the affair you write about does no way relate to the laity, for which reason you wish no more might come from the pulpit concerning it. Did you understand the controversy you would be sensible it concerns them greatly, and that it is their cause we are pleading, as well as the cause of truth; that one main part of the struggle is for *the liberty and right which our people have by Scripture, and the common principles of reason to be satisfied of the sense in which their ministers hold the words of Scripture, touching articles of faith*, and that all we have done is in order to prevent their being played upon by crafty seducers, who otherwise may privily creep in among them, and deceive them, of which we have had but too many sorrowful instances of late. If people will give up their own right, and be led into dangerous conceits, for want of due consideration, it shall not be through my means, wherefore, as I never brought anything into the pulpit that I did not judge it my duty to say, *so I shall still proceed, by God's help, to serve the cause of truth, and the souls of my people, by concealing nothing from them that I judge to be the counsel and will of God.*

"In the close of your letter you tell me you speak the sense of a considerable number of my people; if it be so I lament it for their sakes, for I love them, and have reason so to do; but to what causes this has been owing God best knows. I am sorry any are fallen into mistakes, but hope it is not their general sense."

This attack was followed by a long scurrilous letter by Simon Browne, a member of another con-

gregation. Reynolds advised with the officers of the Church. Conferences were held, and in a private conversation Read was asked by the Pastor to explain his views. Reynolds submitted a test too stringent and decisive for his acceptance, and the Church ultimately decided, by a majority of ten to one, that it was desirable that the assistant minister should retire. In the Church of three hundred communicants, only two left after Read and his party had withdrawn. Reynolds was subsequently greatly harassed by Browne. His health failed, and he became unfitted for service. After the growing weakness and affliction continued for several years, he died August 25, 1727. James Wood, his successor at the Weigh House, narrates, in a funeral sermon, his last day's conversation :—

"To his sorrowful wife he said, 'My dear, had I power with God as Abraham, I would improve it to secure the best of blessings for you, for my dear children, and for the whole Church of Christ. Let *my* God be *yours*; be faithful unto death; it will not be long till we meet where we shall never part; never more be sad.' Directly after, he said, 'O, the joy I feel; my heavenly father is carrying me to heaven in his arms; I am going thither on a bed of roses. I feared this hour, lest my pains should extort an impatient word, or cause that I should be uneasy under His hand; I have often wished to die praising God; how kind He is who gives me leave so to do! Trust my God, He will not fail those who put their trust in Him. O, the comfort I feel! what blessed company I shall soon be in. What a mercy to be taken hence amidst my sympathizing friends!' Having blessed particularly the branches of his family, he ordered one who was present to tell his people, as opportunity offered, that their dying minister sent his love and thanks to them for their kindness to him. 'Tell them,' said he, 'that I send them my dying blessing; and if I were in the pulpit, and all my people about me, I would, as far as a minister

Last days of Reynolds.

of Jesus Christ can do, bless them in the name of my great Lord.' When he was cautioned against speaking too much, as what did sensibly weaken him in his low condition, he replied, 'I have served my Lord living, and I am now doing it dying.'"

His end was peace, and he finished his course with joy, aged about sixty years.

A member of the congregation under the pastoral care of Samuel Pomfret, in a letter to Simon Browne, 1723, in vindication of the church, writes:

Defence of the Church at the Weigh House.

"The natural inherent rights of mankind are not altered by the laws of the Gospel, or apostolical constitutions, they are left as they were antecedent to revelation. There are particular qualifications and rules laid down in Scripture respecting the office of a minister, as a chart for the electors to conduct themselves by, but here the society are the only proper judges for themselves, unless they are to be moved by mere mechanism, according as the external weights shall determine. The rights of the people have no necessary connection with truth, unless they are allowed to judge what is truth.

"I can find no medium between the right of every man's judging of the doctrines of the Gospel, and the obligation of submitting to the authority and determination of others. All the doctrines of the Christian revelation are proposed to all alike, and are to be examined and assented to in proportion to the apprehended degree of evidence, taking in all proper assistances to understand them aright. Whatever impressions there are on the judgment concerning these doctrines, it is admitted it makes no manner of alteration in the nature of things, nor possibly can do so. Yet the judgment thus informed will support the person's right to act agreeably thereto."

Dr. Ridgley, in an able essay "Concerning Truth and Charity," argued the question on higher grounds, and insisted that a Church of Christ was bound to follow His rule.

Shute Barrington, as the Parliamentary advo-

cate of the Nonconformists, in virtue of his position as their political leader, considered himself entitled to rebuke the Ministers who had contended for a declaration of their doctrinal views, and attributed their conduct to weakness of intellect. Shute Barrington.

Barrington himself acknowledged no fealty to any religious authority, either in matters of doctrine or discipline.

"Several of the patrons of revelation," he said, "have laid more weight upon it than it will bear. As it was delivered by Patriarchs or Prophets, by Christ or His Apostles, it *was only proposed in aid of natural religion*." *

In a letter to Dr. Gale, he gave his own version of the affairs of Salters' Hall:—

"Several worthy gentlemen," he said, "out of a real concern to the public interest and the *honour of the Legislature*, who were labouring for their ease and welfare at that very juncture, did signify to many ministers of chief note in London how acceptable it would be to put a stop to such differences. These differences, it seems, had their rise from some later disputes concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, whereupon some *weak Christians*, of more zeal than charity, took it into their heads to be uneasy in communion with such as they were jealous of on that account, and insisted upon a defection from some article or forms upon that head to be a sufficient ground of excommunication or exclusion, this *ignis expurgatorius*, this holy flame, was kindled up in many congregations. Letter to Dr. Gale.

"After a great deal of bustle, heat, invective, and overbearing treatment, the question was, with great difficulty as before intimated, to be determined. On the appearance of hands, the affirmative with great triumph assumed the majority; but a division was insisted upon, and the negatives were to go up into the gallery. While this was doing, it was very indiscreetly called out by some person, 'You that are against persecution come upstairs;' which was pretty evenly balanced by one on the other side crying out, 'You that are for the doctrine of the Trinity

* Essay on the several Dispensations, Preface, p. vii.

stay below.' *I desire it may be asked these orthodox gentlemen what conception they must imagine the Government and their fellow-subjects must have of them when they consider this part of their conduct?*

"The Legislative power has generously taken off a great deal of that load they groaned under, and put them upon a foot of liberty equal with other subjects, and in return for the favour they are now shackling one another. Nay, before that very Bill had passed the Houses in Parliament, which was for making them easy from other impositions, did they begin with these spiritual tortures, and as fast as possible hasten to lay their own brethren under a holy bondage. What must those of the Established Communion think of these men, who found their descent therefrom upon the imposition of human forms and matters of human contrivance and authority, and yet practise the same impositions themselves? Why may not these brethren be at liberty, and be excused in so doing to choose their own manner of declaring their faith, and expressing their sentiments of matters touching salvation, as well as they themselves expect to be justified in dissenting from the National Church on that account?"

With the defectiveness of vision common to men of his order, Barrington could see no difference between asserting the right of a voluntary association, on the basis of distinctly recognized religious principles, and State compulsion to the confession of the Articles of the Creed in a National Church. He expected that Liberals in politics should surrender their religious convictions, and become "Rational" Dissenters.

Stedfastness of Bradbury.

Bradbury, unmoved by the taunts and reproaches of his adversaries, prepared sixty discourses on the Divinity of Christ, confining his argument throughout to the words of Scripture. Staunch as had been his adherence to the cause of religious freedom, he refused to advance in line with the "Freethinkers."

"I was invited," he said, "importuned, and threatened from the beginning to come into the cause of *liberty, as they called it. I had fair warning given me that 'if I did not encourage a paper that one of them told me was contrived to screen our friends in the West, all the gentlemen who signed it would be in open war against me, and they did not doubt but to find ministers enow that would execute their resentment.*"

Bradbury counted the cost.

"The thoughts of losing by this cause," he said, "are the joy of my soul. I have borne a testimony to the glory of a Redeemer in the liberties of His people, but I am now called to defend the dignity of His person. Whiggism, the principles of Dissenters, the rights of my country, the privileges of human nature, I can say are dear to me; but these are little to the divinity of a Saviour. I rejoice, therefore, that I am counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Jesus." *

Quitting the political arena, the intrepid opponent of Luke Milburne now directed all his energies to the counteraction of the Arian leaven, which had long been secretly working. Aided by the subscriptions of a number of merchants, he established a lecture at Pinner's Hall, in which with the co-operation of JOHN NESBITT, MATTHEW CLARKE, ROBERT BRAGGE, THOMAS RIDGLEY, and JOHN FOXON, Ministers in the City, he gave discourses on the several points of the exciting controversy. He began the series with five sermons on the "Necessity of contending for revealed religion," from Jude, verse 3.

Pinner's Hall Lectures.

"There are such things," he said, "as fundamental articles; these are fixed. Ministers are *charged to teach no other doctrine*, 1 Tim. i. 3. *The mystery of faith is to be held in a pure conscience*, iii. 9. *There is without controversy a great mystery of godliness*, 1 Tim. iv. 6. *You are to be nourished upon the words of good*

* Answer to Reproaches, etc., p. 33.

doctrine. We are to hold fast the form of sound words, and keep the good thing that is committed to us, 2 Tim. i. 13, 14. *For this faith we are to contend earnestly. Not only that we receive the love of the truth, but hold it forth*, Phil. ii. 16, and appear against that opposition that is made to it. And this not in a cold and indolent way, which we may soften with the name of Charity. The word ἐπαγωνίεσθαι signifies a complicated agony, the greatest vehemence that can be used. Softness, that is a virtue upon other occasions, would be a provocation here.

"Let those that are against a revelation puddle in natural religion, and dream of a natural happiness. The one is not pure enough, and the other not large enough, for a soul that has tasted that the Lord is gracious.

"In fulfilling the ministry that we have received, we are to testify the gospel of the grace of God. That is a solemn charge that is laid upon us at our separation to the work of the Lord. We there promise that no terror, no artifice shall make us give up the truth; that will *hold fast the faithful word, and by sound doctrine endeavour to convince the gainsayers. The vows of God are upon us*, and every Minister ought to answer, as Nehemiah did when he was tempted to drop the cause for the sake of peace, *Should such a man as I flee?*

"We are, as the Apostle saith, *put in trust with the Gospel;* it is one of our talents that is not to be *hid in a napkin*, and we are to act as *pleasing God who searches the hearts*. We are *set in defence of the Gospel*. Not but that the Gospel will prevail whether we are faithful or no. It has continued under the several denominations of Protestant, Lutheran, Calvinist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist. Whatever difference these characters imported, they have been received by great and holy men, who all agreed in the grand substantials of the Christian religion; and if we let it drop through our hands, the denominations that we are known by will be delivered down to posterity with a blot. We must leave the name that we have gloried in as a *curse* to God's *chosen*. The *Lord will slay us, and call His servants by another name, that he who blesses himself on the earth* may no longer do it on the titles of treacherous teachers, but may *bless himself in the God of truth*, Isa. lxv. 15, 16. And be sure of this, no party will be more abominable in the kingdom of Christ than that which has given up His divinity. If ever

this comes to be the general error of any one body among us, either Baptist, Independent, Prelatical, or Presbyterian, whatever their other opinions are, whether true or false, that *name will be taken up as a curse* by all the generations of the faithful. God now tries our honesty, what we think the Christian religion is worth; and if the divinity and the satisfaction of Christ are not worth our defending, they are not worth your believing.

"Look into your Bible. Study the *truth as it is in Jesus.* Be earnest for the assistance of the Spirit; He is *to lead you into all truth.* Reckon upon opposition, and that from all quarters. Be sure to strengthen one another's hands in this work of the Lord. The servants of God are not equal in their parts and tempers, in either their capacity or their method of promoting the interest of religion; but he that wishes well to the truth will not dare to discourage any honest endeavour. And the reason is plain, because *God* himself *accepts according to what a man has, and not according to what he has not.*"

Appeal of Bradbury to Watts.

In this remarkable crisis, the most serious that had been known in the history of the Independent Churches, Bradbury looked to Watts for effective help, and expected him to follow the example of his predecessor, Dr. Owen, who, in his memorable contest with Biddle, the pioneer of Socinianism in England, said:—

"Those with whom I am at present to deal are such as, not content to attempt the sundry parts of the building, do with all their might set themselves against the work itself. In whom as of old of late the spirit of error has set up itself with such an efficacy of pride and delusion, as by all ways, means and devices imaginable, to despoil our dear and blessed Redeemer, our Holy One, of His eternal power and Godhead; or to reject the eternal Son of God, and to substitute in His room a Christ of their own; to adulterate the Church, and turn aside the saints to a thing of nought. Do not look upon these things as things afar off, wherein you are little concerned; the evil is at the door. There is not a city, a town, scarce a village in England wherein some of the poison is not poured forth. Let us not deceive ourselves. Satan is a crafty enemy; he yet hovers up and down in

the lubricious vain imaginations of a confused multitude. *I dare boldly say, if ever he settles to a stated opposition to the Gospel, it will be in Socinianism.*"

The controversy was not without interest to Watts; but in temperament, in taste, and in social position he was altogether unfitted to be a companion-in-arms to Bradbury. In his own way, however, he attempted to gain the votaries of Arianism to orthodox views on the subject of the Trinity. Avoiding everything like harshness and severity, and cherishing sentiments of respect for those who had turned from the "way of truth," he hoped to bring them back by proposing the hypothesis of the Pre-existent Human Nature of Christ, held by Dr. Henry More in the "Mystery of Godliness," Dr. Edward Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester, and others. He indulged the fancy that difficulties felt by conscientious Arians would all be removed by the supposition that the soul of Christ might be created before the birth of time, and united with the Divine Nature. It would be seen, he thought, that this theory would clearly explain the communications made to the Son of God, the relations he sustained, and the work committed to Him prior to His incarnation. The beauty, force, and harmony of the testimonies given concerning the Messiah in the Old Testament by this conjecture would be fully exhibited.

Pre-existent Scheme.

"It shall be my business," he said, "to lead the unlearned Christian, by *soft and easy steps*, into this mystery, so far as may furnish him with a sufficient knowledge of it for his own salvation, and show him how to confirm and maintain his belief of it by plain evidence of Scripture, and to secure him from making shipwreck of his faith in the day of temptation; and I shall

attempt to do all this without perplexing and embarrassing his mind with any of those various mazes of scheme and hypothesis which men of learning have invented to explain and defend this sacred article of the Christian faith."

One speculative notion Watts imagined would solve every difficulty, and yet he adds:—

"*I do not mention this pre-existence of the human soul of Christ as a point of faith which I firmly believe, but merely as a matter of opinion, not to be rashly rejected, and well worth further inquiry.*"

The object of Watts in writing this fanciful treatise, so far from being realized, only led the Arian party to conclude that he held their own opinions in a modified form. They smiled at his weakness, and claimed him as a proselyte in spite of his most earnest protestations. Help of this kind to Bradbury was only a mortification and an encumbrance. Nothing daunted, he persevered with his faithful associates in the Pinner's Lecture in defence of Christian doctrine. He spared no arrows, and none of them were pointless. Twenty-five of his sermons were published, specially devoted to the consideration of the errors, perils, and duties of the times.

Renewed efforts of Bradbury.

MORGAN, of Marlborough, who had gone too far in scepticism for Whiston, directed his envenomed shafts against Bradbury, and, in conjunction with Lord Barrington, he demanded that he should be removed from his lectureship at Pinner's Hall. Bradbury was unmoved.

"It is a comfort," he said to his colleagues, "in all this strife of tongues, that we suffer the reproach of Christ; that which is directed against *Him* falls upon *us*. And some of the accusations are so wild that they must have a great confidence

in the stupidity of mankind before they can venture to talk against all evidence. What the liberty is which they write *for* we may suppose; but I am sure the *liberty* they write *with* is a crime that every honest man will be ashamed of."

As a specimen of their vituperation, we have the following from Barrington :—

"Your loose rhapsodies about a Redeemer and the divinity of Jesus Christ bespeaks more of a frenzy than a zeal from knowledge and rational conviction. That *trifling talent* which has heretofore made you the subject of ridicule and laughter, has now taken into it such a turn of the madman as reduces you to an object of compassion."

Barrington and other politicians turned to Watts to put some check on the impracticable "enthusiast." The occasion for such an interposition arose from some outspoken comments of Bradbury on the author of the Pre-existent Scheme, and led to a sharp epistolary correspondence. Their letters are too excursive to reward the labour of a careful analysis, but some points bearing on the current sentiment of the time may be noticed. Watts began the curious duel.

Correspondence of Watts and Bradbury.

"Permit me, sir," he writes, November, 1725, "to inquire into the reason of your conduct towards myself. It is true I live much in the country, but I am not unacquainted with what passes in town. I would now look no further backward than your letter to the Board at Lime Street, about six months ago, when I was present. I cannot imagine what occasion I had given to such censures as you pass upon me there, among others which you are pleased to cast upon our worthy brethren; nor can I think how a more pious and Christian return could have been made by that Board than to vote a silence and burial of all past contests, and even of this last letter of yours, and to desire your company amongst us as in times past. As a brother,

I entreat you to consider whether all this wrath of man can work the righteousness of God. Let me entreat you to ask yourself what degrees of passion and personal resentment may join and mingle themselves with your *supposed* zeal for the Gospel. Jesus, the searcher of hearts, knows with what daily labour and study, and with what constant addresses to the throne of grace, *I seek to support the Doctrine of His Deity* as well as you, and to defend it in the best manner I am capable of; and shall I tell you also that it was *your urgent request*, among many others, that engaged me so much further in this study than I had first intended. If I am fallen into mistakes, your *private* and friendly notice had done much more toward the correction of them than *public reproaches*."

Watts added direct personal charges of ingratitude and want of truthfulness on the part of the brother who had been earnestly invited to return to the Board. "What reproaches? what ingratitude?" inquired Bradbury. Watts was slow to answer, but he pointed to statements in Bradbury's "seventh sermon" that could only be intended to apply to the treatise on the "pre-existent" scheme. "I little thought," said Watts, "that a person for whom I procured the assistance of about twenty guineas or upwards towards the education of a near relative would have rewarded me with reproach." The replies of Bradbury were rough, and some criticism on a passage in the preface to Watts's Psalms and Hymns rude and ungracious; but on the question of the Trinity he dealt very faithfully with his reprover.

"Do you think," he said, "that the Ministers of London are to stand still while you tear in pieces eight great articles of their faith? and must every one who answers your arguments be accused of personal reflection, though I know none of them *but who has a true love for you*. Yet they do not think you of that importance, that, on purpose to keep up their friendship with

you, they shall be silent to so great a denial of the chief doctrine, that they have either learned or taught? If you resolve to call their zeal for the truth in question as you have done mine, I know none so guilty of 'personal reflections' as yourself.

"You have known for many years what an uncommon affection I had for you; perhaps no person more valued your worth or pitied your weakness; and when I thought it my duty to express different views from yours upon a doctrine that I believe and adore, I desired you to peruse and correct my papers. I offered twice either to send them or bring them; and whatever bitterness you may think there is in them, I had more blotting out of harsh expressions, more interpolation of softening over, than in all the book besides.

"I heard and saw the holy Sir John Hartopp, with tears running down his cheeks, lament your opposition to Dr. Owen, which he imputed to an instability in your temper, and a fondness for your own inventions."

Watts, in return, said:—

"As for attempts to maintain the true and essential Deity of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, I have often examined my own heart, and am not conscious to myself that the pride and fondness of novelty has run into any particular train of thoughts, and I beg earnestly that He that knows all things would search and try me in this respect. My only aim has been to *guard this doctrine against the objections and cavils of men, and to set it in the most defensible light;* and if I can see that done in any other form, I shall rejoice to bury all my papers in oblivion, or, if you please, to burn them all."

We see in this correspondence the strength and the weakness of both these eminent servants of Christ. Bradbury threw himself into the breach, and was very mainly influential in preserving the Congregational Churches from the blight that spread over the societies in England of the Presbyterian order. But for the check to Arianism, the sanctuaries occupied by Congregational Churches might have

become desolate, and left to decay; and as in many other places the moss-grown pathway and the surrounding graveyards covered with weeds might have remained as the sad memorial of its wasting influence. The conflict for a time was severe, and not without its injury; but in the end successful on the side of Gospel truth. The feeble speculations of Watts on the Trinity that occupied his mind in a season of suffering and infirmity have long ceased to engage attention, but as long as the English tongue is spoken his songs of adoration and praise to the "Lamb that was slain," written by him, will never cease to interest them who believe.

Agitation of the Jacobites.

Reverting to general affairs, we find the adherents of the Pretender still active under the cautious direction of Atterbury. On the birth of Prince Charles, in 1720, he wrote: "It is the most acceptable news which can reach the ears of a good Englishman. May it be followed every day with such other accounts as may convince the world that heaven has at last undertaken your cause, and is resolved to put an end to your suffering."* Agitation in favour of the Stuarts was continued in various parts of the country.

Legge writes from Norwich, Aug. 30, 1722:—

"Several hundreds of the mob are led by Councillor Workhouse and Councillor Gurdon, two young lawyers making interest for the electing a sheriff of their disaffected party, whilst their followers are continually crying out, 'Down with the Hanoverians! Rochester for ever!' with such expressions peculiar to the mobs who are prejudiced in the favour of the Bishop of Rochester and his proceedings, and who in all appear-

* Stanhope's History of England, Appendix, p. xiii.

ance are ripe for rebellion, and want nothing but a head to lead them forth. Nay! they have already put up papers publicly with a *solemn prayer for the Pretender*. On Tuesday last came on the election for sheriff, and the disaffected party obtained their wish by a majority of 1401 to 1377, *and have ever since been rioting about with drums, trumpets, firing of guns, and calling out for Rochester*." *

John Lougher writes :—

"NORWICH, Sept. 18, 1722.

"The common people are now in very great disorder, the Whigs with the spleen and the Tories with insolency, the latter going up and down crying, 'Down with the Dissenters!' 'Down with the Meeting House!' 'No Presbyterians!' but 'Wild and James for ever!' insomuch that a Whig dares hardly put his head out of doors."*

A party of adherents to the Pretender in Limerick, we are told, employed agents in Bristol (Sept. 25, 1722), to raise men for the Pretender under the pretence of going into the Spanish service to fight the Moors.

Ballads, not remarkable for their poetic beauty, were sung in the streets. A lengthy one is before us, entitled "A Prophetick Congratulatory Hymn;" a verse or two will be sufficient as a sample of the rest.

"Our Constitution's spoilt, our Church suppress'd,
Religion's lost, and we are slaves at best;
And shall we under such oppressions rest?

"No, by the powers that honest hearts inspire,
By our forefathers' exemplary fire,
We'll free our native land or there expire.

"Let us but arm our business is done,
For I am sure that we are six to one,
True Englishmen—the English King that own."

* S. P. Dom.

The forty-third verse winds up in a strain of triumph:—

"Now, brethren, horrid wars are at an end,
Each man enjoys his bottle and his friend,
Peace and plenty to our heirs descend."

From a large variety we select a few stanzas from the "Churchman's New Health:"—

"Great, glorious hero,
Let the world sound forth thy praise,
May happy success thee attend,
Be still true Churchmen's glory,
For ever famed in story,
The cause to maintain unto the end.
Though the Whigs do bear the sway,
We still may see the day
When the Church may for e'er in peace be crown'd,
And the —— with his ——
Unite with one accord,
Then his health it shall, merry boys, go round.
Then fill up your glass, for the cause it is good,
Here's a health to the lad that has firmly stood,
And always was true to the royal blood:
We're not of the King-killing train,
The seed of old Oliver we defy,
For High Church for ever shall be my cry,
So drink to my love o'er the main."*

The rhyme limps a little in these poetic effusions, but the sentiment is clear. During this prevailing of the "High Church," Christopher Layer entered into a widely-spread conspiracy to seize the Tower of London, liberate the Bishops, take the armoury, and raise forces for James Stuart. The "declarations" of the Pretender were diligently circulated; spies reported plots of every kind, not

* S. P. Dom.

always truthfully, but most of them looking for some personal advantage in the form of a "better living," a handsome reward, or an appointment to a Government office. One gentleman in the medical profession says he is a Roman Catholic, and much trusted by his patients, but is willing for a consideration to reveal all their seditious designs. The subjoined letter is unique:—

Report of Spies.

"GENTLEMAN,—If you will inquear for one Thom Jones, a Velles man, that as allways a great many scandaluous peper a but him or in his room from his hand writtings. I know he as give y^e^ Pretender declaration to several person. I know he as writt great many when I was in London. I was one to cary that declaration to a justice a peace, but he told me he kill me if I sould do itt or som body els would do itt. That man do what he can to put peple in y^e^ Chevallier's interest. He force me ons to drings y^e^ Pretender heals, and dos what he could to debauche peple in y^e^ party of y^e^ Chevallier. That man did live a year a go in Crown Court, Russell Street, Covent Garden, att one James Edwards, a scorer, and that Edwards is musch against y^e^ Government. There is one Mr. Even in that court kipe a hele house, he a welles man, he know where live that Thom Jones. There is one Mester Davis a welles man live in Holburn by Cross Street or elles in y^e^ corner of Veneiger Yard. He sell greadill sortes of stof in his shop. That man as a great many scandaluse pepel in his house, and he much againsts y^e^ Government.

"Gentleman,

"Your most humble servant,

"J. G."

"a Rouen y^e^ 24 November, 1722."

Addressed for Well Tompson in y^e^ office of Vitt hall to Vitthall, London.*

Agents were employed to ferret out the conventicles of the High Anglicans; one of them gives the following report:—

* S. P. Dom.

"To-morrow being Thursday, 5th of April, a club of Non-jurors, many of them clergymen, meet to dine at y^e^ Queen's Head Tavern, in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. The names of the clergymen are as underneath:—

High Church Conventicles.

"Mr. Earbury, Mr. Crake or Crage, Mr. Gandy, Mr. Burden.

"Mr. Doughty and Mr. Crake keep a Meeting House in King Street, against St. Ann's Church back gate.

"Mr. Nixon keeps a private chapel in his own house in Bedford Court, in Lamb's Conduit; is a poor man and seems a fool; 2 if not more to be br^t^ over.

"Mr. Spear, a grave old gent, thought to be a titular bishop, keeps a great Meeting House in White Friars, over ag^t^ the house demolished by fire."*

In the unsettled state of the country, the Government needed the political support of the Nonconformists. Lord Sunderland invited Sir John Fryer to dine with him, in order to a friendly conference. Calamy entered into confidential relations, and sent the following communication:—

"My Lord,—I was engag'd yesterday til late in the evening in pursuing the matter y^r^ Lordship was pleased to mention to me, and that hindered me from sending til this morning.

Calamy and the Government.

"I find there are two great hindrances of getting so good a Common Council, as cannot but be much desir'd by all the hearty friends of the Government, and that especially in the present juncture; the one is the strange inactivity of the Whiggs in the City, especially of y^e^ most substantial among them, who should be examples to their neighbours; and the other is the backwardness of Dissenters to stand in places where they might be able to carry it, if vigorous endeavours were but us'd, and where, without their standing, none but Tories can come in. I beg leave humbly to offer somewhat with respect to each.

"As to the former difficulty, I conceive the best way to remove or lessen it would be for your Lordship, some evening this

* S. P. Dom.

week (that no time may be lost), to stop into the City, and at a proper place to meet some of the chief of those concern'd, and in discourse let them know how much the interest of the Government should ingage them to bestir themselves upon this occasion. If y^r^ Lordship had Sir Peter Delme, Sir Charles Peers, Sir Randolph Knipe, Sir Samuel Stanmer, and Sir Thomas Scawen at such a meeting, and did but lay the matter before them so as to strike them, above twenty good Common Councilmen might (as I am informed) be secur'd that are likely to be lost for want of their acting vigorously.

"Or if your Lordship's appearing in person might not be thought so proper, your writing severally to them upon the subject with some warmth might be of no small use; and as to the latter difficulty about the Dissenters, that respects the Bridge Ward chiefly. I then humbly propose, that with all convenient speed your Lordship would send for Councellour West (who is King's Counsel, and will be very ready to receive your Lordship's commands), and make use of him with his father, who is a Dissenter and a leading man in that ward, but backward to stand himself, and an encourager of others in like backwardness, *til such time as the test is taken off by the Legislature from all Protestants.*"

"If your Lordship thought fit to allow the Councellour *to encourage his father* (and by his means such men as Mr. Ben Joseph y^e^ hop-merchant, Mr. Shadwell the draper, Mr. Baker the hatter, Mr. Chamflower the ironmonger, and others of like character and substance in the same ward) *to hope that at a fit and proper juncture that hardship upon our friends might be removed,* I am of opinion it would do good service in the case.

"I am to sup this evening with a leading man in that ward, who would make a very good Common Councilman, and shall not fail to try what can be done with him.

"If yo^r^ Lordship will please to allow me to wait upon you at y^e^ office on Friday ev^g^ about the same time as last week, I shall then be ready to give you a further acc^t^ of my intelligence; or if that be not so convenient, if you please to appoint me any other time and place, I shall do myself the honour to wait upon you, being with all possible respect, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's much obliged and most obedient servant,

"*Dec.* 11, 1722." "E. CALAMY."*

* S. P. Dom.

The Premier was perfectly willing to encourage the Dissenters to hope for the repeal of the Test Act, but always found it to be inconvenient to mention the time when the Government would be ready to introduce the measure to Parliament. At this time the case of Bishop Atterbury occupied their attention. His apprehension on the charge of treason caused much excitement. His friends complained that sufficient respect was not shown to his sacred office in the manner of his arrest. The officers entrusted with the warrant found his lordship in bed, and very slow to rise. The particulars are given in the following note :— Francis Atterbury.

"A Mon^r Duplessis, under cover to Mr. Hughes, Banquier, à Paris. "THURSDAY, Aug. 30, 1722.

"The Bishop of Rochester's seizure makes a great noise. Two officers—the under-secretary and a messenger—went last Friday, about *two o'clock in the afternoon*, to the Bishop's house at Westminster, where he then was, with orders to bring him and his papers before y^e^ Council. He happened to be in his night-gown when they came in, and being made acquainted with their business, he desired time to dress himself. In the meantime his secretary came in, and the officers, *&c.*, went to search for the papers. The messenger pulled and hauled him about, and said if he did not make more haste and put on his shirt, that he would carry him away naked as he was; upon which he desired his secretary to see his papers all sealed up, and went himself directly to the cockpit, where the Council waited for him. He is allowed two servants to attend him, but no persons to speak to him; and bears his confinement extremely well, and says that he never had his health better. The other prisoners are more closely confined since his commitment, and no hopes of their enlargement; but all are hearty and well. 'Tis said a great many more will be taken up.

"You are by this satisfied of the reasons of my late silence.

"Your most obliged servant, "J. W." *

* S. P. Dom.

The Keeper of the Tower had considerable trouble with his "right reverend" prisoner, and many communications passed between the authorities in reference to his treatment. It was a sore offence to the ex-prelate that he was not addressed by his former title. His only solace seems to have been derived from the visit of his loving daughter. "She has been y^e^ comfort of my life," he writes from the Tower, April 16, 1723, "and I shall leave her with more regret than I leave my preferments, though, when I am stripp'd of them, I shall have nothing else to support me. Nor is there scarce any loss besides that of my country, which will touch me so nearly."

Legal evidence to convict the Bishop of treason it was difficult to obtain, but as a dangerous person he was deprived of his benefice and banished the realm. The time of his departure within a certain period was left to himself.

"TOWER, May 30, 1723.

"My Lord," he wrote, "my intentions are to land at Rotterdam, and proceed from thence to Flanders, and settle in some town there; should be glad to go as soon as possible."

The Keeper of the Tower writes:—

"June 15, 1723.

"S^r^, the late Bish^p^ of Rochester declaring that he intends to set out on Tuesday next for his banishment, I take this opportunity of letting you know it, that if you pleas a propper order may be sent for our direction how we shall dispose of him when his day comes.—I am, sir, with great respect,

"Your humble and most obedient servant,

"A. WILLIAMSON."

The official instructions were given and fulfilled; the Keeper sent in the subjoined report:—

"1723. TOWER, June the 18th, 10 a clock at night.

"DEAR SIR,—I just now returned here from on board the *Alborough* man-of-war, which I saw under sail from Longreach at five o'clock this evening. The Duke of Wharton, Doctor Bridges, and several others of Mr. Atterbury's friends of less note, saw him on board, and went further with him than I did. At parting from the man-of-war, we gave three huzzas for King George, and we had the compliment returned from the ship, to the great mortification of the proud banished prelate, at the wharf-stairs here. There were sev[l] boats lay off, but they were mere spectators, friends and foes mix'd, whose curiosity brought 'em to take a view of him at parting. In our passage down the river, he began his attack on me in his old way. Among other his bitterness to me, he told me he had not forgot the seals, and he asked me whether I did not think there wou'd come a time when he wou'd call me to an account for 'em. I told him when the Pretender came I expected to hear from him, but as long as we had a Protestant reign I shou'd neither trouble my head about him or his menaces; in a word, we parted as ill friends as a honest Whig and a Jacobite Tory should. But besides my differences with him, there happened nothing extraordinary.

"I shall do all I can for a happy return of good Sheriffs, and assure you of no neglect on my side.

"I am, sir, with the greatest esteem,

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

"A. WILLIAMSON."

"I took the Captain's receipt for Mr. Atterbury." *

The resentments enkindled by the banishment of Atterbury indisposed the Government to risk any loss of influence by an attempt to meet the claims of the Dissenters. Walpole trusted rather to the effect of a bribe in the shape of benevolence.

"Finding that the Protestant Dissenters, after having been years trifled with, were moving in earnest to obtain deliverance from their bondage, he closeted a few of their ministers, whom he thought to have most influence with their brethren, and who would best answer

Walpole and the Dissenters.

* S. P. Dom.

his purposes. He complimented them on their great abilities; assured them he had the heartiest zeal for the Protestant Dissenters and their interests; lamented the poverty and small incomes of many of their ministers through the kingdom, and that any laws should hang over their heads. The reverend gentlemen were soon overpowered with his condescension, eloquence, and goodness. He then declared his readiness to serve them any way, even in Parliament, for the repeal of the Court statutes against them; but the present year, 1723, was a very improper time. He, the greatest friend they had, would not advise them to apply that session, or if they did it would greatly injure, if not ruin, the cause; but the postponing of it would greatly promote its success on a future period. A respectful postponing of it was very likely to obtain success; whereas to bring it on without regard to circumstances, or contrary to the advice of the best judges and their most able advocates, might be called rashness, and would do dishonour to the cause." *

This plausible story had its intended practical effect. Calamy, the great Presbyterian leader, became in consequence mysteriously "dumb for a season." The agitation for the repeal of the Test Act for the time subsided. We have Calamy's own version of the secret transaction:—

"About this time his Majesty was pleased, in a private way, to give the Dissenters a considerable taste of his royal bounty and kind regard to them by an annual allowance. The first motion for it was made by Mr. Daniel Burgess, who has been Secretary to the Prince of Wales. He, of his own head, out of good will to those among whom he had had his education, moved for something of that kind to the Lord Viscount Townshend, who readily fell in with it, and afterwards discoursed with his brother Walpole about it, who also concurred upon its being mentioned to the King. He was very free to it, and soon ordered £500 to be paid out of the Treasury for the use and behoof of the poor widows of Dissenting ministers; and some time after £500 was, upon appli-

Regium Donum.

* Rees' Sketch of the History of the Regium Donum, p. 18.

cation made on that behalf, ordered to be paid each half-year for the assisting either ministers or their widows that wanted help, or to be applied *to any such uses as the distributors thought to be most for their interest.* An order was each half-year obtained by Mr. Burgess, payable to Mr. Ellis, *the surgeon;* and when Mr. Burgess received it he paid it to the following persons, viz., Mr. William Tong, Mr. Jeremy Smith, Mr. Merrill of Hampstead, Mr. Thomas Reynolds, Mr. Matthew Clarke, Dr. Joshua Oldfield, Mr. John Evans, Mr. William Harris, and myself; and as any of these persons died the survivors chose another in his room.

"It was paid yearly generally, though sometimes I observed (without being able to discover what it was to be ascribed to) we were passed by and forgotten. An equal dividend was made of the sum received among those that received it, and each person disposed of what he received as he thought best, generally showing an account to the rest how it was disposed of, that so several might not give to the same persons. *A charge was given that this matter should be kept secret,* nor was there any occasion to make a common talk of it; and I believe it was kept as much a secret as a thing of that nature, with which so many were acquainted, could be well expected to be, though by degrees it became first suspected, and afterwards more known than were to have been desired."*

People of the "dark conventicles."

Turning from these Dissenting leaders at Court, let us glance once more at the people of the "dark conventicles." The probability is that they never heard of the Royal Bounty. Calamy would hardly condescend to notice them, and, as we have before intimated, there is no reference in their Church records to party politics. Entries like the following occur:—

"Association at Aylesbury, Oct. 1, 1723. It is agreed that there should be a day of humiliation, by fasting and prayer, observed in the churches, to entreat Almighty God to continue His present mercies, and in great goodness revive His seemingly dying cause, next day two weeks on the 16th of October.

* Brief Statement of the Regium Donum, by the Trustees, pp. 4, 5.

"April 11, 1726. The case proposed by the Church at Berkhampstead was whether the present state of the Churches, upon the account of that coldness and want of zeal towards God and religion and love towards one another, doth not call for a day of humiliation by fasting and prayer. Agreed in the affirmative, and that such a day be kept in all the churches as suits them best between this and Whitsuntide next."

Disturbance by French Prophets.

The disturbing influence of the French prophets continued to be felt in various Churches. They passed over the Continent, and the report of their wanderings, and of the wonders connected with them, kept up the strange excitement. Cases of discipline occurred at intervals in connection with erring brethren.

Case of Church discipline.

At a Church meeting held Aug. 8, 1723, the sum of the conversation was given that "B^{r} Wilson and B^{r} Spurrier had w^{h} B^{r} Speed":—

"Having delivered the Church's messages, he told us y^{e} reason of his absenting was, his being enlightened into a more excellent way of attending upon the Most High, and added, if wee could convince him it was his duty, he would continue to worship with us. To which end having advanced several Scriptures, w^{ch} wee thought directly evinced it, he readily allowed that it was the duty of Christians in general, but not of him in particular, with many others who were favoured with greater light. This he intimated they arrived at, by an immediate revelation from the Lord by His servants, who are commonly called French prophets. Upon which, wee attempted to show him the fallacy of their pretensions, in that they opposed the plain voice of ye Spirit in His word, since, according to him, they gave a liberty to omit what He had commanded. He answered, no more than the gospel hath the Jewish Dispensation. When urged further with the falseness of their predictions he observed, in Scripture wee meet with a Balaam as well as a Moses. However, when pressed very hard wth several of his own concessions and the conclusions that might easily be drawn from them, together wth several

reasons fetched from Scripture, the main thing he offered was the experience he had of the mighty presence of God whilst he was with these prophets. When wee examined, whether the expressions he spake of were of the same nature with those when formerly in the sanctuary he affirmed they were one in quality, though vastly superior in degree; he declared his unwearied diligence, in seeking the Lord as to this pretended mission—whether it was from Him or no; adding he was now as well satisfied of it as of his own existence, though he should always be open to conviction. As to the Church, he declared his honourable thought of us as Christians, tho' not so highly honoured w^th^ extraordinary light as himself. He professed his faith in and adherence to all the doctrines of the gospel as mentioned by us, with this only difference in worship; he hoped he was abundantly more spiritual; he willingly relinquished all right to Church fellowship with us, exchanging it, as he apprehended it, for a more glorious liberty. With a truly Christian candour he received our admonitions, and attended to our message, to us seeming rather to be under a very great delusion than to want a real principle of grace. However wee leave him in the hands of that gracious God who knows how to have compassion on the ignorant, and those who are out of way.

"Considering our B^r^ Speed's sentiments as above related, concerning Publick Worship and the other ordinances of the gospel, wee think him unfit while under these mistakes and delusions, to be continued a member with us, and therefore wee do withdraw ourselves from him, as not to esteem him a member with us, till the Lord give him another view of things, or convince him of his mistake." *

At a later period (Oct. 1, 1736):—

"Brother Holles was discoursed with and enquired of concerning a report of his being of the society of the French prophets, who confessed he had been many times with them in their meetings, and that he, like them, had at several and sundry times shakings and agitations of body, but whether by a divine power or not, or from a good spirit or bad, he could not fully determine. He was this day advised and earnestly entreated to

* Maze Pond Ch. Bk.

forsake their society for the future, being, in our opinion, of hurtful tendency to both his own soul and also to the cause and interest of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that otherwise it would so grieve and offend us his brethren, that in conscience we must refuse him communion at the table of the Lord." *

Dr. Watts, in a long letter to a lady affected by the influence of the Prophets, examines their pretensions with great care and discrimination, showing the danger of yielding in religious matters to sensations and impulses, to the neglect of the plain and decisive teaching of the Word of God :—

Letter of Dr. Watts.

"I am sorry, madam," he writes, "y^t you should so far indulge outward impulses and strong imaginations as to believe 'em divine, w^n at y^e same time you acknowledge them to be irrational. Tho' some mysterys of our religion, such as y^e Trinity of persons in the Godhead and y^e Incarnation of y^e Son of God, are above our reason, and may perhaps seem contrary to it, yet y^e conduct of our affairs in the civil life ought to be directed by reason according to the rules of religion; and if in any instances we fancy we are commanded to go contrary to y^e leadings of Providence, to the dictates of reason, and to the general rules of duty, we have need of most express revelation and most evident testimony of divinity in those impulses, and such I believe are exceeding rare in our days. 'Tis not enough to say that I find my heart in a heavenly frame w^n those (Mr. Lacey and some of his companions) alledge this argument for their inspirations and extasies—viz., y^t while these wild agitations are upon them, their frame of heart is devout and heavenly, and 'tis no wonder y^t this frame should increase while they are hereby perswaded more and more y^t y^e agitations are from God. But for y^e reason aforementioned I can't think this concomitant frame of heart alone a sufficient proof of divinity, for y^e soul y^t is truly sanctify'd will have a religious and heavenly tendency w^ch in some persons may mingle itself with many vanitys, and sometimes it requires much

* Tring Ch. Bk.

care and holy prudence to distinguish. I must own y^t a great degree of this mixture does not happen every day nor to all Christians. This temptation, rising to so high a pitch as you seem to intimate, is not exceeding common; and it must be confess'd y^t y^e Providence has something of darkness in it w^n God suffers a foolish, deluding fancy frequently to accompany y^e highest exercises of grace and devotion, especially when the body is in perfect health and the mind well stor'd, impulses are strongest, for w^n the fancy grows warm, and y^e mind vehemently press'd by any design, if we joyn thereto a meditation of divine things sometimes, y^t meditation will seem to be turned into a divine rapture and transport by y^e mere warmth of animal nature and a strong imagination or desire. As, for example, if you retain secret inclinations towards London w^n ye power of Providence calls you away, those very inclinations may insensibly produce a firm persuasion y^t you ought to stay in the city, especially if the edification of your soul be any cause of your inclination, then both these naturally fortify and advance each other till the soul is warmed to inward pleasure—when divine thoughts mingle herewith, perhaps y^e pleasure is exalted, and thus y^e mistaken in judgment believe the whole heap of thoughts that at that time propels y^e soul to be heavenly and divine, or w^n any sensible pleasure is first begun in the mind by devotion, those other inclinations and persuasions may rush into the thoughts, increasing pleasure, and so joyn all together in the claim of divinity.

"But we must remember that there is nothing we do in this frail and fleshly state w^ch is perfectly free from corrupt mixtures of flesh and sin. Even in our highest devotions God may permitt foolish vanitys to arise high in our thoughts, and look all of a piece with our devotion, w^ch afterward, upon cool reflection, we find to be empty and groundless. Perhaps this is permitted to teach us that our religion, faith, and hope should not be built upon strong impulses and imaginations, but upon a plain explanation of y^e gospel, and à comparison of our hearts, and y^e frame and temper of our wills with y^e word of God. It is possible also, that Satan may have some hand in the transactions on purpose to make us throw off all our religion, our faith, and hope, together with our vain fancys when we come to be con-

vinced that these impulses and fancys y^t^ mingled with religion were false and delusive." *

The train of reasoning is continued much further, but these extracts are sufficient to indicate the character of the paper. French and German writers discussed the question. We may refer to the work of Langen,† as one of the most exhaustive on the subject.

* Additional MSS., 21, 560.

† Nöthiger Unterieht von Unmittelbaren Offenbahrungen, etc., etc. welche in Cevennes einer Landschafft in Frankreich entstanden und hernach durch etlicher Cevenneser in Engel-und Schottland auch Hol-und Teutschland fortgepflantzet worden.—Joachim Langen, S. Theol. prof. ord., Halle im Magdeburgischen, A. MDCCXV.

CHAPTER VII.

DURING the time of trouble and danger known as that of "Queen Anne's War," religious interests suffered in the Colonies of the Western Hemisphere, and there was a long interval of declension. In 1721 we find signs of returning vitality, and particularly in Windham County,* Connecticut. The beginnings of this plantation were small. John Cates, a gentleman born in England, was the first settler. The place had many advantages; its land was cheap and accessible; its Indians few and friendly; its wolves scarce and easily subdued; its situation pleasant and healthful; its valleys free from encumbering forests; easily brought, therefore, under cultivation, and its most pressing wants were supplied by the forethought and generosity of the first proprietors. But the early settlers were enfeebled by differences of opinion on practical matters. The first step of the town or district was to measure for its "senter." With the distribution of the scattered population, the central point changed. To meet the convenience of the people, religious services

Revival in Connecticut.

Origin of the Windham Plantation.

* History of Windham County, Connecticut, by Ellen D. Larned.

were alternated between two places—half the time at the north and half at the south-end: but this was only a temporary arrangement; and, in anticipation of further increase, the people, after long debate and trouble, agreed, March 16, 1699, to divide the privileges :—

Question of the "senter."

"I. We agree, with the consent of our reverend minister, to divide the Lord's-days, that is, from this date to the 25th of December, to have the meeting half the time at the north and half at the south for seven years; then each place to endeavour to keep a minister by themselves; but if the north-end can get a minister sooner, we engage to repay them the money they paid towards the minister's house.

"II. It is agreed that each end shall build a meeting-house up on their own cost and charge, big enough to accommodate the whole congregation, and to set them where the inhabitants of each place shall see most convenient for the present and future advantage of each place. Further, the neighbourhood of each place do covenant and agree that they will find one as convenient as possibly they can for the whole society to meet in as it falls to be their turn, until the meeting-house be up and fit for such work."

This important question being settled, the following petition, in May, was sent to the General Assembly :—

Petition for Church Embodiment.

"May it please your Honours to consider that, whereas we, the inhabitants of the town of Windham, having been long in an unsettled way and destitute of the ordinances of Christ, but God having been pleased so far now to favour His people here as to give us hopes of a good settlement in these affairs of greatest concernment, and also God having so disposed of the hearts of his people in that they are desiring and longing for the enjoyment of God in all his lively ordinances: We, therefore, whose names are underwritten, on behalf of the said town of Windham, do *humbly request that this honoured Court would be pleased so far to favour us and the interests*

of Christ among us as to grant us liberty to embody into Church estate and to ordain the Rev. Samuel Whiting, with the advice and help of the neighbouring Churches, that so we may enjoy God in all his holy ordinances, that according to his own instruction, which is the greatest happiness belonging to a people on this side heaven. We, therefore, request that your honours would look friendly upon us, and help us with your consent, counsel, and prayers, that we may abide under the shadow of your wings. In so doing, you shall firmly oblige us to be wishing and seeking your welfare and prosperity, according to the littleness of the ability of your honour's humble servants,

"JOSHUA RIPLEY,
"THOMAS BINGHAM,
"THOMAS HUNTINGDON."

Second Church.

The north-end inhabitants were strengthened by an accession of territory, and in due time expected to have a minister of their own. They were a little staggered, however, by the regulation that the minister to be "called and settled" should be "able and orthodox," and applied to the Court to learn the precise meaning of these terms. The reply of the Assembly was to the following effect:—

"By an able and orthodox minister called and settled, they understand a person competently well skilled in arts and languages; well studied and well principled in divinity, approving himself by his exercises in preaching the gospel to the judgment of those that are approved pastors and teachers of approved churches; to be a person capable of dividing the word of truth, to convince gainsayers, and that his conversation is such that he is a person called and qualified according to gospel rules to be pastor of a church, and in an orderly way settled in that office and work."

With this fair understanding, the north-end settlers sought the accomplishment of their object, and, after patient effort, presented the following petition, May 9, 1717:—

"Having obtained consent of Windham that we should be a society distinct for carrying on the worship of God, do now pray your honours to confirm and establish us as a parish. We are the more encouraged in this our request when we reflect upon your honours' care for promoting religion and good order, which is one great end in this our desire, it being extremely difficult for us to attend upon the present place of worship, none of us being within six miles of it, and many of us much more. We also hope, by the blessing of Providence, that we shall be able to support and bear the charge of the public worship, being already between twenty and thirty families, and having accommodation for a great many more, who will doubtless be much encouraged to settle among us."

A parish was assigned to them, on condition that "the petitioners annually levy and pay a tax among themselves, equal with what the rest of the town pay towards the support of the ministry, until the said parish now granted have a settled ministry among themselves."

Finding difficulty in raising the amount required, they proposed that the lands around them in the possession of the Windham people should contribute in proportion to their enhanced value from the increased population. Difficulties arose which greatly hindered the Church. After struggling for four years to provide accommodation for a minister, the meeting-house was far from completed; but anxious, in 1722, to retain the services of William Billings, to whom they had given a call, the inhabitants of Windham village again petitioned the General Court:—

"Our circumstances," they said, "are very grievous—a very poor parish—new settlers—have agreed to give Mr. Billings £150 for settlement, and fivepence a pound on rateable estate till it come to £90 for salary; and we shall be glad and ever-

more have cause to thank the honoured Court, if they would be pleased to consider our poverty and difficult circumstances. *We are but thirty-five little families, and we ha'n't a bit of land to settle our minister upon but what we must buy at five, seven, eight, and nine pound per hundred eacars.* We pray the Court to abate our tax for two next years coming, and it will for ever oblige us,

Call of William Billings.

JOHN DURKER, WILLIAM DURKER, NATHANIEL HOVEY,
in behalf of the inhabitants.

"*May* 12, 1722."

Creeping on in this way, their difficulties were at length overcome, and Mr. Billings had the satisfaction of recording the proceedings on the day of ordination.

"The Council that embodied y^e^ church and carried on y^e^ affair when Mr. Billings was ordained pastor in Windham village were Samuel Whiting, and *Messengers* :—Eliphalet Adams of New London, Samuel Eastbrook of Canterbury, Joseph Cort of Plainfield, Ebenezer Williams of Pomfret. Mr. Adams gave the charge; Mr. Eastbrook the right hand of fellowship; Mr. Whiting preached; Mr. Cort made the last prayer. Thus all was completed, June 5, 1723."

The following Church covenant was then read and subscribed :—

"Windham Village, June 5, 1723, being y^e^ day of ordination. We do this day, in the strength of Christ, humbly and heartily avouch the Lord, whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son, and Spirit, to be our God and the God of our seed, entirely and everlastingly dedicating both ourselves and ours unto His holy fear and service according to His word, promising and covenanting to walk with God and love one another, as God's chosen people and a particular Church ought to do; complying with y^e^ whole will of God as far as He hath pleased, or shall further please to discover his mind to us by His Spirit, Word, and providence, acknowledging, embracing, and submitting unto the Lord Jesus, God-man, as Head of the Church, Prophet, Priest, and King of our souls, y^e^ only Mediator between God and man, and

surety of the covenant, that He may of God be made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, looking for acceptation only in Christ both of our persons and services."

There was a corresponding improvement in the entire district; the first church in Windham in 1720-21 enjoyed a great spiritual prosperity. In acknowledgment of this great blessing, a special thanksgiving service was held February 12, 1721, and a sermon preached by Mr. Whitney from 1 Thess. iii. 8. Eliphalet Adams, in a preface to the discourse, says :—

"Windham is a town of about thirty years' standing, where the Rev. Mr. Samuel Whiting hath been improved in the work of the ministry from their beginning.

Address of Eliphalet Adams.

"God hath been pleased to make him a very rich blessing among them, and doubtless many will have reason to bless God for ever, in that their lot hath been cast to dwell under his ministry. Not only hath he seen the town flourishing to that degree in this short space of time, as that two other societies are already sprung out therefrom, but he hath had the comfort to observe that many living and serious Christians have been 'born there,' and that his 'labour hath not been in vain in the Lord.'

"But of late there has been a greater stirring than ordinary among the 'dry bones.' Many have been awakened to consider and enquire with a great deal of earnestness, what they should do to be saved? Persons of all ages, and some of whom there was but little expectation, have come 'together weeping to seek the Lord their God,' so that within the compass of about half a year, there have been fourscore persons joined to these communities, and more are still dropping in; so 'mightily doth the Word of God grow and prevail among them,' and let us charitably hope that the Lord hath been adding to His Church such as should be saved.

"It is surprising to see what a happy alteration there is made when God is pleased to bless the dispensation of the gospel, and the institution of His house, and confirm His Word in the mouths of His servants.

"Now the work grows easy and delightful in the hands of the Lord's servants; their former sighs occasioned by their unsuccessful endeavours are changed into praise, *they* ALMOST *forget their other sorrows and burdens that are upon them, for the joy that people are born unto the Lord.* Now they that have happily 'escaped out of the snare of the fowler' admire the wonders of free grace which remembered and visited them in their low estate, they are brought forth into the 'light of life,' and having their doubts and fears gradually dissipated, they go on 'rejoicing for the consolation.' Their fellow Christians who were 'in Christ before them,' receive them with open arms, and many thanksgivings are offered up unto the Lord. Now things put on the same face of gladness and delight as once they did at Samaria, when Christ was preached with success, Acts viii. 8, 'And there was great joy in that city.'

"Oh that the same good 'spirit from on high' were poured out upon the rest of the country, for what pity is it that this single 'fleece' only should be 'wet with the dew of heaven,' while the rest of the 'ground' round about remains (comparatively) 'dry.' And may we not say with the Psalmist, 'It is time for Thee, Lord, to work,' when iniquity gets head, and serious religion is so sadly decaying throughout the land, insomuch that there is scarce a sufficient number rising up to make good the ground of them that are dropping off the stage continually; especially when we consider how much short they come of their good spirit, and we are almost at a loss to find Christians among Christians. It is true God is calling loudly to us by variety of Providences, the means of grace are yet in our hands, and the ordinances are among us, but where is the God of the ordinances? and where are all the wonders which our fathers told us of, when the 'arm of the Lord' was powerfully 'revealed,' and people more generally 'believed the report.'"

Whiting died suddenly of pleurisy when absent from home at Enfield, September 27, 1725, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Though his illness was short and distressing, he did not forget his friends and people, but offered two special prayers upon his death-bed: one was for his family,

Death of Whiting.

and one for the continuance and prosperity of his church.

In September, 1726, Jonathan Edwards relinquished his work as tutor at New Haven, to enter on the more congenial service of the Christian pastorate. Northampton, the place of his settlement, pleasant in its natural situation was then a country town, and included within its limits more than the ordinary share of refinement and culture.

Settlement of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton.

Edwards gave himself with peculiar ardour and diligence to study, preaching, and the regular visitation of his flock. He found in Sarah Pierrepont, to whom he was married on July 28, 1727, a true helpmeet. She was the daughter of JAMES PIERREPONT, the minister of New Haven, and for piety, intelligence, gracefulness of manner, action, benevolence, and loving sympathy was greatly esteemed. The Venerable Solomon Stoddard survived the settlement of his colleague two years, and died February 11, 1729. Dr. Colman, in his Boston Lecture, said of him :—

Solomon Stoddard.

"As he has been for some years the most aged minister in the province, so in the course of a laborious, burning ministry, he has for many years shone before us in the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, a prophet and a father not only to the neighbouring Churches and pastors of his own county, but also to those of the whole land. He was as a Peter here among the disciples and ministers of our Lord Jesus, very much our primate and a prince among us, in an evangelical and the truly apostolical sense; that is to say, among the first for light and integrity, for knowledge and general judgment, for faith and love which is in Christ Jesus, and for zeal and boldness in the cause of truth and holiness. But I must add, none less affecting a pre-eminence above his brethren; none more pleased with retire-

ment, and none more with public appearances for occasional services to Christ and souls; none more studious and inquisitive after truth; none more diligent and laborious in his studies; none more lively, fervent, and unwearied in the pulpit, nor did anyone love his work and his Master better."

As a preacher Edwards was "comprehensive." "In some particulars (we are told) he was a metaphysical preacher." Still he did not burden his discourses with formal syllogisms and scholastic technicalities. In general his sermons were plain enough to be understood by his auditors. The preaching of Edwards excited great attention. Edwards as a preacher.

Stationery was dear, and in the practice of habitual economy Edwards wrote on small pieces of coarse paper, in a minute hand, difficult for others to read. These scraps he took up into the pulpit, and in reading them scarcely took his eyes from them; but, before the hour-sermon was through, the hand, the paper, the voice trembled together, and conviction entered the hearts of his hearers, followed by emotion that it was impossible to restrain. Yet it was difficult to say what was the secret of his power, except it was to be found in sacred unction. It was not in ornament, tropes, figures, illustrations, or anecdotes, but in the power from on high, that manifestly rested upon him.

We have a glimpse of his home as irradiated by the kindliness of Mrs. Edwards, in an entry in the autobiography of SAMUEL HOPKINS:—

"In the month of December, being furnished with a horse, etc., I set out for Northampton, with a view to live with Mr. Edwards, where I was an utter stranger. When I arrived there Mr. Edwards was not at home; but I was received with great kindness by Mrs. Edwards and the Home life.

family, and had encouragement that I might live there during the winter. Mr. Edwards was abroad on a preaching tour, as people in general were greatly attentive to religion and preaching, which was attended with remarkable effects in the conviction and supposed conversion of multitudes. I was very gloomy, and was most of the time retired in my chamber. After some days, Mrs. Edwards came into my room, and said, 'As I was now become one of the family for a season, she felt herself interested in my welfare, and as she observed that I appeared gloomy and dejected, she hoped I would not think she intruded by desiring to know and asking me what was the occasion of it, or to what purpose. I told her the freedom she used was agreeable to me; that the occasion of the appearance which she mentioned was the state in which I considered myself. I was in a Christless, graceless state, and had been under a degree of conviction and concern for myself for a number of months. I had got no relief, and my case instead of growing better appeared to grow worse. Upon which we entered into a free conversation; and, on the whole, she told me that she had peculiar exercises respecting me, since I had been in the family; that she trusted I should receive light and comfort, and doubted not that God intended yet to do great things by me, etc. This conversation did not sensibly raise my spirits in the least degree. My views of myself were such, and my prospect and hope of good were so low, that I then paid no sensible regard to what she said."

First Published Sermons.

On July 8, 1731, Edwards preached a sermon from 1 Cor. i. 29, at a public lecture at Boston, which, at the desire of the ministers, was published under the title of "God Glorified in Man's Dependence." Prince and Cooper, in commending the discourse to the attention of the people, say:—

"It was with no small difficulty that the author's youth and modesty were prevailed on to let him appear a preacher in our public lecture, but as we quickly found him a workman that needs not to be ashamed before his brethren, our satisfaction was the greater to see him pitching upon so noble a subject, and

treating it with so much strength and clearness." "Such doctrines as these, which, by humbling the minds of men, prepare them for the exaltations of God, He has signally owned and prospered in the reformed world, and in our land especially, in the day of our forefathers, and we hope they will never grow unfashionable among us; for, we are well assured, if those which we call the doctrines of grace ever come to be contemned or disrelished, vital piety will proportionably languish and wear away, as these doctrines always sink in the esteem of men upon the decay of serious religion.

"We cannot, therefore, but express our joy and thankfulness that the great Head of the Church is pleased still to raise up among the children of His people, for the supply of His Churches, those who assert and maintain these evangelical principles; and that our Churches (notwithstanding all their degeneracies) have still a high value for such principles, and for those who publicly own and teach them."

The interest excited by this publication was deepened by another sermon he issued from the press in 1734, on Matthew xvi. 17, under the title, "A Divine and Supernatural Light, immediately imparted to the Soul by the Spirit of God, shown to be both a Scriptural and Rational Doctrine."

These discourses were followed by a full discussion of the doctrine of "Justification by faith alone." In the preface, Edwards says:—

"By the noise that had a little before been raised in this county concerning that doctrine, people here seemed to have their minds put into an unusual ruffle. Some were brought to doubt of that way of acceptance with God, which from their infancy they had been taught to be the only way; and *many were engaged more thoroughly to look into the grounds of those doctrines in which they had been educated.* The discourse of justification, preached at two public lectures, seemed to be remarkably blessed, not only to establish the judgment of many in this truth, but to engage their hearts in a more earnest pursuit of justification, in

that way that had been explained and defended; and *at that time*, while I was greatly reproached for defending this doctrine in the pulpit, and just upon my suffering a very open abuse for it, God's work wonderfully brake forth among us, and souls began to flock to Christ, as the Saviour in whose righteousness alone they hoped to be justified."

Awakening in 1735.

The remarkable awakening in 1735, to which Edwards here refers, spread rapidly through the district. In a full and circumstantial narrative he prepared at the request of his Uncle Williams, of Hatfield, he says:—

"It seemed to be a time of extraordinary dullness in religion. Licentiousness for some years greatly prevailed among the youth of the town. They were many of them very much addicted to night-walking, and frequenting the tavern and lewd practices, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others."

Gradually these follies were relinquished, the young people evinced great willingness to listen to counsel, and there was a thorough reformation in their conduct.

At a little village belonging to the congregation, called Pascommuck, the people manifested deep religious concern, and the sudden and awful death of a young man produced peculiar solemnity in the minds of the people. Meetings were held after the evening lectures, for social religion. The manifest change wrought in the town was universal and marvellous, and its influence extended throughout the neighbouring district. A similar revival was experienced in sixteen towns.

Large accessions were made to the Church. Edwards says:—

"We have about six hundred and twenty communicants,

which include almost all our adult persons. Our sacraments are eight weeks asunder, and I received into our communion about a hundred before our sacrament, fourscore of them at one time, whose appearance, when they presented themselves together to make an open and explicit profession of Christianity, was very affecting to the congregation. I took in near sixty before the next sacrament day, and I had very sufficient evidence of the conversion of their souls, through divine grace, *though it is not the custom here, as it is in many other Churches, to make a visible relation of their inward experience the ground of admission to the Lord's Supper.*"

So far from this, the profession of faith, in any form, was not required.

Stoddard's Views of the Lord's Supper.

Stoddard, in a sermon on the Lord's Supper, published in 1707, maintained that "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is to be regarded as a converting ordinance, and that all baptized persons, not scandalous in life, may lawfully approach the table, though they know themselves to be destitute of true religion." These sentiments pervaded the Church, and caused widespread injury, and eventually to Edwards himself extraordinary difficulty and trouble.

A controversy occasioned by the ordination of Robert Breck, at Springfield, in 1736, diverted attention from the work of revival. Reports unfavourable to Breck led the neighbouring ministers to dissuade the people from giving him a call, which, nevertheless, was presented on April 24, 1735; but the Hampshire Association opposed his ordination, and when the Council met for the usual service, they declined to proceed. A second Council was called by the people, consisting of William Cooper, William Welsteed, and Samuel Mather, of

Boston; William Cook, of Sudbury; and William Rand, of Sunderland. After they had assembled, *the Sheriff, with his posse, marched to the house where they were in session, surrounded it with his force, and then, with a drawn sword in his hand, entered the room where the Council were examining the candidate.* There, in his Majesty's name, he arrested Breck, and ordered him to prepare himself for a journey to New London. Bail was offered, and for a time refused, but on earnest remonstrance the Sheriff yielded; and at the trial, the accused was acquitted, and ordained on January 26, 1736.*

Sheriff at a Council with a drawn sword.

A keen discussion followed. William Cooper vindicated the Ordaining Council, and Jonathan Edwards defended the Hampshire Association. Breck, by some indiscreet statements prior to the time of his ordination, gave rise to suspicions, which were removed to the satisfaction of the ministers by a more explicit statement of his doctrinal views, and by the correctness of his subsequent course.

The progress of the Churches must have been grievously hindered by the dependence of the ministers on State pay. The arrangements for the settlement of a pastor (or "clergyman," as he is called in America) in his parish was often a merely secular transaction, and the items of the agreement were considered with anxious care, to prevent undue encroachment on either side.

In Windham County, MARSTON CABOT was a candidate for the vacant office.

* Holland's History of Western Massachusetts, vol. i., p. 199.

"It was put to vote, Oct. 16th, 1729, 'whether Mr. Cabot shall be minister of this Society,' and it was passed in the affirmative. It was then voted, to give Mr. Cabot eighty pounds salary for the first year, and so to add five pounds per year, and that to be his stated salary. Also, to give him two hundred pounds settlement, paying one hundred pounds the first year, and fifty pounds per year the second and third years. Jonathan Eaton, John Dwight, and Sampson Howe were chosen to treat with Mr. Cabot, and entreat his acceptance. At the same time, James Wilson, Benjamin Bixby, and Jonathan Clough were directed to go to the Rev. Mr. Fisk, as occasion shall be, for advice, in order to have the gospel ordinances settled in this Society."

Marston Cabot and his Difficulties.

Mr. Cabot, after considering the matter till December 4th, replied in the following terms:—

"To the Inhabitants of the North Society of Killingly.

"GENTLEMEN,—I doubt not but you are sensible y^e^ price of such things as are necessary for y^e^ support and comfort of human life is daily rising, and there is y^e^ prospect of dearer living still. I trust you are all agreed y^t^ a minister of Christ ought to have an honorable maintenance, suitable to his sacred character and station, y^t^ he may not be forced to entangle himself with y^e^ affairs of this life; and I make no question but you are heartily willing to communicate to Him y^t^ teacheth in all good things, for so hath y^e^ Lord ordained y^t^ they which preach y^e^ Gospel should live of y^e^ Gospel.

"Persuading myself, therefore, and depending on this, y^t^ as your outward circumstances increase and grow better, you will proportionably and cheerfully contribute to y^e^ bettering y^e^ condition and circumstances of him y^t^ labours among you in word and doctrine, I accept of your call and invitation to settle among you in y^e^ great work of y^e^ ministry, provided you fulfil y^e^ three following articles, viz.:—

"1. That you answer y^e^ two hundred pounds settlement you have offered me to Mr. Cooper and his wife, who have engaged to let me have their place for y^e^ consideration of three hundred pounds.

"2. That you always keep up y^e^ credit of y^e^ salary you have proposed in your call.

"3. That you bring me a sufficiency of cord-wood for my own use in y^e^ season of it.

"Thus requesting an interest in your addresses to Heaven, and assuring you I shall bear you upon my heart before God continually, and wishing you all temporal happiness, but especially y^t^ your souls may prosper and be in health,

"I subscribe, yours for Jesus' sake,

"MARSTON CABOT."*

The Society at once empowered Jonathan Russell, John Dwight, and Sampson Howe to give bonds to Mr. and Mrs. Cooper for the payment of the two hundred pounds, and pledged themselves to keep up the credit of the salary, and find and bring sufficient cord-wood. A rate of eighty pounds "out of our estates for the payment of Mr. Cabot's salary this present year," was immediately granted.

The first meeting of settlers might agree on the terms to be proposed, but an influx of voters before the matter was finally determined would sometimes disturb or set aside the agreement.

Samuel Dorrance, a graduate of Glasgow University, was an accepted candidate at Voluntown, Conn., April 17th, 1725, and received the following invitation:—

Samuel Dorrance and Troubles at Voluntown.

"We, y^e^ inhabitants and proprietors of Voluntown, having by y^e^ Providence of God had for some considerable time y^e^ opportunity to experience your ministering gifts and qualifications, by which we have received such satisfaction, and are so well contented that it has pleased God to incline us to give you a call to settle with us in y^e^ work of y^e^ Gospel ministry, and in case of acceptance agree to give you sixty pounds a year for y^e^ present, and also fifty

* Larned, p. 310, *et seq.*

pounds in such species as shall be suitable to promote your building or settlement.

"3. Y^e^ town does give their free vote y^t^ you shall have y^t^ laid out by y^e^ Committee for y^e^ minister y^t^ should settle with us."

As a special token of their goodwill, a number of those present offered the following free gifts over and above their equal proportion raised by vote of the town :—

"John Smith, five thousand shingles.
"Thomas Cole, three pounds money, in shingle nails.
"John Gallup, five pounds, in work.
"Robert Parke, three pounds, in boards and plank.
"Samuel Gallup, five pounds money, with a cow and calf.
"Thomas Gallup, breaking up two acres of land."

Other contributions were added.

After due deliberation, Mr. Dorrance, with humble thanks, accepted the call. The Association and the State Assembly gave the requisite sanction, and on October 15th, 1723, a fast was kept, preparatory to ordination. Ministers were invited to attend the service on the 23rd of October. Up to the day of ordination, no objection had been raised. But in the interval, several families from the North of Ireland, friends of the newly-invited minister, had joined the settlement, and a somewhat loose and disorderly population had previously gathered in this border township. To the surprise and consternation of the Ordaining Council, a body of people rushed into their meeting "in a riotous, disorderly, and unchristian way," and, without waiting for prayer or ceremony, presented the subjoined remonstrance :—

"We, whose names are under-written, do agree that *one of*

our New England people may be settled in Voluntown to preach the Gospel to us, and will oblige ourselves to pay him yearly, and will be satisfied, honoured gentlemen, that you choose one for us to prevent unwholesome inhabitants, for we are afraid Popery and Heresy will be brought into the land: therefore, we protest against settling Mr. Dorrance, because he is a stranger, and we are informed he came out of Ireland, and we do observe that since he has been in town that the Irish do flock into town, and we are informed that *the Irish are not wholesome inhabitants*, and *upon this account* we are against settling Mr. Dorrance, for we are not such persons as you take us to be, but desire the Gospel to be preached *by one of our own and not by a stranger*, for we cannot receive any benefit for neither soul nor body, and we would pray him to withdraw himself from us." *

The "honoured gentlemen" of the Council were sadly nonplussed. The case on its merits was sufficiently clear. The proceedings had been perfectly regular, and the protest was not signed; but for personal reasons some of the ministers hesitated to act on their recognized principles, and after spending a day in hearing the opposers repeat their reasons over and over, came on the second day to the following lame and impotent conclusion:—

"1. We esteem the objections offered by the defending party against Mr. Dorrance's ordination, invalid.

"2. We judge the people's call of Mr. Dorrance not sufficient.

"3. We testify our firm persuasion, that Mr. Dorrance's ministerial abilities are unexceptionable.

"4. We advise Mr. Dorrance to continue to preach, and the people to endeavour a more regular and comfortable call."

This decision was received with great indignation by the majority of the town. Governor Salstonstall and several leading ministers condemned the non-

* Larned, vol. i., p. 251.

action of the Council, and pronounced the "call" sufficient. The governor ordered a very strong letter to be written, directing the Council to proceed with the ordination, but Mr. Lord, one of the ministers, refused to serve, because "some of his people had said they would not hear him any more if he did; and Mr. Coit, another member of the Council, also declined, "lest his people should be offended at him, in being accessory to deprive them of *outgo for their creatures.*" In other words, by the settlement of a minister at Voluntown the people of the neighbouring district of Plainfield and Preston would lose the privilege of free forage of their *cattle.* A new Council was called, as in such cases, Dec. 12, 1723, and Mr. Dorrance was ordained.

The troubles and conflicts of Churches often receive more attention than their peaceful union and constant service. We must not, therefore, conclude that these ecclesiastical contests constitute the only incidents on record. In contrast with them we may cite an example of remarkable self-control, mutual forbearance, and sympathy. After some difficulties, removed by the friendly admonition of Peter Thacher, their pastor, the members of the Church signed the following mutual confession :—

Mutual confession at Middleborough.

"We, the subscribers, members of the First Church of Christ in Middleborough (Massachusetts), at a meeting, this 10th day of April, 1738, to enquire and resolve to our Reverend Pastor, and one another, whether we are in suitable frames to communicate at the Lord's table together, and whether we advise it proper for our Reverend Pastor to administer to us under the general and visible decay of brotherly love among us, do freely and humbly acknowledge, and have reason to do it with trembling, grief, and fear, that

there are too evident tokens of our want of love and want of peace, not only in this precinct, but also even among the members of this Church. We desire to mourn for these our sensible divisions. We acknowledge our want of zeal for the interests of Christ, and the discipline of Christ among us; that we have been no more united to discountenance sin in ourselves and others, as by covenant we have expressly obliged ourselves to do; and also, that we have been too much estranged ourselves one from another; our want of zeal for the honour of God's house and worship. We do, by these presents, severally, each one for himself, judge and condemn ourselves herein, and sincerely ask the forgiveness of God and our brethren, and declare by our hands hereto affixed, our sincere forgiveness of each other, and our hearty reconciliation and reunion in all the affairs of Christ's interest, worship, discipline, and glory, earnestly begging grace from God to walk together from this time more as becomes the disciples and followers of the God of love than ever before we have done, desiring to be mutual helpers of each other, and especially comforts to our pastor; and that, for a time to come, we will pray and labour for such a unity as may render us terrible as an army with banners, united to pull down, and in all suitable ways to bear testimony against all sin and wickedness, and to watch against all occasions and temptations to contention, and to mark them who would estrange us one from another, and to have no fellowship with them.

"Under a sense of these obligations we desire to come to the table of our Lord, and into His presence at His table, and there to seal before His immediate presence what we hereunto set our hands, humbly imploring the grace of Christ to be there abundantly shed forth on ourselves and each other, and desire that our pastor would lead us thither." *

Agitation of the Clergy at Boston.

The Anglican Clergy in Massachusetts continued hopelessly divided amongst themselves, and a source of trouble and perplexity to the Bishop of London, to whom they sent incessantly their mutual complaints, referring to him questions in which they were unable to come to any

* Hist. First Church of Middleborough, Mass., pp. 24, 25.

friendly agreement. Checkley, Cutler, and their associates would keep no terms with the "Dissenters," and lost no opportunity to stir up the authorities in London to adopt measures of legal restraint. They entered into a severe contention with the officials of Harvard College, watched the proceedings of the General Court, and raised objections to the appointment of a governor, on the ground of his being a "Dissenter." Henry Harris and his friends were of more pacific spirit, and adopted a more considerate course towards the non-Episcopalian part of the community. Harris was sent as an assistant in 1709 to Samuel Myles, the Rector of King's Chapel, in the place of Christopher Bridge, who was compelled to remove in consequence of a tedious dispute respecting the inequality of their official rights.

The spirit of the men is exemplified in their active correspondence.

Letter of Harris to the Bishop of London.

"My enemies," says Harris to the Bishop of London, in a letter dated Boston, N.E., Feb. 16th, 1727-8, "represent me as not sufficiently zealous for the Church, but if they mean the Church of England as by law established, they can't be guilty of a greater falsehood; and if your Lordship were here present, I doubt not but you would be fully convinced of the great baseness and iniquity of those who load me with vile aspersions which they themselves know to be false, and which were never cast upon me 'till *I made a stand against the pernicious doctrines which were published and propagated here in certain Jacobite books* and libels, but that my zeal for the Government is not inconsistent with my affection to the Church will, I hope, be very evident from the petition humbly offered to your Lordship on my behalf by the principal members of our own Church. It is not wealth or power that I contend for, my present pension from the Crown, which is the only allowance I have for my service here, being

pretty near equal to, or at least contenting me as well as, the contributions of the people allowed to Mr. Myles for his service. But it is the earnest desire of persons of the greatest worth and honour in our Church that, after Mr. Myles' death, I should be appointed the first minister of the King's Chappel in this place; and it would be a real grief to them, as well as a prejudice to the Church, should it be governed by the counsels and maxims of the disaffected party. I have no thoughts of calling the people together 'till Governor Burnet's arrival, here being no magistrate of our communion, invested with authority to *repress the insolence of the mob, who lately committed great disorders in the Church.* I am unwilling to apply to the Lieutenant-Governor or the Justices, who are Dissenters, lest my enemies except against that as an extraordinary proceeding." *

The Congregational ministers sent a testimonial in favour of Harris to the Bishop of London, under the circumstances, of very doubtful utility. †

Harris was disappointed in his expectation of the living. The Rector died in March, 1727. Thomas Sandford, the agent of the congregation in London, after conference with Bishop Gibson, received a license for Roger Price, dated March 4th, 1728-9, with a letter, in which his Lordship says :—

"He has been long known to me, and is one whom I am willing to trust with the power of Commissary *for inspecting the lives and manners of the clergy*, if he succeed in that place; and I think a better service cannot be done to a congregation than the inducing both parties to unite in him."

Commissary Price.

Commissary Price held a difficult post. The High Church leaders, on the alert to find causes of complaint against the Colonial Government, demurred to the appointment of a general fast on one of the days appointed as a

* Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church; Fulham MSS., unbound, p. 247.

† Fulham MSS., unbound, p. 249.

Church festival. It fell to the lot of the official representative of the Bishop of London to state their grievance. Governor Belcher, willing to accommodate the Episcopalian clergy to the extent of his power, naturally fretted by their impertinence, wrote in the following strain to the Bishop :—

Complaint of Governor Belcher to the Bishop of London.

"BOSTON, *July 24th*, 1731.

"MY LORD,—I am humbly to ask your Lordship's pardon for the honor I did myself the 20th May last in giving my son a letter, and thereby the advantage of receiving your Lordship's blessing and good advices, when you'l please to allow him to pay his duty to you.

"I am very thankful to your Lordship for what Mr. Newman writes me of the good offices your Lordship has been pleased to employ in favor of Christ's Church in this town, of which I have acquainted Dr. Cutler and the Vestry, and that from your Lordship's goodness and parental care they may hope for his Majesty's bounty to that infant Church. If your Lordship would indulge me, I would make my complaint against Mr. Commissary Price, *for his ill manners.*

"It has been, my Lord, from time to time immemorial and practice in this Government to have an anniversary fast and thanksgiving. I, therefore, issued a proclamation, with the advice and consent of his Majesty's Council, that Thursday, the 25th of March last, should be observed throughout this Province as a day of fasting and prayer, upon which Mr. Commissary, Dr. Cutler, and Mr. Harwood came to tell me the 25th of March was Lady Day, and a festival observed in the Church of England. I told them I had not the least thought of it, nor did I suppose any gentleman at the Council Board had. For my own part, I frankly added, as I had been born and bred a Dissenter, I was almost an entire stranger to the festivals of the Church of England, and that, had I known it, would have appointed some other day. Notwithstanding my mild and handsome treatment of the clergy, the Commissary was so rude as to tell me he believed it was done purposely to affront the Church, and that *in the appointment of such days he ought to be consulted.* This I look

upon as a great piece of insolence on the King's Government, and had it not been in regard of Dr. Cutler and Mr. Harwood, who behaved themselves consistent with their character, I should have treated Mr. Price very roughly. Since this affair happened, *I neither have gone nor will go into the Church if I am apprized of his being in the desk, nor suffer any of my family.* Pardon me, my Lord, while I say I am truly afraid no honor will redound to your Lordship, or to the Church, by the too great honor you have done that gentleman in your commission. I shall be much mistaken if he ever adds to the number of the Church of England in this place. Your Lordship well knows with what principles and in what manner this country was first settled, and with what sort of people; not with the necessitous refuse and gleanings of mankind (as most of the other plantations have been), but with men of good substance, virtue, and knowledge, which they have taken care from time to time to hand down to posterity, and who are at this day tenacious enough in the way they have been educated, that it must not be a blind, outrageous zeal (without knowledge and learning) that will make proselytes here. No! If the Episcopal clergy think the Church of England the best Church in the world, and are sincerely desirous to increase it in the country, it must be in an imitation of their great Lord and Master (to whom they are to give up their account at His great tribunal) in His doctrine and example. The people here must be drawn with the cords of a man and the bands of love. Things, I say, must be managed with a spirit of charity, moderation, and Christian temper. Nothing of what the Dissenters call High Church, or what they imagine proceeds from a spirit of bitterness against 'em, will ever do any good to the Church among us; and I believe your Lordship may be satisfied that Mr. Commissary Price shows too much of this spirit in his preaching and conversation. I hear he talks of soon returning to Great Britain, and I believe your Lordship can't do a greater service to the Church in these parts than to prevent his coming hither again." *

The ministers of the Hampshire Association also addressed a remonstrance to the Bishop of London:—

* Amer. Hist. Coll., p. 270; Fulham MSS., unbound.

"HATFIELD, *Sept. 10th*, 1734.

"MY LORD,—We would approach your Lordship with *humble deference and respect, and acknowledging our distance and meanness,* and hope your goodness will render you a righteous judge in your own cause and towards your inferiors, as holy Job professes he did not despise the cause of his manservant or his maidservant. Remonstrance of the Hampshire Association.

"*It is the cause of God that we are concerned for,* and the well-being of our Churches, and which we apprehend our relation to them as pastors oblige us to. And inasmuch as it is more immediately from your Lordship that missionaries are authorized and sent from England to us, we think no person so proper for us to apply ourselves unto, and humbly beg leave to acquaint your Lordship so far of the state of our country and province, and also of the colony of Connecticut, bordering upon us, with respect to our religion, that you may be sensible that the sending of missionaries hither does not answer the good and noble design of the royal charter of the Society for the Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, nor, as we suppose, of many of the generous donors to that Society; and that they are neither necessary nor profitable, but, as to many instances, rather injurious to the interests of the Kingdom of Christ and the good of his Majesty's subjects in these parts.

"For, 1. We think we may justly claim the name of a Christian country or people already (tho' we no better honor that worthy name). For we acknowledge the religion which Jesus Christ has graciously taught for the recovery of a lost world to God, to His favour and image. We believe and own all such doctrines and duties as are contained to and receiving all the doctrinal articles of the Established Church of England, constantly adhering to the Sacred Scriptures as the rule of our faith and practice; nor dare we call any man upon earth our Father or Master in these regards.

"2. These doctrines are openly acknowledged in our confessions of faith, and are constantly preached in all parts of the land. It is our civil constitution that every town in the province shall be provided with a learned and orthodox minister, and many of our larger towns have, some two, some three or four, such. And those who are employed in the ministry are men solemnly separated to that work by the election of the

people to whom they minister, and their own deliberate act and engagement and by prayer, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, and have a solemn charge given them to fulfil the ministry which they have received of the Lord. And we hope we may say of them in general that they do diligently attend thereunto, preaching the Word in season and out of season, and are accepted in their respective congregations whereunto they are called; and if any are found negligent therein, due testimony is borne against them, and upon just reasons are removed, and others are put in their stead.

"3. We take care that the doors of our churches be opened to all persons of competent knowledge in the doctrines of the Christian religion, and who are of a regular conversation. If any of the members of our Churches walk disorderly, and fall into scandalous immoralities, that the discipline of Christ be exercised towards them to bring them to repentance, which so soon as there is a credible appearance of rational charity, we readily restore them again.

"4. The missionaries that come among us show a very uncharitable and unchristian spirit, particularly by insinuating that our ministry is no ministry, not having had Episcopal ordination, and that so all other administrations are null and invalid, and that our Churches are no Churches of Christ, and that our people are to be looked upon as strangers to the Commonwealth of Israel—a tenet or principle which came from Rome, and which in years past has been disclaimed in England, as it is still by all the other Reformed Churches in Europe; as also by their endeavours to render the government of our Churches insignificant by receiving into their communion and protection such as be open to or are under censure in them for immoral conduct.

"5. Which things tend to breed disorder and confusion in our Churches, *by cherishing a small number of disaffected persons in several places, to the ill example of a whole town,* produces wrangling, strifes, ill names, needless disputations, instead of godly edifying, and tends to lead them to place religion rather in some external *observations and ceremonies* than in love to God and our neighbours, and in a life of faith, repentance, and holiness.

"6. We cannot but look upon it as a great injustice, it having been often openly declared to the world that our fathers

left their native land, and at a vast expense purchased and subdued a wilderness, that they might in a place of their own serve God according to their consciences in peace, without giving offence to the then governing powers—*a liberty which we account dearer than any temporal interest whatsoever, which some missionaries have endeavoured to wrest from us, partly by setting themselves to lay blocks* in the way of our having synods for the reforming such evils as have a threatening effect upon us.

"And we have reason to fear that the prospect of a better salary than what our ministers generally have (which is not, except in some great towns, £40 sterling per annum, as our bills are now sunk) has been the great inducement to some of our young men to go over to receive orders, but we would not take upon us to judge men's hearts.

"But we heartily wish that your Lordship and the Honble. Society might not be misled in those weighty affairs, and that the missionaries might have the worthy views of carrying the Gospel among the miserable heathen, who have not known the way, or to search parts of his Majesty's dominions where ignorance and error have prevailed, and have no provision made for them.

"Relying on your Lordship's candour, and assuring you that we have not any personal views nor interest that has moved us thus to address you, but from a real desire that the donations from the Honourable Society, in their several missions, may not be misapplied, and from a sincere regard to the peace and prosperity of our Churches, we are your Lordship's most humble servants,

"Wm. Williams, *Moderator.*
"Jonathan Edwards, *Scribe.*

"In the name of the Associated Ministers of the County of Hampshire." *

The friends of the Episcopal Church might have advanced steadily to a position of security, freedom, and Christian usefulness, if they had combined with their zeal, wisdom and a moderate degree of patience. Their disabilities were grievous, and a change in the

* Amer. Hist. Coll.; Fulham MSS., unbound, p. 299.

laws of the States had become necessary, to adapt them to the altered condition of society. But there is reason to conclude that the reiterated complaints made by them had ulterior reference to ascendency like that of the State Church in England. We have proof in the correspondence of Governor Belcher that their reasonable demands in due time would have been met.

"BOSTON, *Oct.* 5, 1733.

"MUCH HONOURED LORD,—I am very sorry your Lordship has the trouble of any complaints from the clergy or people of the Church of England here, and I think your Lordship must be misinformed on some heads you mentioned, for I think I lent your Lordship (about two years ago) a transcript of a law of this Province, wherein there is full care taken of those that are of the persuasion of the Church of England, that tho' they are taxed in what is called a ministerial rate, yet those in such towns who *attend upon the worship of the Church of England have their part of such tax carried by the collector to the Church of England minister where such person attends*, and this, my Lord, seems to be just and righteous, and a good preventive of loose dissolute people's not paying to the minister at all; and, indeed, I liked this method so well, while I had the honour to be of his Majesty's Council for this Province, that I did all in my power to promote it, nor have I ever heard that the people of the Church of England have been debarred of being married by their own clergy. I am highly obliged to your Lordship for the honour of your opinion, and I have the satisfaction to assure you that it's well grounded, for I am as far as any man living from rigour or severity in religious matters, yet I am for a very strict observation of the Lord's day, and esteem it the happiness of this country, that although we are advanced into a second century, yet I have not seen any other part of the world where the Lord's day is so religiously observed as in New England, and the wholesome laws long since enacted for that purpose have been well accepted and approved by the Crown. I am afraid, my Lord, there are people here that *affect to make themselves uneasy without reason*, and that they are

Pacific Proposals of Governor Belcher.

too much encouraged from the superciliousness and bitterness of some of the Church clergy, who *might be very quiet and happy, and so might their several congregations, if the clergy would from time to time, as they found occasion, dutifully apply themselves to the Government established here by the Crown, but instead thereof they seem inclined to ride over it*, which I am sure your Lordship will never countenance them in. St. Peter commands us to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governors as unto them that are sent by him; and would the clergy here practice the duty of Christian meekness, and duly apply themselves to the Government here, I believe they might generally save themselves and your Lordship a great deal of trouble, and I do assure your Lordship they should at all times have my full weight and influence in the Government for their *ease and protection in every reasonable thing they could propose*. I pray your Lordship would allow Mr. Belcher the honour of putting this into your hands, and that he may still enjoy the blessing of your Lordship's smiles and countenance.—I have the honour to remain, yours,

"J. BELCHER." *

It was in vain, notwithstanding the conciliatory spirit of this communication, to look for corresponding prudence and moderation in men who could only live in an element of perpetual strife like that to which Commissary Price was compelled to exhibit to the Bishop of London :—

"BOSTON, *Nov.* 5, 1733.

"MY LORD,—Since I wrote last to your Lordship nothing material has occurred. *The old spirit of contention still reigns among our people, which I find very difficult to be restrained within the bounds of discretion.* From the encouragement given them in your last letter, they are preparing to renew their complaint, according to your Lordship's direction, in a judicial way. 'Tis with reluctance I engage in this cause, not that it is not worthy of your Lordship's notice, and deserves redress, but the methods used

Commissary Price and the Refractory Clergy.

* Hist. Coll. of the Colonial Church, p. 292; Letter Book of the Ven. Soc., vol. 24.

and the persons concerned in the prosecution of it do more damage to our Church than we can expect good from the undertaking; for, to speak my sentiments, *it is not any real advantage to the Church, which without any scruple, they can triumph upon when it interferes with their own interest and humour, but pride and ill-will to the Dissenters, which pushes on a set of men who will dispute as warmly for Popery as for the Church of England, and are as great enemies to their own Government, both in Church and State, when it opposes their schemes, as to Presbytery.* But the misfortune is, he that contradicts them falls under the lash of their evil tongue, and whoever comes short of their inadequacy is called *..... of the Church. This has been.....and.....ashamed to own it. I opposed them in their address to the king, but in vain. I opposed their defending two Dissenters from the penalty of the law, for withholding their minister's rates, who, altho' they frequented the meeting, had been persuaded to refuse payment, by a promise of protection from the Church. I opposed the leaving the whole management of this affair to two or three men who have no merit but being lovers of contention—who, because very inconsiderable in their proper calling, endeavour to get a name and renown of stirring up strife. Mr. Cradock, whose name I suppose your Lordship has met with in the list of wranglers, is now going to England, to join with Mr. Sanford in the prosecution of this complaint. I suppose he will represent the case of our Churches more fully to your Lordship; but *he is to be believed with caution. Dissimulation is his noted talent;* and though he may talk by the hour for the Church, yet his end is gain. What advantage we shall reap from our success in this undertaking, I can't say; but it is certain we shall render ourselves odious to the Dissenters by our proceedings, and discover such weakness at home, if we should fail in the attempt, as will expose us to great contempt, and make our condition more deplorable than it was before. I mentioned to our vestry my design of going to England with an intention to return, who made so many objections to their being left under the care of Mr. Harwood that I have laid it aside, and am now bent upon quitting the place entirely when a proper opportunity occurs, not without hopes of being thought worthy of your Lordship's care. The law against travelling on Sunday,

* MS. torn.

which you inquired after, has not yet been put in execution.—I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most dutiful, &c.,

"ROG. PRICE." *

Price intimated, in May, 1734, his intention of leaving the Church in Boston, and returning to England. He took his passage in a vessel bound to London, and actually set sail in her; but being detained by contrary winds at Nantucket, he came on shore, returned to Boston, and, making his peace with his congregation, again became their Rector.

* Hist. Collec. Col. Ch., p. 293; Fulham MSS., unbound.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE seed-time of English Deism was diligently improved. Collins, Chubb, Tindal, and Bolingbroke, with no serious argument or patient investigation, in an airy, self-complacent style, sought to discredit revelation, ridicule its doctrines, and to set aside mysteries and miracles as unworthy of serious consideration. They were not concerned to find a basis for faith in any other system, or to light up the future with hope or expectation of higher good. It was enough with them to break with the past, and to explode for ever the religion of the Bible. With a light heart, and in perfect confidence in their complete triumph over Christianity and its institutions, they kept up their attacks in every variety of form but that proper to a discussion of such serious importance.

Seed-time of Deism.

Voltaire arrived in England in May, 1726, and greatly enjoyed the prevailing agitation. Ubiquitous in his movements, and of a quick perception, he acquired a complete acquaintance with all that appeared on the surface of society, and no more. The liberty of treating things hitherto held sacred with profane levity, delighted him exceedingly. To see clergymen, notwithstanding the

Voltaire in England.

Articles of the Church of England to which they had sworn, ambitious to shine in the Clubs, to ingratiate themselves with rising statesmen, or to serve them as pamphleteers, in order to Church preferment—perfectly ready, at the same time, to ignore or to deny the truth they had solemnly engaged to defend—was, to the subtle Frenchman, a perpetual feast. The sentiments of Bolingbroke he imbibed as the richest nutriment of his susceptible nature, and nothing in plausible objection or artful insinuation against the Christian religion escaped his attention. Everything he saw or heard, available for his purpose as the apostle of the coming era, was turned fully to account. Of the genesis of political or religious liberty, secured by the intelligence, the perseverance, and calm endurance of a long succession of obscure martyrs and confessors, he knew nothing, and, indeed, had no desire to learn. He became simply inoculated with the poison of a pretentious and destructive philosophy, and returned to communicate the virus to men who were prepared to diffuse it in every direction.

Not a few in the ranks of Nonconformity were "moved away from the hope of the Gospel." Abashed by the scorn and ridicule of those who treated the "wisdom of God" as "foolishness," they attempted to remove the "offence of the cross," and to find some ground which the Christian believer and the Deist might occupy in common. No position could be more hazardous or unsatisfactory. The concession only invited a more determined assault. It was impossible to retain a solid footing on the slippery incline.

Able treatises were written, on the controversies of the time, in defence of the outworks of Christianity, and sometimes by learned men who were very imperfectly acquainted with its essential doctrines. Watts took his part in this important service, in a vigorous essay on the "Strength and Weakness of Human Reason."

"Three Denominations."

Nonconformists began to form associations for mutual protection and support. Notwithstanding the divergence of opinion in the "Three Denominations*—more especially in the Presbyterian contingent—after some preliminary correspondence, it was resolved by the ministers in London to form themselves into a "General Board." A meeting for this purpose was held at the George Inn, Ironmonger Lane, July 11, 1727, Mr. Boyce in the chair. It was agreed that all approved ministers, whether Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist, living within ten miles of the cities of London and Westminster, should constitute the body; also, that a Committee should be chosen to conduct its affairs, consisting of seven Presbyterians, six Independents, and six Baptists. The Committee appointed to represent the Congregational ministers consisted of Ridgley, Watts, Bradbury, Harrison, Lowman, and Asty.

Subsequently, a meeting of Congregational ministers, twenty-nine in number, was held at Bury Street Meeting-house, when Watts presided. The following report is given in the minutes :—

"All the minutes of this book being read over, and the design of this meeting represented, there was a considerable

* Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist.

debate about the rule or method by which the *list of the Congregational ministers should be settled.* The two most considerable opinions proposed and urged were these—1. *That those only should be accounted ministers who somehow or other manifested their agreement to the Savoy Confession of Faith and Order of Congregational Churches;* 2. That the rule by which the ministers were admitted, (September 25,) to give their vote for the choice of the Committee, should be the rule by which the list of the Congregational ministers should be determined and settled by those who had been known and approved preachers, and chose to be ranked among the Congregational ministers, and did not design to vote in the body of the Presbyterian or Baptist ministers. After much time spent, and many arguments on both sides, it was agreed, *nem. con.*, that the rule by which the ministers were determined to have a vote for choosing of Committee of a *third body* of Protestant Dissenters, (on September 25 last,) be followed in admitting any minister into the list of that body to vote with it on *political occasions for one year*, viz., till Michaelmas next. Note.—It was called a *third body* because some present were very desirous to exclude the term Congregational out of the whole question, unless the first rule were followed, and the Congregational ministers distinguished by agreeing to the Savoy Confession. Night coming on, and the ministers withdrawing themselves, those of the other opinion permitted the question to be put in this form rather than break up the Assembly and do nothing." * Congregational Board.

The *Fund Board* was formed in 1695. The first regular assembly of the members of the Institution was held on December 30, 1695, at Mr. Nathaniel Mather's Meeting-house in Lime Street. It was resolved that "the meeting for the purposes afore-mentioned shall be called the Meetings of the Messengers of the Congregational Churches for encouraging the preaching of the gospel in England and Wales." Fund Board.

* Milner's Life and Times of Dr. Watts, p. 426.

The *first entry in the Minute Book* is to this effect:—

"Some persons, members of Congregational Churches in London, having bin made acquainted with the necessities of severall godly ministers in the country, who by their preaching greatly promote the interest of our Lord Jesus Christ, and being apprehensive the same in other places might be propagated were there some assistance afforded, and a supply provided, communicating thoughts to some others:—it was concluded to advise with Mr. Mead, Mr. Cole, and Mr. Mather concerning the same, which accordingly was done the 27th November, 1695, who being very willing to assist in so good a worke. It was agreed that severall of the pastors and members in and about London would meet on Tuesday the 3rd December, at Mr. Mather's meeting place, to consider of so good a worke, which accordingly they did, and agreed to prosecute the same; and to that end it was concluded that the severall pastors be desired to propose it to their several Churches; to appoint with themselves one or two of their members to meet with other at Mr. Mather's meeting-house the 17th December to consider the same."

First entry on the Minutes.

Within a month of the formation of the Society it was resolved to enter on a comprehensive inquiry, and "that the heads of correspondence be as follows:—

"1st. That the Congregational Churches in and about London, by joint consent, have been considering how they may be helpful to the propagating and supporting the gospel.

"2nd. That the persons corresponding doth inform themselves how the gospel may be best propagated in those parts where they correspond.

"3rd. What is most advisable to be done in setting up meetings where there are none.

"4th. Of the state and circumstances of the Congregational Churches in those counties with which they correspond.

"5th. That they inform themselves of such Congregational ministers that are past their labour in the ministry, and their present circumstances.

"6th. That they get information what persons there are in the counties of the same persuasion in faith and order with ourselves, fit to be used in propagating the gospel, who are at present unfixed."

From the Fund Board arose the FUND ACADEMY.

Its first tutors were, Mr. Goodwin, of Pinner, Mr. Rowe, Mr. Jolliffe, and Dr. Isaac Chauncy. At his death in 1712, Dr. Ridgley was appointed in conjunction with Mr. John Eames, F.R.S. Upon the death of Dr. Ridgley, Eames, in addition to the Mathematical chair, took also the Theological department, and continued his accumulated labours for ten years, when he died suddenly. Fund Academy.

The apprehension was entertained by many pious and thoughtful men, that in the introduction of pupils to Dr. Ridgley and his associates, too little care had been taken to ascertain the "spiritual conversion of the candidates."

"Many young men," Mr. Thomas Conder says, "whom the partiality of their friends have recommended, were by the Fund Board educated, and introduced into the ministry, whose subsequent conduct gave too much reason to fear that they never experienced the grace of God in truth. Instead of their edifying and building up the Churches over which they presided, many once flourishing congregations were suffered to crumble away under their hands. In several instances divisions took place; the more serious part of the congregation withdrawing themselves, and forming a separate interest.

"If possible to remedy this state of things, a number of pious laymen (among whom were Mr. Joseph Lloyd, Mr. Jonathan Rowle, Mr. Hargrave, Mr. Rutt, Mr. Hitchen, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Towell, Mr. Daniel Booth, Mr. Rolleston, Mr. Stratton, Mr. Crouch, Messrs. Nathaniel and William Field, and Dr. Beerman), constituted the KING'S HEAD King's Head Society.

Society, so called from its place of meeting at the King's Head, Sweeting's Alley,* kept by Mr. Edmund Munday." †

In the first instance it was a rule that no minister should be admitted to their membership. The association in consequence was not regarded with favour by the supporters of the Congregational Fund, and only one Independent minister acquiesced in the design. As the society became better known it grew in the estimation of the Churches.

Articles were prepared and adopted as a basis of association, to be signed by all the members, entitled "A Declaration as to some controverted points of Christian Doctrine," which was printed in 1732. The preamble states: that "Several ministers and gentlemen, being sensible of the great opposition which has been made of late, to the Christian religion, have agreed to use their utmost endeavours to support the ancient and true Protestant doctrines, as believing them founded on the Holy Scriptures."

A monthly lecture was established at Mr. Bragge's Meeting-house in Lime Street, and after some time at different places in rotation. One minister gave the lecture, and two ministers were appointed to pray; on each occasion a collection was made in support of the objects of the Society.

King's Head Society's Academy.

It was determined to set up an Academy, in which the utmost care should be taken to guard against the intrusion of unsuitable persons as students. Every candidate was examined by a special committee as to his "experimental sense of religion" and doctrinal views, and

* Removed to King's Head, Poultry, in 1742.

† Admitted a member of the Society February 21, 1727.

if approved, on signing the "Declaration," he was admitted on the foundation of the Society. The tutors were appointed in a similar manner.

SAMUEL PARSONS, pastor of the Church at Basingstoke, was invited to become the first tutor, and on July 27, William Heaton was admitted as a student, though afterwards transferred to the care of Doddridge. From that time to December 24, 1734, Parsons had the charge of nineteen students. The Society held weekly meetings, with the understanding that each member should not be expected to spend more than "sixpence" in the house, and on monthly meetings the Churches were to defray the cost of the dinner. The rules of the Society respecting students were modified according to the altered conditions of the Academy, but from an early date it was ordered that—

Samuel Parsons, 1731.

"No member of this Society who proposes a person for a student, nor any one who may be a member in the same Church to which the candidate belongs, shall be appointed of the committee to converse with such person, in order to his admission under the care of the Society. The students under the care of this Society shall be examined at least twice in a year as to their proficiency in learning, and conversed with also twice a year as to their experimental sense of religion by a committee of ministers and other gentlemen members of the Society which shall be appointed for those purposes. That no student under the care of this Society do preach publicly until he have passed his trials."

Rules.

In 1735, the Society placed their Academy under the charge of Abraham Taylor, ordained to the pastorship of the Church at Deptford in the year 1731. Dr. Taylor reported, from time to time, the satisfactory progress of the young

Abraham Taylor.

men under his care, and received their thanks for his care and fidelity. But, as in the history of academical institutions, notwithstanding the vigilant oversight of the directors, cases occur of misunderstanding, defection, and insubordination, so even the King's Head Society, with all its precautions, was not exempt from trouble and difficulty. On January 3, 1737, Thomas Gibbons addressed a letter to the Society, intimating "his design of leaving Dr. Taylor." A committee was appointed "to inquire into his reason for so doing," and on January 10 presented their report :—

"Mr. Hill, Chairman.

"The persons appointed, and Mr. Hubbard with them, met Mr. Gibbons, and inquired the reason of his dissatisfaction under Dr. Taylor's tuition. 'Twas with no small difficulty that he was brought to give his reasons before so many as were then present, being, as he said, advised by Mr. Bradbury to the contrary, but at length consented and declared that his principal reasons were the Doctor's *not reading lectures in logick, and his dwelling too long upon an introduction to divinity, they being kept at the same time too close to classical learning.* It was then asked by the ministers whether the Doctor had not read any logic? to which he reply'd he had directed 'em to go over Burgersdicius, with Hereboord's Notes, which they did accordingly, and own'd that he had heard from others the Doctor's design of giving them regular lectures on a system of logick of his own.

Complaints of Thomas Gibbons.

"'Twas observed by the ministers that his objections against the Doctor's introduction to theology and his keeping them so close to classical learning were groundless, and rather an advantage towards their furniture for the work of the ministry. Being asked if he had any further reasons to offer, he only added he thought himself under too great a confinement, for though they had liberty of Tuesday wholly to themselves to attend their lectures at Pinner's Hall and their other affairs, and also the Thursday and Monday exercises, yet he thought it an hardship

that he could not go out at other times without asking leave of the Doctor.

"Mr. Booth asked whether he had any objection to the temper and behaviour of the Doctor, or if he found any inconveniences in the family that rendered him uneasie? To which he readily answered, 'No, not in the least.'

"Agreed that Thomas Gibbons be discharged from the care of this Society."

"January 17, 1737.

"Mr. Mitchener, Chairman.

"Pursuant to the vote of last Tuesday, Mr. Hitchin and Mr. Nath. Field reported that they, with others deputed by the Society, had convers'd with the young men under Dr. Taylor's care, and that they gave a very satisfactory account of themselves and they had comfortable hopes that they made progress in experimental religion; and that all the said young men declared their satisfaction as to the Doctor's conduct and economy of the house, and those that are engag'd or about to engage in academical studys express'd their inclination and desire to go through them with the Doctor."

Joseph Griggs sent a letter to the Society of complaint of the tutor, which, on May 30, 1738, was voted to be "insolent, injurious, and ungrateful." He was also discharged from any further care of this Society. Testimonials were repeatedly given in favour of Dr. Taylor, but, according to the Minutes, he did not finish his course happily.

Joseph Griggs.

"March 4, 1739-40.

"John Hubbard, Chairman.

"Agreed that the students with Dr. Taylor at Deptford, under the care of this Society, have a month's vacation at present on account of the unhappy circumstances of the tutor. That a committee be appointed to get all the intelligence they can of the situation of Dr. Taylor's affairs, to be laid before the Society at the next meeting."

Unhappy circumstances of Taylor.

At the General Meeting, March 18, 1739-40,

"Mr. Booth, sent from the committee to inquire into the state of Dr. Taylor's affairs, reported that 'tis the opinion of this committee that Dr. Taylor's circumstances are such as to render him incapable of serving the Society any longer in the capacity of a tutor.'"

We may resume the history of the College a little further on. The changes in its location and management cause some complexity in the accounts we have to examine; but to render them more intelligible, we subjoin, in a foot-note, the names of places and of tutors associated with the institution.*

The COWARD TRUST was constituted to carry out

* DATE.	LOCALITY.	TUTORS.
March, 1740 ...	Ocean Street, Stepney ...	Rev. John Hubbard.
July, 1743	Ocean Street, Stepney ...	Rev. Dr. Zephaniah Marryat. Rev. John (afterwards Dr.) Walker.
1744.....	Plasterers' Hall, Addle Street, Aldermanbury	Dr. Marryat. Dr. Walker.
1754.....	Mile End, opposite Bancroft's Almshouses.....	Rev. John (afterwards Dr.) Conder. Dr. Walker. Rev. Thomas (afterwards Dr.) Gibbons.
1769.....	Homerton	Dr. Conder. Dr. Walker. Dr. Gibbons.
1770.....	Homerton	Dr. Daniel Fisher. Dr. Gibbons.
1781..... ...	Homerton	Dr. Fisher. Dr. Benjamin Davies. Dr. Gibbons.
1785.....	Homerton	Dr. Fisher. Dr. Davies. Dr. Henry Mayo.
1787.....	Homerton	Rev. John Fell. Dr. Mayo.
1797.....	Homerton	Dr. Fisher. Rev. John Berry.
1800.....	Homerton	Dr. Fisher. Rev. (afterwards Dr.) John Pye Smith.

the objects set forth in the will of WILLIAM COWARD,* a merchant in London, who died in 1738, and to whom dissenting academies are under the deepest obligations. His name should be held by us in special honour, as a Nonconformist benefactor whose bequests are available for the promotion of Congregational literature. Coward Trust.

"The first meeting of the Trustees of Mr. Coward's Charities was held at Amsterdam Coffee-house, May 16, 1738.

"Present the Rev. Dr. Watts, the Rev. Dr. Guyer, the Rev. Mr. Neale.

"It was agreed not to enter upon the execution of the charitable trusts of Mr. Coward's will any further than may appear necessary to the carrying on the lecture in Little St. Helen's, and the providing for the students that were under the care of the several tutors at the decease of Mr. Coward, until a probate shall be obtained of the will, and the disputes relating to the same shall be determined.

"Nathaniel Neal was elected a Trustee in the place of Joseph Price, Merchant.

"*October* 24, 1738."

The history of the Trust is to be traced in the various institutions supported by the fund to our own time. The CATECHETICAL LECTURE, established by the Trustees in 1740, is worthy of notice as exhibiting the methods of the religious instruction of children before the institution of Sabbath schools. A letter was sent to Ministers in the several counties of England and Wales, proposing the object in the following terms:— Catechetical Lecture.

"REV. SIR,—Here is a most useful service put into your hands, if you so please to accept of it. It is agreed by Mr. Coward's executors and trustees, that part of the residue of

* Sir John Hartopp, Bart., left £10,000 for similar purposes; a moiety of which is distributed privately by the Coward Trust.

Mr. Coward's estate shall be laid out towards maintaining a catechising lecture or exercise in several towns or villages in the county in this manner, viz.:—

"1. That the minister who accepts of these proposals shall teach Dr. Watts' three little books of catechism, viz., 'The First Set, or the Young Child's Two Catechisms;' 'The Second, or the Child's Doctrinal Catechism;' and 'The Third, or the Youth's Catechism, which is the Assembly's Catechism,' with notes.

"N.B. As for the 'Child's Historical Catechism' and the 'Preservative from Sins and Follies,' they are left to the convenience and discretion of each minister to teach or encourage them when and how he pleases, or at least that the children be admonished to read them often at home.

"2. That he shall spend one hour in the week at least in this catechetical exercise, and that it may cost him but little study if he is desirous only to teach the learner distinctly to understand the sense of every question and answer the week before they get it by heart, and the next week to examine them upon the past questions, and then to explain to them further onward.

"3. That in explaining the Catechism we need not make long discourses or speeches upon each question or answer, but rather teach them in a way of conversation, viz.:—

"(1.) By asking what is meant by any of the particular words which they may be supposed not to understand.

"(2.) By breaking the answer into several little questions and answers.

"(3.) By explaining the Scriptures which belong to the answers, and showing how they are applied to prove the answer itself.

"4. That he shall go through all these three Catechisms in two years' time, which may be done by explaining from two to six questions every week.

"Note.—The 'Historical Catechism' needs no explanation.

"5. The catechumens shall at least be ten in number, whether they be boys or girls, and all of them above seven years old, for before they come to that age their parents should teach them at home, and the minister should not have any trouble with them. The parents also should take care afterwards that they lose not what the minister has taught them.

"6. That every catechumen begin with the youngest Catechism, and so rise to the others; and that then the catechumens

be divided first into two and then into three distinct classes, according to the Catechisms, and all of them shall go through the several Younger Catechisms till they are perfect in them, though they go three or four times round before they rise to the next class, or have the special rewards which are herein afterwards appointed them.

"But it is not fit that the elder catechumens, or those who are more perfect, should be kept back from learning the Second Catechism, or the Assembly's, till the younger or more backward in the same class have arrived at the same perfection. The judgment in this matter is left entirely to the minister to raise each child to a higher class, or give him the reward when he has perfectly learnt what is appointed.

"In the main, eight years old is time enough to begin the Second Catechism, and ten, or eleven, or twelve to begin the Assembly's; and youths who are fourteen years old or more at their first coming may be dispensed with learning *verbatim* on the first set if they desire it, and can give a tolerable answer to those questions.

"7. That the reward of the scholar for learning the first set or the Young Child's Two Catechisms be one of Dr. Watts' 'Divine Songs,' and sixpence; for learning the second or Child's Catechism half-way, the reward shall be a 'Preservation from Sins and Follies.'

"For learning the 'Child's Catechism' throughout perfectly, shall be a New Testament with clasps and a shilling.

"For learning the first half of the 'Assembly's Catechism, with Notes,' perfectly, shall be either Dr. Watts' 'Book of Prayers for Children,' or Dr. Guyse's 'Sermons for Young People,' 'Mr. Jennings,' or some other little book of that kind.

"For learning perfectly to the end of the 'Assembly's Catechism, with Notes,' the reward shall be a Bible with clasps and a shilling.

"8. That this catechising shall be performed in the Meeting-house if it may be conveniently, so that other persons may come and hear who have a mind to learn anything thereby, and that on some week-day (if it can be) rather than on the Lord's-day.

"9. That every minister who accepts of this proposal with ten catechumens or more ready provided shall have a book of

all Dr. Watts' Catechisms, bound up with his discourse relating to them, sent to him at first in order to survey it, and to prepare for his proper work; or if he has not seen these Catechisms, he shall have a book sent him immediately upon his notice how to send it.

"The Catechisms of these several kinds shall be sent to the ministers at first for these children as they want them, and the books of their rewards when they deserve them. That their names are all to be written in them, and that they be given to no other person whatsoever.

"10. Every minister who fulfils this work with ten or more catechumens shall have five pounds at the end of every year; and if any minister have twenty catechumens or more, and takes due care of them, he shall have six pounds; or for thirty or more, he shall have seven pounds.

"But no minister shall admit more than two of his own children in ten to make up the number of our catechumens, which shall entitle him to the reward or him to the salary.

"11. Though ministers may admit new children when they please into this exercise for their convenience, yet they shall not be accounted our catechumens but from Midsummer or Christmas with regard to books or reward.

"12. And that once in six months an account shall be given of the names of the catechumens, and of the books which the ministers have received and what books they have given away, and what rewards they have distributed and to whom, and what books they want more for the children; and as this is a *public charity*, we desire such accounts may be signed by the minister, and attested by two of his congregation.

"And we earnestly desire and hope that a sense and experience of the great usefulness of this practice towards supporting and propagating the true religion of Christ, will be a much superior motive to the zeal and diligence of every minister in the work beyond the little salary that we can give or propose.

"And to render it more useful and edifying, it would not be amiss if, at the end of any exercise, the minister talked to the children four or five minutes in the plainest manner about the practical uses of what was explained or rehearsed, and the concerns of their own souls therein, concluding with a short prayer

of four or five minutes more, and waiting for a Divine blessing on all.

"*Note.*—That if God favour us, we intend to continue this catechetical exercise, yet we cannot promise it but for two years certain, not knowing whether experience may not require some alteration in our measures."

Many ministers in England and Wales availed themselves of the opportunity of "propagating the true religion of Christ," and of receiving the "little salary."

The career of PHILIP DODDRIDGE (born in London, June 26, 1702), one of the brightest ornaments of the Congregational body, now claims our attention. At an early age he was left fatherless, under the special care of his widowed mother, the pious daughter of John Bauman of Prague, exiled for conscience' sake.

In 1715 he was sent to a private school conducted by Nathaniel Wood, a minister at St. Albans, and was brought under the notice of SAMUEL CLARK, pastor of a Congregational Church there, to which he was admitted a member on February 1, 1718. Inclined from conviction to enter the ministry amongst the Dissenters, he sought the advice of Dr. Calamy, who discouraged the idea, and recommended him to turn his thoughts to some other pursuit, but with the help and by the influence of Clark he entered the Academy (October, 1719) at Kibworth, under the care of Mr. Jennings. The instruction he received in that institution was diversified, but not on the whole calculated to form a sound theologian or an efficient minister. "Mr. Jennings," he says, "is sometimes a Baxterian and sometimes a Socinian."

Student at Kibworth.

"Our course this half year has been as follows:—Monday, pneumatology and ethics; Tuesday, pneumatological disputations; Wednesday, pneumatology and ethics; Thursday, pneumatology and ethics; and, Saturday, critics. Our ethics are interwoven with pneumatology, and make a very considerable part of it. They are mostly collected from Puffendorf and Grotius. In practical divinity Tillotson is my principal favourite, and next to him Barrow and Scott. We have some of Goodwin's works in the library, and some of the great Dr. Owen's, but you know I am not very fond of such mysterious men."

Clark, the faithful pastor of the young noviciate, gave him judicious advice:—

Advice of Clark.

"I have nothing," he writes, October 3, 1721, "to object against your present method of study. I am sensible of the difficulties pneumatology has attending it. The only method of extricating oneself out of them is to see that we have clear ideas of all the terms we use, whether single or connected with prepositions, and that we take nothing for granted without sufficient evidence; and, which flows from the other two, *that we do not pretend to reason upon things about which we have no ideas;* that is, that we do not pretend to impossibilities. As to your contemplations upon the being and attributes of God, *take heed of suffering your mind to rest in barren speculations;* whatever clear and enlarged ideas you attain to of the divine excellencies, see that they have proportionable effect upon the soul, in producing reverence, affection, and submission."

"Divinity and Drama" were conjoined in the exercises at Kibworth.

Divinity and Drama.

"Most of the time formerly spent in our private studies is taken up in composing homilies; or, as I think they may more properly and intelligibly be called, ethical sermons. They generally contain about two hundred and fifty pages; we deliver them weekly in our turn from a pulpit; and as they are never omitted, each of us is obliged to furnish one in three weeks. They cost us a pretty deal of

pains, and though I believe they have their use, yet I shall be heartily glad when we have done with them."

Amidst all that might have tendency to produce a frivolous and unsettled habit of mind, Doddridge from the first was attracted to the devout and earnest study of the Holy Scriptures.

"I generally find," he writes to his friends, "about an hour and a half in a day for the study of the Scriptures. The New Testament I read in the original without any commentator; but more of my time is spent in the Old, for I would willingly finish Patrick's Commentary before it is taken from Kibworth, which will be in a few months. I have read all but the Second Book of Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, and design to begin Lowth on Micah and Jeremiah, when I have done with these, and Dr. Prideaux's Connexion, which I am now reading, with a particular view of the Prophecies."

Pastorate at Kibworth.

In 1723 he received an invitation to the pastorate from Kibworth and Coventry, and determined to accept the former, though but an obscure village, in order to have more time for devotion and mental improvement.

"Here I stick," he said, "closer to those delightful studies, which a favourable Providence has made the business of my life." Fond, however, as he was of his study, he often left it to visit the people, to manifest his practical sympathy, and to become acquainted with their circumstances and wants. Having few books of his own, he borrowed the practical writings of the divines of the seventeenth century from his congregation, and read them with advantage. His salary was under forty pounds a year; "but," he says, "provisions are so cheap in this country, that I think I may board for about ten pounds a year."

His congregation was small, and he had little intelligent society, but when invited to remove to a congregation of a thousand people at Pershore, he felt that he could not leave his humble flock unprovided for. He writes, December 2, 1723:—

"I am now with a plain, honest, serious, good-natured people. I heartily love them myself, and I meet with genuine expressions of an undissembled affection on their side. I would hope that God is among us, and I desire to mention it with a great deal of thankfulness, that I already see some encouraging effects of my poor attempts to serve them."

On the death of Jennings, attention was directed to Doddridge as the most likely person to undertake the care of the Academy at Kibworth. At the instance of Thomas Benyon, son of Dr. Samuel Benyon (minister and tutor at Shrewsbury), he had prepared a scheme of tuition which was shown by Thomas Saunders of Kettering to Dr. Watts, who expressed his decided approval of it, and united with others in the request that he would devote himself to the training of young men for the work of the ministry. Before he yielded to this urgent call he attended a meeting of ministers at Lutterworth, April 10, 1729, to spend a day in humiliation and prayer for the revival of religion. David Some, the minister of Harborough, preached on the occasion, from Rev. iii. 2. Under the influence of that remarkable discourse, and encouraged by the ministers present, Doddridge consecrated his energies to the service desired. Mr. Some undertook the pastoral care of the two churches—Kibworth and Harborough. So that the young tutor had little to do as a minister but to preach once a week.

Enters on tutorship.

A few months after the pulpit at Castle Hill, Northampton, became vacant, and Doddridge with others preached occasionally. Referring to the uncertainty of matters there in a note to Mr. Clark, dated Harborough, March 12, 1728-9, he writes :—

Removal to Northampton.

"The affairs of Northampton are undetermined. Mr. Tingey seemed inclinable to have returned to them after he had left them and concealed his dismission for some time; but that is a great secret. I am well assured, and was much surprised to hear it, that *my Lord Halifax's resentment of y^e^ part Mr. T. acted in the last election of members of Parliament at Northampton was at the bottom of his remove, and turned the scales*, so strangely are the most distant events connected." *

The people at Castle Hill expressed the most earnest desire that Doddridge would become their pastor, and on September 28 sent him an unanimous invitation.

After three months of anxious deliberation, Doddridge addressed to them the following letter :—

"To the Congregation at Northampton.

"Dec. 6, 1729.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—After a serious and impartial consideration of your case, and repeated addresses to the great Father of Light for His guidance and direction, I can at length assure you that I am determined, by His permission, to accept of your kind invitation, and undertake the pastoral care of you with the most ardent feelings of sincere gratitude and affection. You will easily apprehend that I could not form this resolution without a great deal of anguish, both with regard to those friends whom I am called upon to resign, and in reference to the great and difficult work which lies before me, in the care of your congregation and my Academy. But I hope that I have sincerely devoted my soul to God and my Redeemer; and, therefore, I would humbly

Accepts the invitation to the Church at Castle Hill.

* Mr. Joshua Wilson's Collection of Doddridge's MSS.

yield myself up to what, in present circumstances, I apprehend to be His will. I take the important step with fear and trembling, yet with an humble confidence in Him, and with the hope that, in the midst of these great difficulties He will not leave me entirely destitute of that presence which I desire to prefer to everything which life can bestow.

"As for you, my brethren, let me entreat you, that if there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels of mercy, fulfil ye my joy! Let me beseech you to remember, that by accepting your call I have entrusted the happiness of my life in your hands. Prepare yourselves, therefore, to cover my many infirmities with the mantle of your love, and continue to treat me with the same kindness and gentleness as those dear and excellent friends have done, whom I am now about to leave, in compassion to your souls; for God knows that no temporal advantage you could have offered would have engaged me to relinquish them.

"May my Heavenly Father comfort my heart in what is now determined, by giving an abundant success to my ministrations amongst you, so that a multitude of souls may have reason to bless Him on that account; and let me beg that you will bear me daily on your hearts before His throne in prayer, and seek for me that extraordinary assistance, without which I must infallibly sink under the great work I have thus undertaken.

"I shall continue to recommend you, my dearly beloved, to the grace of Almighty God, the Great Shepherd of His sheep, with that affection which now so peculiarly becomes your friend and servant. In the bonds of our common Lord,

"PHILIP DODDRIDGE."

Doddridge removed to Northampton, December 24, 1729, and on the preceding evening wrote to his friend, Mr. Clark;—

"December 23, 1729.

"REV. SIR,—I confess you had a great deal of reason to be surprised at my silence, but I hope you have long before this time received a letter in which I account for it and my remove to Northampton. My books are gone, and I follow them to-morrow, if God permit. Nothing can be more generous and affectionate than the reception the

Letter to Clark.

people there have given me in several visits which I have lately made them. They have made Mrs. Jennings a present of twenty guineas to compensate the damage she has received by my removal, and are doing something very handsome towards furnishing my house; for on mature deliberation I thought it best to go immediately to housekeeping, though it will be a great change, and Mr. Some advised it as highly proper; and, indeed, on the whole, absolutely necessary for the satisfaction of my pupils, for which I cannot but have a great regard. Care presses hard upon me, but sorrow much harder; yet I have, through the divine goodness, a prospect of a very agreeable settlement, and hope my usefulness as a minister may be much promoted by it, and that of a tutor much further; but it is very late, and Mr. Pembroke stays for my concluding.

"P.S.—The more I converse with the good people here, the more I am satisfied with my acceptance of this invitation, though it cost me so dear. Their understanding and their tempers are really considerably better than they had been represented, as far as I can judge. The prospect with regard to young people appears more and more encouraging, yet I would not be at all confident. As to the event, I know it entirely depends on the divine blessing which I would earnestly seek and humbly wait for." *

Doddridge made the following entry in the Church Book:—

"After repeated solicitations, long deliberations, and earnest prayer to God for direction, I came to a resolution to accept the invitation of my dear and most affectionate friends at Northampton, on Saturday, December 6, 1729, and certified the Church of that resolution by a letter that evening. I removed from Harborough, and came to settle here on Wednesday, December 24. On Thursday, March 19, 1729-30, was solemnly set apart to the pastoral office by prayer and fasting, and imposition of hands. Mr. Goodrich began with prayer and reading Eph. iv. Mr. Dawson prayed; then Mr. Watson preached from 1 Tim. iii. 1. Mr. Norris then read the

Entry in the Church Book.

* Mr. Joshua Wilson's Collection of Doddridge's MSS.

call to which I declared my acceptance. He took my confession of faith and ordination vows, and then proceeded to set me apart by prayer. Immediately Mr. Clark of St. Albans gave the charge to me; Mr. Saunders, of Kettering, the exhortation to the people; and Mr. Mattock concluded the whole solemnity by prayer. It was a delightful, and I hope it will prove a very profitable day. I write this memorandum of it under the remainder of a painful and threatening illness, which detained me from my public work the ensuing Sabbaths. The event is still dubious, but I leave my life and my dear flock in the hand of the Great Shepherd, hoping what passed on my ordination day will be an engagement to me to live more usefully or an encouragement to die more cheerfully than I should otherwise have done. Amen."

Subjoined is the Confession of Faith, written by Doddridge in his own hand:—

"1.

Confession of Faith.

"As the foundation of all religion, both natural and revealed, I firmly believe that there is one necessary self-existent and independent Being, whom we call God. I believe that He is the original and the support of all other beings, and that the noblest and the meanest of His creatures are equally dependent upon Him, and He is so transcendently superior to them all, that the distance between angels and worms is hardly to be discerned when both are compared with Him.

"2.

"I believe that God is an infinite, eternal, and immutable spirit, the fountain of wisdom and of power, of holiness and justice, of truth and goodness; and, in one word, that He is possessed of all perfections we can form any idea of, and of infinitely more than we can distinctly conceive.

"3.

"Amongst the other productions of His omnipotent and bountiful hand, I find the human race to which we belong, an order of creatures endowed with powers far superior to those of the brutal world, capable of deliberating on our own actions, of

examining into the immutable constitution and relation of things which is the foundation of moral virtue, of judging and acting on that examination, and consequently the proper subjects of moral government, and answerable to God for our behaviour and conduct.

"4.

"I meet with a variety of arguments, both from the nature of man and the conduct of Providence in the present life which abundantly convince me of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments correspondent to the temper and character of those who enter upon it.

"5.

"I do therefore evidently perceive that it is for y^e^ interest of every private person as well as for the good of society, that the fundamental obligations of piety towards God, benevolence to our fellow-creatures, and temperance and sobriety in the government of ourselves, should be religiously attended to and comply'd with, and I apprehend that these sanctions of the eternal law of nature are so plain to every candid enquirer, as to leave them inexcusable who live in the contempt of them, and abundantly to justify the great Lord of all in punishing persons of such a character in the present or future state.

"6.

"But when I take a survey of the state of mankind in all ages, so far as I have had an opportunity of learning it, I see an universal degeneracy prevailing in the heathen world. I find such errors in speculation and such irregularities and enormities in practice, as spread infamy and misery over the face of the earth, and threaten a more dreadful destruction in the invisible world.

"7.

"I cannot, therefore, but think it well worthy of God to interpose by immediate revelation to regulate the notions and practices of His creatures. As this is evidently a possible and a desirable thing, so it is what the known goodness of the Divine nature may give us some encouragment to hope for.

"8.

"I find that a variety of pretences to revelation have been made in former and latter ages, and amongst these it is evident that those which are said to have been made by Moses and by Christ are attended with some circumstances which may peculiarly recommend them to the diligent examination of all serious enquirers into truth.

"9.

"Tho' the kind providence of God so ordered it that I was educated in the profession of the Christian religion, yet I could not imagine that to be sufficient reason for my continuance in it without a serious enquiry into its foundation. Accordingly, I have set myself diligently to examine the case, and have not only taken a view of Christianity as exhibited in its most authentic records; but have examined as they came in my way the most plausible objections which have been against it, and I must publickly declare that I am fully persuaded that y^e^ Christian religion is from God, and all the opposition that has been made against it does, on the whole, rather establish than destroy my assent to it.

"10.

"And I farther believe that the books contained in that collection which we call the Bible, or the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, are not only genuine pieces of antiquity, and in the historical part of them highly credible, but that they were written by men under a divine direction and inspiration, and contain a full and satisfactory account of what is necessary to be believed or practised by all the professors of Christianity. To them I appeal (as to the great standard) and from them, and not from any human explanation of them, I will endeavour to regulate my own faith and conduct, and out of them I will instruct those who are committed to my care. This is on the whole a general confession of faith, in which, by the divine assistance, I propose to live and to die.

"11.

"However, as I apprehend it will be expected on this occasion that I should give a more particular account of those articles of

my belief which I have collected from the Scriptures, I cheerfully attempt it, as briefly as I can, that I may not entrench on the other work of the day, and make it burthensome to those that attend it.

"12.

"I learn from the Scripture history that man was originally created in a state of rectitude and happiness, but that by his own voluntary trangression he fell from it, and rendered himself obnoxious to the Divine displeasure, and to the curse of a violated law—a curse which I believe to have extended not only to the diminution of his happiness or the loss of his being, but to eternal misery in a future state, which is the just demerit of every act of rebellion against God.

"13.

"I believe that posterity was so far concerned in the covenant made with the first man, that on this breach of it the taint and poyson of his sin must be convey'd to all his descendants; and that in consequence of this we are all born in a state of degeneracy and corruption, and justly liable to a sentence of death, even before we have ourselves sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression.

"14.

"I believe that if we had been left in these unhappy circumstances without the merciful interposition of God in our favour, we should have brought aggravated ruin upon ourselves, and have fallen the just sacrifice of His eternal vengeance.

"15.

"But I learn from the Gospel that God, out of the riches of His wisdom and grace, contrived a way for the redemption of fallen creatures by the incarnation and sufferings of His dear Son, who, after He had been in a more obscure manner promised to our first parents in Paradise, and represented to the Old Testament saints by y^e^ ceremonies and prophecies of the Mosaick dispensation, was in the fulness of time manifested in human flesh. I believe that He appeared amongst men under the character of a teacher sent from God, and that after He had given the most convincing evidence of His divine mission by working a variety of the most stupendous miracles, as well as by the excel-

lence of His doctrine and the sanctity of His life, He voluntarily submitted to the death of the cross, not only to confirm the truth of that revelation which He had brought, but by His atoning sacrifice to satisfy the justice of God, and to make way for the honourable communication of Divine mercy to penitent and believing sinners.

"16.

"I believe that, according to the prophecies which went before concerning Him, He was on the third day raised from the dead, and that after He had by infallible tokens proved His resurrection to them whom He had chosen to be the witnesses of it, He ascended into heaven in their sight, and is now sat down at the right hand of God, where He still continues the Lord of all, and Governor both of the upper and lower world.

"17.

"I believe He is possessed not only of this humane and created nature in which He conversed amongst the children of men, but that He is also in a sense common to no other, the Son of God, the brightness of His Father's glory and the express image of His person, and so partaker of all Divine attributes and perfections as to be really one with the Father and, Himself, God over all, blessed for evermore.

"18.

"I believe that the sacred SPIRIT, who is the grand agent in the Redeemer's kingdom, is a Divine person united with the Father and the Son in an adorable and incomprehensible manner; and thus I learn and firmly believe the great doctrine of a TRINITY of persons in the unity of the Godhead, an aweful mystery which, being matter of pure revelation, I apprehend I should only obscure by attempting fully to explain it.

"19.

"I evidently perceive, as it is universally allow'd, that the Gospel is to be preach'd to every rational creature that comes within the hearing of it; and I am persuaded that it is to be charged not on God, but on the perverseness and obstinacy of sinners, that it becomes to many a savour of death unto death. But wherever it is effectual to saving purposes, I verily believe

that the story of its success is to be ascribed not to the will or the power of man, but to the sovereignty of Divine grace working upon the soul, enlightening the understanding, convincing the conscience, awakening the affections, exciting a determinate resolution of devotedness to God, and supporting the Christian in all the stages of his holy course, so that on the whole our salvation in the beginning, advance, and accomplishment of it is entirely of grace.

"20.

"And though I am fully persuaded that the Gospel is a dispensation which requires its professors to purify themselves from all pollution of the flesh and of the spirit, and to perfect holiness in the fear of God, yet I firmly believe that no righteousness of our own is the meritorious cause of our justification in the sight of God, but that we are accepted in the righteousness of Christ, which, through the Divine goodness is imputed to them that believe.

"21.

"As all the works of God are known to Him from the foundation of the world, and He cannot be surprised with any unexpected events which should engage Him to alter His purposes, I believe that they are the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; and upon this it appears to me as an undoubted truth, that all those who in time wrought upon by Divine grace, and at length conducted to glory, were from all eternity elected according to the foreknowledge of God, and were in a peculiar manner given to Christ by the Father in the covenant of redemption of His sheep, for whom He was to lay aside His life, and whose complete salvation He was to accomplish.

"22.

"I believe that, in consequence of these purposes of eternal love, God graciously watches over the souls of His people, and that having begun a good work in them, He carries it on until the day of the Lord; yet far from apprehending that this lays a foundation for a careless and irregular life, I believe that God makes use of the united principles of religious fear and holy love as the means of preserving His people from final apostacy, and that the preserving and improving influences of His

Spirit are to be sought in the diligent use of the ordinances and methods appointed by God for our establishment and growth in grace.

"23.

"I apprehend that ministers are appointed by God not to be lords over men's consciences, but with diligence, meekness, and humility to endeavor the conversion of manners and the edification of believers; and I am confident that as our Lord has hitherto had a succession of ministers and disciples, He will go on still to support His Church, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

"24.

"I apprehend that the Scripture is to be in the main the rule of worship as well as of faith, and that it directs us here not by laying down any exact form of church government or ritual for publick service, but by prescribing most excellent general canons, and leaving it to particular societies to adjust lesser circumstances in a manner agreeable to their own relish and convenience.

"25.

"But as I particularly find that Baptism and the Lord's Supper were originally ordinances of Divine institution, and intended for purposes of common and lasting importance, I believe they are still to be retain'd in the Christian Church, and to be regarded not merely as instructive ceremonies, but as visible tokens of our dedication to God, and seals of the covenant of grace on His part as well as ours.

"26.

"Finally, I believe that, when all the schemes of Providence with regard to the present state are accomplished, there shall be a resurrection both of the just and the unjust, and an awful publick judgement, in which both small and great shall stand before God. I believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is the Person who is to preside over that solemnity, and from whose mouth the righteous are to receive a sentence of everlasting life, and the wicked of everlasting punishment.

"This I offer not as a complete abstract of the Christian revelation in all its branches, but as such an account of my own belief as the occasion requires and present convenience would admit. I

have nothing further to add but that, though I have used some human phrases which seemed to me properly to express the sense of Scripture, yet I would by no means offer any of them as a standard by which opinions are to be tried, nor quarrel with any who may not be thoroughly satisfied with them; for it is one very important article of my faith that I am bound in duty affectionately to esteem and embrace all who practically comply with the design of the revelation and love of our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, how much soever they may differ from myself in their language or their conceptions about any speculative points."

With equal explicitness, Doddridge answered a series of questions in reference to Church polity and his practical views of the pastoral care. The times in which he began his ministry at Northampton severely tested the principles he had solemnly avowed. The Rationalistic Dissenters, so loud in their demands for freedom to express their own opinions, and so prone to harass and annoy those who adhere steadfastly to evangelical doctrine, assailed the new pastor at Castle Hill.

Pamphlet of Strickland Gough.

Strickland Gough, in 1730, issued a pamphlet, entitled *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest*, in which he contended that the people formed into a church should not be allowed to follow their "own humour," or to put any check by their censures on their ministers, who should have "an unbounded liberty of speaking their sentiments." There should be no "jealousy of heresy in their younger preachers." Ministers should be selected only from genteel families, and one tutor at an academy should be appointed "to give them a gracefulness and gentility of address." The congregations should be fewer and the "salaries larger."

"I am not," he said, "for mixing bigoted and generous people in a congregation, for that lays the minister under too great restraints to please both parties; but in country places, prudent management in elections would prevent the fatal and destructive breaches that end in the ruin of both sides."

Doddridge, in *Free Thoughts on the most probable means of reviving the Dissenting Interest*, etc., promptly replied:—

Reply of Doddridge.

"We are to be concerned for this interest, not merely as the cause of a distinct party, but of truth, honour, and liberty; and I will add, in a great measure, the cause of serious piety too. I am not much charmed with your proposal, allowing it ever so practicable and the prospect of success ever so fair.

"Many who have broken off from us, and *make the greatest pretences to strength of thought and politeness of taste, are sunk as low as Deism itself* (if not yet lower), and may probably enough reckon it matter of boasting, that having thrown off one fetter, they have *greater advantage for throwing off the other; i.e., the faith of the Christian after the strictness of the Dissenter.*

"And are these, sir, the persons who are to be brought back by our learning and address? Some of them may, perhaps, now and then make an occasional visit to our assemblies for their own amusement, as they frequent the theatre; but surely they can never be depended upon as the support of an interest. Nor could you, on the whole, think it prudent for us to hazard the approbation and affection of our people, in a view of making ourselves agreeable to them.

"But religion furnishes us with many considerations to the present purpose, of much greater importance than any which could arise merely from prudential views. Surely there is a dignity and a glory in every rational and immortal soul which must recommend it to the regard of the wise and the good, though it may be destitute of the ornaments of education or splendid circumstances in life. Let us think of it in its lowest ebb of fortune, or even of character, as still the offspring and image of the great Father of spirits, and as the purchase of redeeming blood; let us consider what an influence its temper and conduct

may have at least on the happiness of some little circle of human creatures, with whom Providence has linked it in kindred, in friendship, or in interest; and especially let us consider what it may become in the gradual brightenings and improvements of the eternal state; let us but seriously dwell on such reflections as these (too obvious to be missed, yet too important to be forgot), *and we shall find a thousand arguments concurring to inspire us with a sort of paternal tenderness for the souls of the meanest of our people.* This will teach us to bear with their prejudices, to accommodate ourselves to their weakness, and to consider it as a mixture of impiety and cruelty to neglect numbers of them, out of complaisance to the taste of a few, who are, perhaps, some of them but occasional visitants, and whom we judge by their habits, rather than by any personal acquaintance, to be a part of the polite world.

"I intend nothing in this advice which is below the pursuit of the most elevated genius, nothing inconsistent with the politeness of the gentleman and the scholar, or the dignity of the Christian and the minister. *You cannot imagine that I would recommend a popularity raised by quirks and jingles, or founded on affected tones or ridiculous grimaces, and much less on an attempt to inflame the passions of mankind about trifling controversies and the peculiar unscriptural phrases of a party. Such a popularity as this is almost the only thing that is more despicable than the insolent pride of despising the people.*

"If any of my younger brethren were to inquire how another popularity, of a far more honourable kind, is to be pursued and secured, I answer that their own converse and observation of the world must furnish them with the most valuable instructions on this head.

"*They will quickly see, for instance, that the generality of the Dissenters, who appear to be persons of serious piety, have been deeply impressed with the peculiarities of the Gospel scheme. They have felt the divine energy of those important doctrines to awaken, and revive, and enlarge the soul; and therefore they will have a peculiar relish for discourses upon them. So that if a man should generally confine himself to subjects of natural religion and moral virtue, and seldom fix on the doctrines of Christ and the Spirit, and then, perhaps, treat them with such caution that he might seem rather to be making concessions to an adversary than giving vent to*

the fulness of his heart on its darling subject. He would soon find that all the penetration and eloquence of an angel could not make him universally agreeable to our assemblies.

"Many of our people have passed through a variety of exercises in their minds relating to the great concern of eternal salvation, and they apprehend that the Scripture teaches us to ascribe this combat to the agency of Satan and the corruptions of our own heart on the one hand, and the operations of the Holy Spirit of God on the other. It is, therefore, very agreeable to them to hear these experimental subjects handled with seriousness and tenderness. It raises their veneration for such a minister as for one who has himself tasted of the grace of God, and encourages their confidence in him, and their expectations of improving by his labours.

"On the other hand, it grieves them when these subjects are much neglected, and gives them the most formidable suspicions if one word be dropt which seems to pour contempt upon them, as if they were all fancy and enthusiasm (with which, it must be granted, they are sometimes mixed).

"The greater part of most Dissenting congregations, consisting of plain people who have not enjoyed the advantages of a learned education, nor had leisure for improvements by after-study, it is apparently necessary that a man should speak *plainly* to them if he desire they should understand and approve what he says; and as for those that are truly religious, they attend on public worship, not that they may be amused with a form or a sound, nor entertained with some new and curious speculation, but that their hearts may be enlarged as in the presence of God, that they may be powerfully affected with those great things of religion which they already know and believe, that so their conduct may be suitably influenced by them; and to this purpose they desire that their ministers may speak as if they were in earnest in a lively and pathetic, as well as a clear and intelligible, manner.

"Such is the taste of the generality of the Dissenters—a taste which I apprehend they will still retain, whatever attempts may be made to alter it. I conceive this turn of thought in the people to be the great support of our interest, and *I cannot but believe that if the Established clergy and the Dissenting ministers in general were mutually to exchange their strain of preaching and their manner of living but for one year, it would be the ruin of our cause,*

even though there should be no alteration in the constitution and discipline of the Church of England. However you might fare at London, or in some very singular cases elsewhere, I can hardly imagine that there would be Dissenters enough left in some considerable counties to fill one of our largest meeting-places.

"You, sir, hint that persons of generous and bigoted sentiments should meet in different places. In London it is certainly practicable, and may, perhaps, be most expedient; but to attempt any such separation in the country would be the utter ruin of many of our societies which now make some considerable appearance. But besides my regard to the ministers and societies to which they are related, I must confess *I have too much tenderness for the persons themselves to be willing entirely to give them up.*

"I cannot but think it more advisable, according to the apostle's maxim of becoming all things to all men, to study to accommodate ourselves in this respect, as well as in others, to the infirmities of our hearers, as far as with a safe conscience we may. After the example of our great Master, we may teach our followers as they are able to bear it, and by this moderation may be instrumental in healing the breaches which we profess to lament, in rescuing many an excellent soul from a painful and dishonourable bondage, and in spreading a generous, candid Christian spirit, which will be the glory and happiness of our interest in general, as well as of the particular societies under our care."

Family Expositor, and Dr. Guise.

When Doddridge was preparing for the publication of his first volume, Dr. Guise issued the prospectus of a similar work. This untoward circumstance disconcerted him extremely. He had just lost considerable property, and his anxiety for his family rendered him peculiarly sensitive.

"I cannot," he says, in a letter to Watts, October 8, 1731, "but look upon it as a dark providence. May I be enabled to know the will of God in it. Infinite wisdom hath of late exercised me with many disappointments in my worldly affairs. I would leave myself and all my concerns with God. I enjoy a sweet serenity of soul in the persuasion of His paternal care and love, but find it

difficult at some particular seasons to prevent an anxiety of mind, which, when I feel it, wearies me more than all my labours, and even more than those sorrows too (deep as they often are), which are tempered with friendship and devotion.

"I shall be forced to transcribe most of my work, especially my notes, anew, which, joined to the business of correcting the press, will, I fear, be too much to despatch at once speedily and accurately, which added to all the work of a tutor and a pastor, etc., the care of neighbouring churches, which are constantly supplied (at least four) by my direction. *Will not my dear friend pray for me, that I may not sink under the burthen? I sometimes think I am going to leave you, and that therefore God may force upon me this seeming necessity of despatching this chief work of my life as an author*, least that long delay which I might have found excuses for, might have occasioned the loss or great imperfection of it. I have all the notes and more than half the work to transcribe into long hand, a labour which I dread.* I have also commentators and translators to compare, for I have hitherto writ (*frequently on journeys*) with only my Greek Testament before me. Nevertheless, I hope, by the Divine assistance, to get out my first volume in pretty good time. Your influence over my worthy fellow-labourer may probably induce him to give me all the breathing time he can. It is with pleasure, I can faithfully assure you, that I feel an undiminished love for him, and am really disposed to put the kindest construction on this disagreeable concurrence; but what are these little things that should alienate the affections of brethren in Christ and joint-heirs of glory? Let me once more entreat, most honoured sir, for a constant remembrance in your prayers. I am a poor weak creature, but I hope, I can say, I feel a firm and cheerful dependence on God to illuminate and invigorate my mind, and He will give me such a relish of His blessed word in the review of it as will nourish and refresh me more than these assiduous labours may fatigue animal nature.

"I am, rev. and dear sir,

"Your most respectful and affectionate humble servant,

"P. DODDRIDGE." †

* The original MS., in several volumes, beautifully written, is in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Angus, Principal of Regent's Park College.

† Letter V., Watts' Posthumous Works.

Amongst the objects for which Dr. Doddridge felt the most anxious solicitude was that of the cause of Christ at Olney. Excluded in times of trial and persecution from public notice, and restricted in their choice of teachers to their own members, the brethren united in Christian fellowship suffered for the want of more comprehensive teaching, and of the active sympathies that are awakened when the Gospel is held as a sacred trust for others. The "proportion of faith" in doctrine, precept, invitation, warning, and promise was too much overlooked, and the Church ultimately contracted a spirit of selfishness and of spiritual pride that seemed to be thoroughly ingrained. It became necessary to initiate a new movement at Olney, that the "candle" of truth might not be "hid in a bushel." The case was stated in the following communication to Watts:—

Concern of Doddridge for the Church at Olney.

"OLNEY, Feb. 23, 1732-3.

"REV. SIR,—As you have already been informed of some circumstances relating to the Dissenting interest here at Olney, and were so good as to appear ready to espouse the cause of our friends here, we think it proper to address ourselves to you with this account of the present state of things amongst them, which we desire you would please to communicate to the Board with our humble service to the gentlemen there.

Letter to Dr. Watts.

"We suppose it is not unknown to many of them that most of the Dissenters in this town have for some time been extremely fond of lay preachers in the Antinomian strain, and have entertained very strong prejudices against all the regular ministers in these parts. Nevertheless, there are a few amongst them who are persons of great candour and good sense, as well as eminent piety. These have invited us over to preach a lecture here once

a month, and we have each of us taken our turns according to the advice of Dr. Watts and some other friends in town. We have found a numerous auditory, and apprehend, by the most moderate calculation, it must amount to near five hundred people. *A great many of these are Churchmen, who express very high satisfaction in what they hear;* and, indeed, considering the character of the clergyman of the town on the one hand, and that of many of his people on the other, it seems probable that several of them would come over to the Dissenters if a regular minister were fixed here, and some of them have not scrupled expressly to declare it. The Dissenters seem all satisfied, many of them very much pleased; and we hope a farther acquaintance with our brethren and their labours may remove remaining prejudices, and bring many to a better temper. On all these accounts we think it a desirable thing that the lecture should still be supported; but the number of our particular friends here is so very small, that it would be too burdensome were it to be on them alone to uphold it. We therefore submit to the consideration of the Board whether it may not deserve some encouragement from them. We can truly say we know not any lecture to which an exhibition is granted, where the auditory is so numerous and the prospects of usefulness seem more encouraging. Nor are we without hopes that the continuance of this lecture may be a means of fixing a regular minister here at length, which would be a great satisfaction to us, and we hope it might greatly conduce to the advancement of the truth as it is in Jesus, and the glory of God in the salvation of souls.

"One thing more we take leave to add, that though our preaching here has been evidently in the Calvinistical strain, and we judged it prudent at *our first appearance here to declare our sentiments very freely and expressly in this respect*, yet we do not find it has given any disgust to those of our hearers who statedly attend at church.

"We cannot, dear sir, conclude this address to you without assuring you that it is a matter of abundant joy to us that the great Lord of the Church is pleased to continue your life, health, and extensive usefulness.

"We cannot express our gratitude to you for your many important services to the public, or our thankful sense of that friendship with which you are pleased to honour us. We have

no end in the proposal we now make but the promoting that cause of truth and holiness, peace and love, in which you have been so faithfully, so warmly, and through grace so successfully engaged. We promise ourselves a share in your remembrance at the throne of grace, and are, with sincere respect,

"Revered and dear sir,

"Your most obliged, humble servants,

"W. HUNT.

"T. DRAKE.

"P. DODDRIDGE."

Operations of this nature, begun judiciously and carried on with vigour, naturally excited the displeasure of the parochial clergy. Considering the temper of the times, it is not surprising that Doddridge encountered opposition. Chancellor Reynolds, though professing in social circles great esteem and admiration for him, in an address to the Churchwardens at a Visitation of his parish, said "he was informed there was a *fellow* in their parish who taught a grammar-school (which he had the assurance to call 'my academy'), as he supposed, without any license from the bishop," and ordered them, therefore, to examine whether he had such license, and if he had not to present him,* so

Opposition of Chancellor Reynolds to Academies.

* The presentment was made in the following manner:—"In the name of God, Amen. We, George Reynolds, Doctor of Laws, Vicar General, Commissary General, and Official Principal of the Right Rev. Father in God, Robert, by Divine permission, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, and also Official to the Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, lawfully appointed, to you, Philip Doddridge, of the Parish of All Saints, in the Town of Northampton, in the County and Archdeaconry of Northampton, diocese of Peterborough aforesaid. We article, object, and administer these articles, heads, or interrogatories following, touching and *concerning your soul's health*, and the reformation of your manners, and especially for teaching boys and young men in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew speech and language, and in other school learning, in a publick school or private house within the parish of All Saints aforesaid, without any allowance, license, or faculty, first had and obtained from us or some other *competent judge* in

that he might be prosecuted according to law. Doddridge, in submitting the matter to the attention of the Earl of Halifax, said :—

"I am determined to make no unnecessary submission, nor to pay any compliment to these reverend gentlemen, from which I may be legally excused, lest they should consider it as an encouragement to pursue further attacks upon my brethren. What the law of England requires I will submit to, as far as I can with a safe conscience; but if there be anything which is a matter of duty to contest, it

Spirited resistance of Doddridge.

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that behalf at the presentment and permission of Thomas Rand and Benjamin Chapman, Churchwardens of the parish of All Saints aforesaid.

"First. We object and article to you, Philip Doddridge, that you know, believe, or have heard, that by the laws, canons, and constitutions ecclesiastical of this kingdom of Great Britain, no man ought to take upon him to teach as a schoolmaster but such as is allowed, approved, and licensed by his ordinary, and that more particularly by the seventy-seventh canon or constitution of the canons and constitutions made and published in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and three, it is provided as follows (to wit), No man shall teach in publick school or private house but such as shall be allowed by the Bishop of the diocese or ordinary of the place, under his hand and seal being found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching as for sober and honest conversation, and likewise for understanding God's true religion; and we object and article jointly and severally as above.

"Secondly. We object and article against you, the said Philip Doddridge, that, notwithstanding the premises in the preceding article mentioned, you, the said Philip Doddridge, in the year of our Lord 1732, and in the present year 1733, in the several and respective months therein concurring, all, some, or one of them, have taught and instructed boys and young men the rudiments of the grammar, and in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew speech or languages, and other school learning, in your own or some other private house, in the parish of All Saints aforesaid, without any license or faculty from us or some other competent judge in that behalf by you first had and obtained, and before you were examined and approved of, and contrary to the said canons and constitutions ecclesiastical; and we do object and article as to any other time and place, and we do object and article as above.

"Thirdly. We do object and article, that, by reason of the premises, you *ought to be punished and corrected accordihg as the law requires;* and we do object and article as above.

"Fourthly. We do object and article, that you, the said Philip Doddridge, were during the whole time aforesaid and now are of the parish of All Saints,

seems very proper, my Lord, that it should be determined. We may then know on what ground we stand, for I am sure if we are to depend upon the sovereign pleasure of a bishop to license schoolmasters, or even tutors, we shall owe our best privileges, as British subjects, to convenience and caprice, rather than to the law of the realm, and, what I never imagined, shall be more obliged to the lenity of our ecclesiastical than to the equity of our civil governors. Please to inform me, as soon as you conveniently can, whether, as things at present stand, it be necessary for me to ask a license; and if so, on what terms I may demand it. I bless God I have nothing to fear as to my minis-

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in the town of Northampton aforesaid, and by means thereof subject to this jurisdiction of this Court; and we object and article as above.

"Fifthly. We do object and article to you, the said Philip Doddridge, that it is duly and lawfully complained of all and singular the premises aforesaid, on the part and behalf of the said Thomas Rand and Benjamin Chapman, the ministers of our office before us; and we object and article as above.

"Sixthly. We article and object that all and singular the premises are true publick and notorious, and thereof there is a publick voice and fame."

The answer to this ecclesiastical jargon is before us, in which Philip Doddridge "giveth the Court heir of our said Lord the King to understand and be informed that whereas by the laws and customs of the kingdom any person may use or exercise any honest science, art, or vocation for his better maintenance, and every person of common right may educate and instruct any other person in any legal science or occupation whatsoever; and whereas also the teaching and instructing of boys and young men in the rudiments of the grammar, and in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew speech or language, and other school learning, is in itself a matter, art, and occupation, merely lay, secular, and temporal, and not of spiritual or ecclesiastical nature; and whereas also by the laws of this realm no lay person is bound or obliged to observe any canon or constitution ecclesiastical, or any ordinance made by authority of convocation of the clergy, unless such canons and ecclesiastical constitutions, and such ordinances made by authority of convocation of the clergy, are first allowed and confirmed by the laws and statutes of this realm, &c., &c. Whereas the said Philip Doddridge now is and always was a layman, &c., &c., &c. Whereas, notwithstanding the said spiritual judge hath endeavoured and daily does design and endeavour, with all his might, to condemn in contempt of our said the Lord the King that now is, and manifestly to the damage, and prejudice, and hurt of the said Philip Doddridge. Therefore the said Philip Doddridge, prohibition of the aid and favour of this Court humbly imploring, seeks remedy and a writ of our Lord the King to the said judge spiritual to prohibit him, that he no further hold plea any ways touching any of the premises before him."—*Copied by Mr. Wright.*

terial character, and I hope I shall endeavour to preserve it by a steadiness and decency of conduct in this affair."

The firmness and wisdom of Doddridge won the day, and in the highest court of law a permanent victory was gained. Whilst the arduous suit was pending, Doddridge received several invitations to leave Northampton, but he remained firmly at his post. He took great interest in the people of the neighbouring villages.

Village Preacher.

"*May*, 1731.—On Wednesday last," he writes to Watts, "I *was preaching in a barn* to a pretty large assembly of plain country people at a village a few miles off. After a sermon from Heb. vi. 12, we sung one of your hymns (which, if I remember right, was the 140th of the second book); and in that part of the worship I had the satisfaction to observe tears in the eyes of several of the auditory, and after the service was over some of them told me that they were not able to sing, so deeply were their minds affected with it; and the clerk in particular told me he could hardly utter the words of it. These were most of them poor people who work for their living. On the mention of your name, I found they had read several of your books with great delight, and that your hymns and psalms were almost their daily entertainment; and when one of the company said, 'What if Dr. Watts should come down to Northampton?' another replied, with a remarkable warmth, 'The very sight of him would be like an ordinance to me.' I mention the thing just as it was, and am persuaded it is but a familiar natural specimen of what often occurs amongst a multitude of Christians who never saw your face."

Attempts were made by riotous assaults to break up the village meetings, with the connivance of Tory magistrates; but, appealing to the Government, Doddridge, with the co-operation of Sir Thomas Abney, secured redress and permanent protection by the appointment of a sheriff for the county

pledged to the maintenance of religious freedom. Though in labours so abundant and acting from decided principles, a shade of doubt rested in the minds of some as to the orthodoxy both of Doddridge and Watts. With great candour, Doddridge explains the reason of this suspicion in his own case:—

Suspicions respecting Watts and Doddridge.

"I have the misfortune," he says, "(I cannot use the word more properly), to be condemned. I do indeed believe that it is generally thought by that part of the world, which some in jest and some in sober sadness are ready to charge with heretical pravity, that I approach much nearer to their sentiments than I really do, and perhaps these causes have occurred to lead them into that apprehension: a general conceit that their notions are so self-evident that *none but an extremely weak or ignorant man* (which they pay me the compliment of supposing that I am not, though they afterwards fully balance the account) *can possible be of a different opinion;* some hints which I may, perhaps, have dropped between the years 1723 and 1730, or thereabouts, when I was really more inclined to some of their sentiments than I now am; and my hearing them assert some of them patiently in a mixed company when I have not been in a humour to dispute."

The theological position of Watts is very clearly defined in a treatise he wrote in 1736, entitled *The Redeemer and the Sanctifier; or, the Sacrifice of Christ and the Operations of the Spirit Vindicated: with a free debate about the importance of those doctrines, represented in a friendly conversation between persons of different sentiments.*

Treatise of Watts on "The Redeemer," &c.

One of the interlocutors asks, "*Is there no other way to defend Christianity, and to refute the cavils of the Deist, but by yielding up the peculiar glories of the Gospel?* Can it never be vindicated as divine unless we reduce it almost to the mere dictates of the light of nature, with Jesus Christ set at the head of them only as

a great prophet? Many a doubter is not gone so far from Christianity as to deny the facts on which our holy religion depends; and they will allow that the Christian religion is supported by these facts, which have been delivered down to us by a notorious and incontestable manner of evidence; but the special and important *doctrines* of this religion, such as the sacrifice of Christ as a proper atonement for sin and our sanctification by the Holy Spirit, which are taught so frequently and so expressly in the New Testament, carry something in them so disgustful, not only to the relish of our modern infidels in general, but also to the prejudices of some who profess Christianity, that *they would fain evade these truths, and quit themselves of them by such a construction as really destroys them.*"

Again he asks, "Is it worth while for our ministers to be at all this pains in the pulpit and the study, by the printing press and by private conversation, to defend the New Testament from the insults, the cavils, and clamours of infidels, if it teaches us so little beyond what the light of nature teaches, or have so much to fear from the Deists, that some of us who are called Christians should be at so much labour to pervert the glorious truths of the New Testament to their taste, and to *drop those which they do not like.* Have we any good and sufficient reason to *subdue the words of Christ and His apostles down to the meaning and sense of infidels*, or to be so solicitous to *ingratiate* those divine doctrines with unbelievers, *by reducing them to such a similitude to their opinions, and sinking them almost down to their size and dimensions?* Can we ever expect thanks from our blessed Lord in the great day for this sort of service?

"What? has the Christian religion so little in it beyond the restoration of natural religion that in such very improper terms, and such foreign and distant language as that wherein he represents the gospel of Christ? Is this His plainest and His clearest manner of instructing the heathen world in the religion of nature, or of restoring it where it was lost, to tell them they must be reconciled to God by the death or the blood of Christ, that He has made peace by the blood of His cross, that Christ crucified is the wisdom and power of God for the salvation of men? That He died for our offences, that He gave Himself a ransom for men, that God has set Him forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, that we must trust in His name, that we must

be justified by His blood and by faith in Him, and that by the obedience of one many shall be made righteous, that by His own blood He obtained eternal redemption for us, that the blood of Christ, who through the Eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God, should purge our consciences from dead works, *i.e.*, from works deserving death, and that Christ appeared in the end of the world to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself? And do St. Peter and St. John intend nothing more than the same plain doctrines and dictates of natural reason when they teach the great truths of the gospel in the same strange language, when they tell us that Christ suffered the just for the unjust to bring us to God, that He bare our sins in His own body on the tree, that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses from all sin, that He is a propitiation for our sins, that He hath loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and that by His blood He hath redeemed us unto God? And did our blessed Lord Himself design nothing but to restore the religion of nature when He told the Jews that the Good Shepherd laid down His life for the sheep, that the Son of Man came to give His life a ransom for many.

"Are not these the gentlemen who are continually giving us caution to keep close to Scripture—to use the words and expressions of Scripture in all matters of revelation—to speak of the doctrine of the gospel as Christ and His apostles speak? Are not these the persons who are extremely jealous of admitting anything into Christianity but what Christ and His apostles have taught expressly in the New Testament? Are they not perpetually insisting upon it, that we must take our religion from Scripture itself? And do we not effectually obey this caution and advice in our belief of the doctrine of the atonement of Christ for sin? Is it not most strongly and evidently taught in the New Testament? Is it not taught in many pages, and in a great variety of expressions there, and that by almost all the writers of that book? Is it not brought in in the sacred epistles almost upon every occasion? Are not the great duties, faith, love, and prayer, built much upon it by the apostles? What shall we say to men who will not observe the very cautions and advices which they themselves lay down in forming the articles of their faith? *Men who leave out almost plain, and express, and important article, and break through all rules of just interpretation*

rather than allow of any doctrine in Christianity which does not suit with their scheme and fancy? If the prophets and apostles never so expressly reveal and dictate such a truth, the words must be tortured and bowed by all the arts of criticism, and make them speak and mean something else.

"To me it is evident as the sunbeams, that while the New Testament restores natural religion to us in the brightest and fairest light, and lays the strongest obligations on us to perform all the duties of it, yet it still supposes the impossibility of salvation thereby through our own incapacity to perform these duties perfectly, and therefore it sets forth to our view the blessed sacrifice of the Son of God, which is the only true and proper atonement for our sins."

Watts had no sympathy with the semi-paganism called rational religion, and as his experience became mellowed by affliction, his attachment to evangelical principles constantly increased. We have an example of this in a letter to his father, who lived to the age of eighty-five :—

"KENSINGTON, February 8, 1736-7.

"HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—It is now ten days since I heard from you, and learned by my nephew that you had been recovered from a very threatening illness. When you are in danger of life, I believe my sister is afraid to let me know the worst, for fear of affecting me too much. But as I feel old age advancing on myself, I am endeavouring to be ready for my removal hence, and though it gives a shock to nature when what has been long dear to one is taken away, yet reason and religion should teach us to expect it in these scenes of mortality and a dying world. *Blessed be God for our immortal hopes through the blood of Jesus, who has taken away the sting of death! What could such dying creatures do without the comforts of the gospel?* I hope you feel those satisfactions of soul on the borders of life which nothing can give but this gospel, which *you* taught us in our younger years. May these divine consolations support your spirits under all your growing infirmities, and may our blessed Saviour form your soul to such a

Letter of Dr. Watts to his father.

holy heavenly frame, that you may wait with patience amidst the languor of life for a joyful passage into the land of immortality. May no cares nor pains ruffle nor afflict your spirit. May you maintain a constant serenity at heart and sacred calmness of mind, as one who has long passed into night, and is in view of the dawning day. The night is far spent, the day is at hand! Let the garments of light be found upon us, and let us lift up our heads for our redemption draws nigh. Amen.

"I am, dear sir,

"Your most obedient son,

"ISAAC WATTS."

Doddridge went even beyond his friend Watts in the ardour of his zeal for a living faith. At a time when the pulpit, with a few exceptions, had lost its power, and the churches were sinking into a state of inanition from a torpid, formal repetition of religious phrases without unction or power, the early Methodists, represented by JOHN WESLEY and GEORGE WHITEFIELD, were called by a voice divine to rouse the people from their heavy slumber. The animated faith, the warm compassion, the unflinching courage, and the joyful hope of the great field preacher won the confidence of Doddridge. Whitefield in his journal records one of his visits:— Wesley and Whitefield.

"*Tuesday, May* 22 (1739).—Reached Owlney about ten at night, where I long promised to come. Here also God prepared a table for us, and here I was not a little comforted with meeting the Rev. Mr. Rogers of Bedford, who, like me, has lately been thrust out of the synagogues for speaking of the new birth, and has commenced a field-preacher. Once he was shut in prison for a short time, but thousands flock to hear him, and God blesses him more and more.

"*Wednesday, May* 23.—Being denied the pulpit, I preached this morning in a field near the town to about two thousand people, with much freedom and power. Reached Northampton

about five in the evening, and was most courteously received by Dr. Doddridge, Master of the Academy there. At seven, according to appointment, I preached to about three thousand hearers on a common near the town, from the 'Starting Post.' Great power, I believe, was amongst us, and I preached with wonderful pleasure because I thought I had then actually possession of one of the devil's strongholds.

"*Thursday, May* 24.—Preached again in the same place about eight in the morning. Breakfasted with some pious friends. Was greatly comforted by several choice children of God, who came to me from different parts, and left Northampton about eleven, rejoicing with my friends at things God has already done and was yet about to do for us. Many righteous souls live in and about Northampton, and nothing confirms me more in my opinion, that God intends to work a great work upon the earth, than to find how His children of all denominations everywhere wrestle in prayer for me."

CHAPTER IX.

In 1739 Whitefield took his second voyage to America, and, after a passage of nine weeks, landed at Philadelphia. His visit caused a wonderful ferment. Benjamin Franklin, who printed his sermons, says:

"He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches, but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refused him their pulpits, and he was obliged to preach in the fields. The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was a matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, how much they admired and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them they were naturally *half beasts* and *half devils*.

Benjamin Franklin and Whitefield.

"It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of the inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening, without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.*

* Ebenezer Turrel objected to the revival on this account:—"I can't see thro' ministers introducing hymns of human composition into great and mixed assemblies, especially when more than half the people know not what is to follow; and this, if it be a fault, is aggravated when it is a stranger that does it. To sing them, or the Psalms of David, about the street and in ferry-boats, looks as like pharisaism as one egg is like another, and it must be owned that such as follow this practice in the evening, yea, late in the night, which they can show no precept for, tends to disturb the families, and has been the cause of much sin in the neighbourhood." The prisoners at Philippi were disturbed in a similar manner, Acts vi. 25.

"And it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in was no sooner proposed, and persons appointed to receive contributions, than sufficient sums were soon received to procure the ground and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad, and the work was carried on with such spirit as to be finished in a much shorter time than could have been expected."

According to his custom, Whitefield wrote incessantly to his friends in England, entreating their prayers on his behalf:—

"Oh lift up your hands," he says, November 10, 1739, "in the congregation of the faithful, that I may willingly, if need be, resist unto blood; *but not with carnal weapons.* Taking the sword out of the hand of God's Spirit, I fear, has once more stopped the progress of the gospel. *The Quakers, I think, have left us an example of patient suffering, and did more by their bold, unanimous, and persevering testimonies, than if they had taken up all the arms in the kingdom.*"

Orphans and slaves.

In connection with this preaching campaign, Whitefield was anxious to promote two special objects of practical benevolence, in relation to destitute orphans and neglected slaves.

"The settlement of Georgia," Franklin says, "had been but lately begun, but instead of being made with hardy, industrious husbandmen accustomed to labour, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shopkeepers and other insolent debtors, many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspired the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield with the idea of building an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated. He preached up this charity, and made large collections."

In a letter to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Whitefield writes:—

"I am going to take up land for erecting and maintaining a negro school in the Province of Pennsylvania. I need not acquaint you, Rev. Sir, of the pitiable condition the poor negroes are in, and what hopes may be entertained of improving their minds, if due care be taken early to breed them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. To me Pennsylvania seems to be the best province in America for such an undertaking, the negroes meet there with the best usage, and I believe many of my acquaintance will either give me or let me purchase their young slaves at a very easy rate. I intend taking up a tract of land far back in the country, and to return to England about the latter end of the year, or in the beginning of the next, in order to raise up subscriptions, and to bring over assistants for that work." *

This bold and energetic course of action exposed Whitefield to the censure of the Anglican Clergy, who were "filled with indignation."

"Whitefield," writes Mr. Currie from Radnor, July 7, 1740, "has lately spent his efforts among us to rob us of our characters and then of our hearers. This strolling preacher, what by a musical force, by an agreeable delivery, a brazen forehead, impertinent asseverations, uncharitable assertions, and impious imprecations upon himself—if what he says be not true—has raised such a confusion among the people of this province as I believe will not be laid in haste, and which (I am most troubled about) has made a great rent in all the congregations belonging to the Church of England. The generality of my hearers, not only run after, but adore him as an oracle from heaven."†

Hostility of the Anglican Clergy.

"Mr. Whitefield," writes Mr. Howie, Oxford, in Pennsylvania, July 17, 1740, "has been twice in this province, preaching in fields and commons, and has done a great deal of harm, and undoubtedly will ruin the Missions in this Quaker Government, if special authority from home does not interpose to put a stop to his mad career."

Mr. Ross, in a letter dated Newcastle, August, 1740, circulated a little gratuitous scandal, in the

* American Col. Ch. Hist., College, Pennsylvania.

† Amer. Col. Ch. Collect., Virginia, p. 207. Fulham MSS., unbound.

hope of arresting the ardent and philanthropical evangelist.

"The storm," he says, "is not quite allayed at Philadelphia, where I bore my testimony, in a sermon I preached against the proceedings of this indefatigable impostor in gown and cassock. The main incendiary, it is expected, will return into these parts ere long; but his principles, pride, and spite, are so fully discovered, and particularly his amassing such vast sums, and therewith supporting a company of young fellows and gadding young women, who follow him to Georgia, instead of applying the charities for his little orphan house to their proper ends—has given so general an offence—that I am persuaded his conduct on this point will sink his credit as fast as his plausible talent of haranguing the populace has raised him in the opinion of the giddy multitude."

Gratuitous scandal.

Franklin bears honourable testimony to the contrary:—

"Some of Mr. Whitefield's enemies affected to suppose that he would apply these collections to his own emolument; but I, who was intimately acquainted with him, being employed in printing his sermons and journals, never had the least suspicion of his integrity, but am to this day decidedly of opinion that he was in all his conduct a perfectly honest man; and methinks my testimony in his favour ought to have the more weight, as we had no religious connection."

Franklin's testimony.

Mr. Cummings is desperate and alarmed at the prospect before him. He writes to the secretary:—

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The Bishop's Commissary, Mr. Garden, in So. Carolina, has lately prosecuted the famous Mr. Whitefield there upon the 38th Cannon*; but he has appealed home. I hope the Society will use their interest to have justice done him. His character as a clergyman enables him to do the greatest mischief. He thereby fights against the Church under

* Canon.

her colours, and, Judas-like, betrays her, under pretence of friendship, for which reason the *Dissenters are exceeding fond of him*—cry him up for an oracle, and in return he warmly exhorts his proselytes from the Church to follow them as the only preachers of true, sound doctrine. I am fully persuaded he designs to set up for the head of a sect; and doubt not but that he is *supported underhand by deists* and Jesuits, or both. He and his companion, Mr. Seward, have purchased 5000 acres of land about sixty miles distant hence." *

Whitefield rejoiced in this senseless commotion :—

"I find," he said, "the more I am opposed, the more the work of God goes on. As it was formerly, so it is now—the Church is like a field, the more it is mowed, the more it grows."

In New York, the only pulpit open to Whitefield was that of Ebenezer Pemberton; but he received an earnest invitation from Northampton and the ministers of Boston. Jonathan Edwards writes :—

"NORTHAMPTON, IN NEW ENGLAND,
"*Feb.* 12, 1739-40.

"REV. SIR,—My request to you is, that in your intended journey through New England the next summer, you would be pleased to visit Northampton. I hope it is not wholly from curiosity that I desire to see and hear you in this place; but I apprehend from what I have heard, that you are one that has the blessing of heaven attending you wherever you go, and I have a great desire, if it may be the will of God, that such a blessing as attends your warfare and labours may descend upon this town, and may enter mine own house, and that I may receive it in my own soul. Indeed, I am fearful whether you will not be disappointed in New England, and will have less success here than in other places. We who have dwelt in a land that has been dis-

Letter of Jonathan Edwards to Whitefield.

* Amer. Col. Ch., etc.—MSS. of S. P. G. Letter Book, vol ii. Bearcroft,

tinguished with light, and have long enjoyed the gospel, and have been glutted with it, and have despised it, are, I fear, more hardened than most of those places where you have preached hitherto. But yet I hope, in the power and mercy of God, that has appeared so triumphant in the success of your labours in other places, that He will send a blessing with you even to us, though we are unworthy of it. I hope, if God preserves my life, to see something of that salvation of God in New England which He has begun in a benighted, wicked, and miserable world and age, and the most guilty of all nations. It has been with refreshment of soul that I have heard of one raised up in the Church of England to *revive the mysterious, spiritual, despised, and exploded doctrines of the gospel, and full of a spirit of zeal for the promotion of real vital piety*, whose labours have been attended with such success. Blessed be God that hath done it! He is with you, and helps you, and makes the weapons of your warfare mighty. We see that God is faithful, and never will forget the promises that He has made to His Church; and that He will not suffer the smoking flax to be quenched, even when the floods seem to be overwhelming it; but will revive the flame again, even in the darkest times. I hope this is the dawning of a day of God's mighty power and glorious grace to the world of mankind. May you go on, reverend sir, and may God be with you more and more abundantly, that the work of God may be carried on by a blessing on your labours still with that swift progress that it has been hitherto, and rise to a greater height, and extend further and further with an irresistible power bearing down all opposition; and may the gates of hell never be able to prevail against you! And may God send forth more labourers into His harvest of a like spirit, until the kingdom of Satan shall shake, and his proud empire fall throughout the earth, and the kingdom of Christ—that glorious kingdom of light, holiness, peace, and love—shall be established from one end of the earth unto the other. Give my love to Mr. Seward; I hope to see him here with you. I believe I may venture to say that what has been heard of your labours and success has not been taken notice of more in any place in New England than here, or received with fuller credit. I hope, therefore, if we have opportunity, we shall hear you with greater attention. The way from New York to Boston, through Northampton, is but little further than the nearest that is, and, I

think, leads through as populous parts of the country as any. I desire that you and Mr. Seward would come directly to my house; I shall account it a great favour and smile of Providence to have the opportunity to entertain such guests under my roof, and to have some acquaintance with your persons.

"I fear it is too much for me to desire a particular remembrance in your prayer, when I consider how many thousands do doubtless desire it, who can't all be particularly mentioned; and I am far from thinking myself worthy to be distinguished. But pray, sir, let your heart be lifted up to God for me, among others, that God would bestow much of that blessed spirit on me that He has bestowed on you, and make me also an instrument of His glory.—I am, Reverend Sir, unworthy to be called your fellow labourer, "JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"To the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield."*

Accepting this call to visit his brethren in New England, Whitefield sailed from Charlestown, and arrived at Newport on the Sabbath (September 14, 1740.) He preached there and at Bristol, and then passed on to Boston. In anticipation of his engagements he wrote from Savannah, January 24, 1740: "When I come to New England *I shall endeavour to recommend a universal charity among all the true members of Christ's mystical body. Perhaps, therefore, the fields may be the most unexceptionable place to preach in.*" When within a few miles of Boston, the son of Governor Belcher and other leading inhabitants met him to welcome his arrival, and to assure him of the deep interest felt by them in the object of his visit. The Governor himself waited upon him personally with Secretary Willard, and became his devoted friends. Cutler in a letter to the Bishop of London gives us another view of his reception:— Whitefield in Boston.

* Cong. Mag., Vol. iii., New Series, p. 363.

"BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, *Dec.* 5, 1740.

"MY LORD,—At your Lordship's command I presented you with the best account I could of our Northampton enthusiasts a considerable time ago, and though I am not honour'd with that motive now, I beg leave to second it with the progress of another enthusiast who has received your Lordship's animadversions, very much to the advantage of the Church. The general expectations of Mr. Whitefield were much raised by the large encomiums bestowed on him. Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper stile him the wonder of the age. The Dissenters invited him here, and accordingly he was lodged in town at Dr. Colman's brother's.

Cutler's account of Whitefield.

"His first landing in New England was at Rhode Island,* September 14. From thence, after a few days, he rode to Bristol, where, in the Rev. Mr. Usher's absence, he was by the churchwardens invited into the church, but refused from a pre-engagement by the Dissenters there, in whose meeting-house he prayed *extempore*, and preached; the inferior Court, then sitting, adjourned to attend him.

"By Thursday night he came to this town, welcomed by all our teachers. The next morning the Secretary of the Province, a Dissenter, waited on him to conduct him to the Rev. Mr. Commissary's, but understanding he was not at home, we found him at eleven o'clock at prayers in his church, where were present five more clergymen of us. After prayers he saluted us all, whom with the Commissary invited to his house, where we had not been long before he entered on invectives against the corruptions and errors of the Church, but was more temperate in the use of that talent than he commonly is; and we lightly traversed over all these subjects:—*A Call to the Ministry, Regeneration, the Indwelling of the Spirit, Justification, Perseverance;* and in every one he contradicted himself, the Church, and whatever your Lordship has delivered on these heads. *He made no motion for our pulpits, nor did we offer them:* and after a very civil intercourse on all sides, dinner being at hand, he took leave of us,

* Berkeley, who spent some time at Rhode Island, writing his "Minute Philosopher," set an example of Christian moderation, and spoke respectfully of the "Brethren of the Separation," "all sects rushed to hear him, and even Quakers, with their broad-brimmed hats, came and stood in the aisles."—Updike, 120.

excusing himself from the Commissary's invitation by one prior to it. Nor did he ever visit our prisons or our churches more, though he was in town three Sundays, where we had two successive Sacraments, and he was twice an hearer in Dissenting congregations. Between three or four o'clock he left us. He was in Dr. Colman's pulpit in his gown (which he constantly wore in town before a large audience of teachers and people, praying *extempore*, and preaching, commending the faith and purity of this country—the design and lives of our forefathers who settled it—and this was a topic he never forgot upon all public occasions. He also reproved the people for their slack attendance on the weekly Dissenter's Lectures—assign'd it to the late fashionable preaching among us. He also reproached the Church universally for her corruptions in the faith and deviation from her articles; faulted the scholars at Cambridge for reading the most celebrated articles of our Church, and recommended *Willard's Body of Divinity*, *Shepherd's Sound Believer*, *Stoddard's Safety of Appearing in the Righteousness of Christ.*

"He taxed the persecuting spirit in England, never more so than now, which he expected to free and was ready to submit to; and in his farewell sermon, expressed his doubt whether his enemies would spare his life that he might return to them. He scarce ever omitted preaching twice a day, besides frequent expounding in the family, and some time after that family prayer, with multitudes that attended him and joined with him, within doors and without. He preached in this town and many of the towns adjacent, in conventicles, commons, and open places, where he was always thronged, and seldom by less than thousands—two, five, eight, and at his farewell by not less than twenty thousand. Before his departure he made an excursion of sixty miles—preaching all the way, going and coming. He always minded us of the Orphan House at Georgia, and obtained a collection in one place and another of above £300 this currency. He departed from us to Northampton, about one hundred off, preaching all the way, multitudes flocking to him."*

Other ministers took umbrage at the freedom of Whitefield's observations. In his journal, September 24, 1740, he says:—

* Hist. of Coll. of Amer. Col. Ch., Mass., p. 345.

"Went this morning to see and preach at Cambridge, the chief college for training up the sons of the prophets in all New England. It has one president, four tutors, upwards of one hundred students. It is scarce as big as one of our least colleges in Oxford, and as far as I could gather from some who well knew the state of it, not far superior to our universities in piety and true godliness. Tutors neglect to pray with and examine the hearts of their pupils. Discipline is at too low an ebb. Bad books are become fashionable among them. Tillotson and Clark are read, instead of Shepherd, Stoddard, and such like evangelical writers, and therefore I chose to preach from these words:—'We are not as many who corrupt the Word of God,' and in the conclusion of my sermon I *made a close application to tutors and students.*"

Visit to Cambridge.

The visit of Whitefield occasioned great apprehension for the future.

"Now," H. A. Brockwell writes to the Bishop of London, June 15, 1741, "a more melancholy scene opens to us, *the Wesleys are expected in the Fall*, men every way superior to those who have already appeared, and, therefore (if enemies) still capable of greater mischief." "We universally dread the consequences of their coming." "They are fortified by a large fund of learning."

Dread of the Wesleys coming.

Leaving Boston Whitefield went to Northampton. On the evening of Thursday, the 16th of October, he reached the house of Jonathan Edwards, and both entered into serious conference respecting the revival of 1735. Here Whitefield remained until the 20th, and preached five sermons adapted to the circumstances of the town, reproving the backslidings of some, the obstinate impenitence of others, and summoning all, by the mercies with which the town had been distinguished, to return to God. His visit was followed

Visit of Whitefield to Northampton.

by revived religious interest. On a visit to the house of his father at East Windsor, Jonathan Edwards spoke freely to Whitefield in the presence of others on his too customary practice of judging other persons to be unconverted. Whitefield seems to have listened patiently but in silence. From Northampton Whitefield directed his steps to New Haven, where he arrived on the 23rd of October, having preached on his way in several towns, and on that day to thousands at Middletown and Wallingford. Here he was entertained at the house of James Pierpont. The Legislature of the colony was in session. He was induced in consequence to remain a few days, preaching once on Friday afternoon, twice on Saturday, and twice on the Sabbath, besides expounding at his lodgings the things concerning the kingdom of God and meeting individual inquiries. These services led to greater Christian activity. Benjamin Pomeroy, Samuel Buell, and others, entered on a course of itinerant preaching. James Davenport, the grandson of the founder of New Haven, produced great excitement. At Stonington one hundred were said to be awakened under his first sermon; the people followed him from that place to Westerly, Rhode Island, in solemn procession, singing on the way. At New Haven Gilbert Tennent followed Whitefield, and thousands, it is said, were awakened. Amongst them were David Brainerd, Samuel Hopkins, and other students of Yale College. A conflict arose between the "New Lights," the friends of the revival, and the "Old Lights," its inveterate

At New Haven.

"New Lights" and "Old Lights."

opponents. A number of the members of the Church under the care of Joseph Noyes desired permission to separate and form themselves into a distinct Church.

The following memorial was presented at the Society's meeting, December 28, 1741 :—

"To the First Society in the town of New Haven,—Whereas we, the subscribers, have, by long and sorrowful experience, found that the preaching and conduct of the Rev. Mr. Noyes has been in a great measure unprofitable to us, and that we have also reason to think that he differs from us in some points of faith, we desire (not, as we hope, out of any prejudice to the persons of Mr. Noyes and our brethren and friends of the Society, to whom we heartily wish all good), that they would allow us, and others that may incline to join with us, *to draw off from them in charity*, wishing to be a distinct Society, that we may put ourselves under the best advantage to worship God, under such means as He, in His good providence, may allow, and we hope will bless, for our spiritual good and edification."

First Society of New Haven.

After contending with great difficulties, the seceders were allowed to organize themselves. They claimed the right of an independent Church, free from the restriction of a consociation, and appealed to their records for proof in confirmation, and were justified by a Council called at their own request.

Separatist Church.

"Accordingly the next day was held as one of solemn fasting and prayer. Two sermons were delivered; one in the forenoon by Mr. Graham, and the other in the afternoon by Mr. Bellamy. At the same time, eighteen brethren and twenty-five sisters, forty-three in the whole, subscribed the confession of faith and Church covenant, which had been used in the ancient Church of New Haven from the beginning; and on their being distinctly

read, publicly and expressly gave their assent and consent to them. They also publicly declared and covenanted, in the following manner: Whereas, in addition to other grievances too tedious and unnecessary here to enumerate, of which we would not willingly perpetuate the memory, a considerable part of the First Church in New Haven have lately (viz., on the 25th of January last), under the conduct of their present pastor, voted a conformity to the Saybrook Platform, and in consequence of it (to show more plainly the design of said vote), at the same time by their vote, carried to the Standing Consociation of this County a complaint against sundry members of said Church, thereby owning a judicial and decisive authority in the said stated Consociation, *contrary to the known fundamental principle and practice of said Church time out of mind, which has always denied any judicial or decisive authority under Christ vested in any particular persons, or class, over any particular Congregational Church confederated as this.* We, the subscribers, members of said Church, *firmly adhering to the Congregational principles and privileges on which the said Church was founded, and hath stood unshaken from the beginning through successive generations,* until the 25th day of January last, being by the said innovations hereunto necessitated, apprehend ourselves *called of God, in company, to vindicate our ancient rightful powers and privileges, and to put ourselves into a proper capacity for the enjoyment thereof, upon the ancient footing;* and for that purpose do now, under the conduct of Divine Providence, humbly sought by fasting and prayer, *assume a Church state of the gospel, on the ancient basis of that Church,* whereof we stood members in fact as well as of right, until the unhappy period above mentioned, wherein the pastor and a number of the brethren with him, went off from the ancient foundation, as aforesaid.

"And we, with all affection, invite others, the members of said Church, who do or may see just cause of grievance at said innovations, to join with us in asserting our ancient rightful powers and privileges broken in upon.

"We solemnly declare our belief in the Christian religion, as contained in the Sacred Scriptures, and with such a view thereof as the confession of faith hath exhibited, which is hereunto annexed, fully agreeing, in substance, with the confession of faith owned by such Churches time out of mind, heartily resolving to

conform our lives unto the rule thereof, that holy religion, as long as we live in this world. We solemnly renew a religious dedication of ourselves to the Lord Jehovah, who is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and avouch Him this day to be our God, our Father, our Saviour, our Leader, and receive Him as our portion for ever. We give up ourselves anew to the blessed Jesus, who is the Lord Jehovah, and adhere to Him, as the Head of His people in the covenant of grace, and rely on Him as our Prophet, Priest, and King, to bring us into eternal blessedness. We renewedly acknowledge our everlasting and indispensable obligations to glorify our God, in all the duties of a godly, sober, and righteous life; and very particularly in the duties of a Church state, as a body of people *associated for an obedience to Him*, in all the ordinances of the gospel; and we, therefore, depend on His gracious assistance for our faithful discharge of the duties thus incumbent on us. We desire and intend, and with dependence on His promised and powerful grace, we engage anew to walk together as a Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the faith and order of the gospel, so far as we shall have the same revealed unto us, conscientiously attending the public worship of God, the sacraments of the New Testament, the discipline of His kingdom, and all His holy institutions in common with one another, and watchfully avoiding sinful stumbling-blocks and contentions, as becometh a people, whom the Lord hath bound together in the bundle of life. At the same time, we do also present our offspring with us unto the Lord, purposing, with His help, to do our part in the methods of religious education, that they may be the Lord's. And all this we do, flying to the blood of the everlasting covenant for the pardon of our many errors, praying that the glorious Lord, who is the great Shepherd, would prepare and strengthen us for every good work, to do His will, working in us that which will be well-pleasing to Him, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."*

The authorities of Yale College interposed to arrest the progress of the Whitefield movement.

Brainerd and other students were brought before them to be censured and dismissed. On the ex-

* Dutton's "History of the First Church New Haven."

pression of his regret for some harsh expressions he had used, Brainerd was again received as a student, subject to certain disabilities. To check the growth of separation, the Legislature of the Colony passed a law to the effect— Expulsion of Brainerd from College.

"That if any ordained or licensed preacher should preach or exhort within the limits of any parish, without the consent of the pastor and majority of that parish, if from without the Colony, he shall be arrested and carried out of the Colony as a vagrant. If from within the Colony, he shall be deprived of his salary, and that without any trial, simply upon information lodged by any person with the clerk of his parish. If any person not licensed to preach shall exhort, within the limits of any parish, without the consent of that parish, for every such offence he shall be bound to keep the peace, by any assistant, or justice of the peace, in the penal sum of one hundred pounds."

Other stringent measures were adopted. The Separatists in Windham County, in order to obtain the relief of the Toleration Act, were induced to join the Baptists. The pressure of the Colonial Government became so severe that twenty separate Churches adopted a memorial to the King, and a deputation, in 1756, was appointed to convey it to England. Before presenting their address to the country, the delegates consulted the Committee of the Deputies for the protection of the rights of Dissenters, and as the result of the Conference, a letter of remonstrance was sent to the Lower House of Assembly, which led to the following explanation of Governor Law :— Remonstrance of Dissenting Deputies.

"MILFORD, *November*, 1743.

"HONOURED SIR,—Yours of February 25 I received, and most thankfully observe your readiness to assist Mr. Palmer in se-

curing the rights of our churches and colleges as well as the prosperity of our civil state, and had we no enemies to our interest we should less need the interposition of our able and faithful friends, for I perceive by a copy of a letter said to be read publicly in our Lower House of Assembly wherein you lament the confusions and disorders which have been the product of some ecclesiastical laws lately made, destructive of that liberty by which we subsist, and savour of the leaven of imposition and persecution. That some have not been wanting in their endeavours by their misrepresentations to deprive us of that help we relyed on with the greatest assurance.

Governor Law's reply.

"The laws themselves you may see in our Law Book sent to Mr. Palmer.

"Those laws which were represented as the cause of those confusions are of a later date, and so could not be the cause but are the effect, and since those laws were made those confusions have very much subsided, and now are subsisted only or chiefly by those (and some of our friends) who, with political views, use it only as an handle for their advancement, as they did the controversy for making a flood of paper currency.

"About two or three years agone our confusions and disorders began by a number of ministers setting up enthusiastical principles and a spirit of discerning, leaving their own parishes, became itinerants, and crowded themselves into other parishes, everywhere proclaiming both ministers and magistrates and all others who did not go into their schemes and methods to be carnal and unconverted pharisees and hypocrites, going themselves and leading others to hell, and therefore unfitt for any improvement in Church or State, and by setting up illiterate and ignorant persons to be exhorters, they drew multitudes together both night and day, where at their meetings they and their exhorters strook the people in screamings, screeches, swoonings, convulsions, trances, distractions, visions, and revelations, on which followed divisions and separations in churches, and societies, and families. Children and servants taught to disobey their parents and masters, the common affairs of life almost wholly laid aside in many places for a considerable length of time, introducing an occasion for the doctrine of comunety of goods, which some began to advance. In the College the publick

exercises almost laid aside, yea, wholly for a time; studies neglected; the governours of the College insolently declared by the youth (after the manner of those whom they followed) to be carnal and unconverted men, old pharisees, etc.; human learning explored as a useless thing in matters of religion; many left the College, and others went when and where and as they pleased, setting up another College at New London called the *Shepherd's Tent*, and under the direction of one Allen, lately a minister of a parish in New Haven, dismist by a council of ministers and messengers of the district to which he belonged, for teaching, among other heterodox principles, that the Bible was but an old almanack, where he with others running into many wild conceits, at length made a sacrifice or bonfire of such books as they condemned and could gett, and made preparation for another of their cloaths, and other things which they said they had idolized.

"Whereupon the Government thought it necessary to pass an act for regulating schools, as you may see.

"And now those that went off from the College would and do return with their acknowledgments of their delusions and misconduct, and more than forty of them have offered themselves for an admission into the College, which seems to be restored to a flourishing and peaceable state.

"As to our ecclesiastical affairs in our first settlement being universally Presbyterian and Congregational, none were allowed to embody into Church estate without the consent of the General Court and approbation of neighbouring Churches, as on page 29.

"As to fforeigners or strangers, the penalty of the first is only an exemption of the privilege of a distress to collect his rate.

"Can I be said to impose upon a man, in refusing him to use my name to recover his wages for doing the work I forbid him to do?

"The penalty annexed to the second is giving bond for their good behaviour.

"Unless it be an imposition to be restrained from imposing on others this is none; he that will force himself on a minister and his people breaks the civil peace.

"The penalty annexed to the third is, 'that he be sent out of the Government by public authority.' No Government can be

safe if fforeigners and strangers may come in and transgress the laws of the Government, and impose these doctrines on the ministry and people against their consent, if there be no way to remove and restrain them.

"Thus, sir, I hope you will see that our circumstances, if what I have informed you be true as to the facts, required a remedy; that the confusions and disorders were not made but suppressed by the laws, and that the remedyes provided can by no means deserve the imputation of persecution or imposition, or be any ways inconsistent with Christian liberty, and retain us in full charity, and do us all the good offices you did intend and fall within your compass.

"That our inheritance be not broken up is of great consequence to us.

"That two hundred and sixty ffamilys be not turned out of their possessions, improvements, and habitation for some men's avarice, and under colour of doing justice to twenty or thirty Indians, who have honestly disposed of it, as has been found by two Courts of Commissioners, and four thousand acres remaining in and for their improvement, situate in the heart of the country, not able to do us much good or hurt, and well content with what they have, is a matter of great weight; an appeal from the last decree, as the worthy Mr. Palmer will be able to inform you being enforced.

"Hoping you will excuse my voluminous way of writing, it being not my talent to comprise *multum in parvo*.

"I subscribe, your much engaged ffriend,

"And most humble servant,

"JONATHAN LOW." *

The "Deputies" in turn sent a rather "voluminous" communication.

Reply of the Deputies.

"HONOURED SIR,—Your letter of November, 1743, to Dr. Avery, and the papers which accompanied it, have been imparted to us by the doctor; and as we all feel, so your Honour will allow us to express our joint concern and sorrow for the ecclesiastical and religious disputes which prevail among the inhabitants of your province.

"We all of us have a great dislike to those principles

* Minute Book of Dissenting Deputies.

which we hear, from other hands, as well as from your Honour's, have with too great eagerness and success been propagated in those parts. We see the tendency of these principles, and of the way that is taken to spread them; they plainly tend to create heats and animosities, and to destroy that peace, unity, and mutual good will, so amiable among neighbours, so essential among Christians.

"We fear that such opinions and practices, as you justly complain of, will not only lead many weak persons into enthusiastic delusions, but will likewise much abate that spirit of industry and application to business which is well-known to be absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the colony.

"We are sensible that by the propagation of such sentiments as have lately crept in among you, the minds of many must be unhinged, endless doubts and perplexities will arise, and scepticism or infidelity seem likely to be the unhappy issue.

"But great and manifest as these mischiefs are, we cannot be of opinion that the magistrate has anything to do in the matter but to see that the public peace is preserved; that there are no riots or tumults; and that his subjects are not allowed to assault, hurt, maim, wound, plunder, or kill one another in these religious contests.

"We apprehend the making laws against these opinions, and those who avow them, can answer no valuable purpose. It is no way that God has appointed to inform the judgements of man, or alter their way of thinking. It will neither enlighten their understandings, nor procure their esteem or good will. It will exasperate them—drive them to a greater distance and disaffection; and it will be apt to move compassion in disinterested bystanders, and thereby increase the number of those eager enthusiasts and ill-informed zealots.

For such reasons as these, we imagine, it is that both Church and State have connived at the irregular, unreasonable, and perhaps sometimes almost tumultuous assemblies of the same kind of mistaken men in this country. The governors both of the State and Church well know that they have laws in being to the penalties of which these men make themselves daily obnoxious. But not one of these laws has been put in execution against them. No attempt of that nature has been made. Nay, when any have offered to abuse or disturb them in their assemblies for worship, which possibly were not strictly legal, the magistrate

has interposed, and punished such who have presumed to insult them. And it is visible that this method of connivance has had a very desirable effect. Expostulations and entreaties, attended with strong reasoning and a steady persevering lenity and forbearance, promise great good in contests of this kind; force can do nothing but mischief.

"We find, too, it is apprehended to be injurious treatment, when your law, particularly that Act in May, 1742, is represented as of a persecuting nature.

"We firmly believe that your Honour, and the majority of the Legislature, who enacted that law, did think it quite consistent with all the just rights which the inhabitants of Connecticut had any claim to, and that it was likely to be serviceable to the country, or else we cannot persuade ourselves that you would ever have proposed, encouraged, framed, and passed it.

"But you must allow us to add, that the thing appears to us in very different light. The three penalties of which you seem to think and speak so highly, appear to us very grievous; we well know we should think them so, were the case our own; and the instances of conduct which are threatened with these penalties, are not necessarily, and in their own nature, violations of that public peace and tranquillity which the magistrate is obliged or concerned to preserve. We mean, that a man, whether settled minister, inhabitant, or foreigner, may, without any breach of the public peace cognizable by the civil magistrate, at the request of any number of its inhabitants, preach in any parish or town to which he does not stand related as their stated minister, and if this be not true, we cannot see how Christianity at first, or the Reformation since, could have claimed a fair hearing.

"It may possibly not appear to the majority in Connecticut any way hard or injurious to lay a restraint, by public authority, on parent or guardian in educating their children. But we well know, and shall not easily forget, what we felt on a like occasion. We were greatly alarmed and disquieted by an attempt, made here about thirty years ago, to deprive us of the liberty of educating our children in the way most agreeable to our judgements and consciences. Through the goodness of God the threatened storm blew over. The Act, though passed, was never executed, and was soon repealed. And we have lived to hear the gentlemen, of the most forward zeal and greatest bigotry, who were principally con-

cerned in making that attempt, reflect upon their own conduct in that affair, and censure it as unreasonable and not to be defended. And it cannot fail of giving us great uneasiness should we hear it said, that what the most zealous high churchmen profess to be ashamed of here, should be copied and imitated by our Presbyterian and Congregational brethren abroad, in their conduct to persons of their own, or indeed of any denomination of Christians.

"In short, whether we consider this matter in a religious or political light, it seems every way most advisable to let these men alone, how wildly erroneous soever both you or we may take their sentiments to be. Any penalties, incapacities, fines, imprisonments, banishments, or vexatious prosecutions, will not fail of being represented here, to our, as well as your disadvantage. And if on such accounts as these, any such complaints should be made to the King and Council, we should not be able, and indeed it would ill become us to endeavour to vindicate such proceedings. Perhaps we do not know every circumstance that attends your situation distinctly enough to take upon us to advise you what part it will be most prudent for you to act on this occasion. But we think nothing can be more clear than that it is absolutely necessary you should avoid all kinds of rigour and severity in your methods of procedure.

"We heartily wish you, Sir, health, happiness, a lasting and growing usefulness and reputation. May you, Sir, your Council, and the House of Representatives be directed from above how to behave in this arduous and critical juncture. We shall rejoice to hear that the province is settled on the sure and lasting foundation of truth, righteousness, and peace.—Signed in the name and by order of the Committee,

"B. AVERY, Chairman."

This well-intentioned remonstrance had little or no effect in mitigating the "Old Light" intolerance. Two students, John and Ebenezer Cleavland, expelled from Yale College, were connected with the Church at Canterbury, in Windham County, and claimed the rights of Congregationalists proper. The members

"Old Light" intolerance.

of the Church sympathized with their views, and when destitute of a pastor, Elisha Paine began to preach for them and was thrown into prison. A long contest ensued, crowds flocked to hear Paine in the yard of Windham Jail, and the authorities found it their best policy to let him go free. This led to the formation of separate churches. The legal repression of excited converts, but partially instructed, caused, in some instances, excesses that threw discredit on their cause. Davenport especially became wild and frantic, and the revival was checked.

In a letter to William McCulloch, Cambuslang, Scotland, dated Northampton, March 5, 1744, Edwards writes:—

Dr. Edwards' Letter to McCulloch.

"'Tis probable that you have been informed by other correspondents before now what the present state of things in New England is; it is, indeed, on many accounts very melancholy. There is a vast alteration within these two years; for about so long, I think it is, since the Spirit of God began to withdraw, and this great work has been on the decline. Great numbers in the land about two years ago were raised to an exceeding great height in joy and elevation of mind, and through want of watchfulness and sensibleness of the danger and temptation that there is in such circumstances, many were greatly exposed, and the devil taking advantage, multitudes were soon, and to themselves insensibly, led far away from God and their duty; God was provoked that He was not sanctified in this height of advancement as He ought to have been. He saw our spiritual pride and self-confidence, and the polluted flames that arose of intemperate, unhallowed zeal, and He soon, in a great measure, withdrew from us, and the consequence has been that the enemy has come in like a flood, in various respects, until the deluge has overwhelmed the whole land. There had from the beginning been a great mixture, especially in some places, of false experience, and false religion with true; but from about this time, the mixture became much

greater, many were led away with sad delusions, and this opened the door for the enemy to come in like a flood in another respect, it gave great advantages to those enemies and opposers of this work, furnished them with weapons, and gave them new courage, and has laid the friends of the work under such disadvantages, that nothing that they could do would avail anything to withstand their violence. And now it is come to that, that the work is put to a stop everywhere, and it is a day of the enemy's triumph, but I believe also a day of God's people's humiliation, which will be better to them in the end than their elevations and raptures. The time has been amongst us when the sower went forth to sow, and we have seen the spring wherein the seed sprang up in different sorts of ground, appearing then fair and flourishing; but this spring is past, and we now see the summer; wherever the sun is up with a burning heat, that tries the sorts of ground where there was only a thin layer of earth on a rock, withers away, the moisture being dried out, and the hidden seeds and roots of thorns, in unsubdued ground, now spring up and choke the seed of the word. Many high professors are fallen, some into gross immoralities, some into a rooted spiritual pride, enthusiasm, and an incorrigible wildness of behaviour; some into a cold frame of mind, showing a great indifference to the things of religion. But there are many, and, I hope, the greater part, of those that were professed converts, who appear hitherto like the good ground, and notwithstanding the thick and dark clouds that so follow the blessed sunshine that we have had, yet I cannot but steadfastly maintain a hope and persuasure that God will revive His work, and that what has been so great and very extraordinary is a forerunner of a yet more glorious and blessed work.

"Although I don't question at all but there is great reason to bless God for a glorious and wonderful work of His power and grace in the edification of His children in New England, in the neighbouring government, and several other parts, within a few years past, and believe that the Lord hath favoured me, though most unworthy, with several others of His servants, in granting special assistance and success, the glory of all which be given to Jehovah, to whom it belongs; yet, after frequent meditation and desire that I might be enabled to apprehend things justly, and I hope I may say mature consideration, I am now fully convinced

and persuaded that several appendages to this glorious work are no essential parts thereof, but of a different and contrary nature and tendency, which appendages I have been, in the time of the work, very industrious in, and instrumental of promoting by a misguided zeal; being further much influenced in the affair by the false spirit which, unobserved by me, did (as I have been brought to see since) prompt me to unjust apprehensions and misconduct in several articles, which have been great blemishes to the work of God, very grievous to some of God's children, no less ensnaring and corrupting to others of them, a sad means of many questioning the work of God, concluding and appearing against it; and of the hardening of multitudes in their sins, and an awful occasion of the enemies blaspheming the right way of the Lord, and withal very offensive to that God, before whom I would be in the dust prostrate, in deep humility and repentance on this account, imploring pardon for the Mediator's sake, and thankfully accepting the tokens thereof."

The evils that hindered the gospel were largely traceable to those who, in the "work of God," could not lose sight of their own importance as spiritual magicians, who possessed a power peculiar to themselves, and assumed in consequence judicial functions in reference to others who should have been hailed with their diversity of gifts as "workers together with God," and fellow-helpers to the truth.

The results of his close observation, varied experience, and of careful thought Edwards gave in the treatises he published: in 1741, "On the Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the True Spirit;" in 1742, "Thoughts on the Revival in New England;" and in 1746, "On Religious Affections."

"Persons influenced by indiscreet zeal," he said, "are always in too much haste; they are impatient of delays, and therefore are for jumping to the uppermost step first, before they have taken the preceding stiles, whereby they expose themselves to fall and break their bones. They are delighted to see the build-

ing rise, and all their endeavour and strength is employed in advancing its height, without taking care proportionally of the bottom; whereby the whole is in danger of coming to the ground. Or they are for putting on the cupola and pinnacle before the lower parts of the building are done, which tends at once to put a stop to the building, and hinder its ever being a complete structure. Many that are thus imprudent and hasty with their zeal, have a real eager appetite for that which is good; like children, are impatient to wait for the fruit, and therefore snatch it before it is ripe. Oftentimes in their haste, they overshoot their mark, and frustrate their own end; they put that which they would obtain further out of reach than it was before, and establish and confirm that which they would remove. Things must have time to ripen. The prudent husbandman waits till the harvest is ripe before he reaps. We are now just beginning to recover out of a dreadful disease; but to feed a man recovering from a fever with strong meat at once is the way to kill him.

Indiscriminate zeal.

"Zeal without order will do but little, or at least it will be effectual but for a little while. Let a company, however zealous against the enemy, go forth to war without any order, every one rushing forward as his zeal shall drive him, all in confusion; if they gain something at first onset by surprising the enemy, yet how soon do they come to nothing, and fall an easy, helpless prey to them."

The incidents which have passed under our notice had an important bearing on the ultimate conflict which sundered the ties between the Provincial Colonies and Great Britain, and we must now carefully watch the tendency of these ecclesiastical contentions. The arbitrary proceedings of the Connecticut Assembly caused a reaction against their intolerant policy. "The majority," says Backus, "by overstraining their power, had weakened it, and it now began to decline." * A party arose, called "Political New

Reaction in Connecticut.

* "Church History of New England," ii., 177.

Lights," who, although opposed to separation and the excesses of revivalists, denounced persecuting measures. The "New Lights," by their persistent resistance, eventually gained a majority in their favour, and in turn imposed regulations in Yale College in accordance with their views. A third order of agitators now appeared, demanding unrestricted liberty in matters of conscience, and evincing at the same time fiercer hostility to all creeds and confessions.

In the spring of 1744, a pamphlet was printed in Boston, attributed to Colonel Elisha Williams, President of Yale College, entitled—

Tract on Religious Liberty.

"The Essential Rights and Liberties of Protestants, a Seasonable Plea for the *Liberty of Conscience*, and *the Right* of Private Judgment, in matters of religion, without any control from *human authority;*" being a letter from a gentleman in the Massachusetts Bay to his friends in Connecticut, wherein some thoughts on the origin, end, and extent of the *civil power*, with brief considerations on several late laws in Connecticut, are humbly offered, by a Lover of Truth and Liberty."

The author avows himself a follower of Locke in his views of the origin and end of civil government. He adopts the positions that "all men are *naturally equal* in respect of jurisdiction or dominion one over another"; that "we are *born free*, as we are born *rational*"; and that "the fountain and original of all civil power is from the *people*, and is certainly instituted for their sakes." He proceeds to show that "the members of a civil state do *retain* their natural liberty, or right of judging for themselves in matters of religion"; and that the

rights of conscience "sacred and equal in all, are, strictly speaking, *unalienable*." He denies the power of the civil authority "to make or ordain articles of faith, creeds, forms of worship, or Church government, to establish any religion of a human form and composition, as a *rule* binding to Christians, much less to do this on any *penalties* whatsoever"; and asserts the right of every Christian "to determine for himself what Church to join himself to," and of every Church "to judge in what manner God is to be worshipped by them, and what form of discipline ought to be observed by them," etc. He examines, section by section, the Connecticut laws of 1742 and 1743, and shows their injustice, and that they "abridge that Christian liberty to which all British subjects are entitled by the Act of Toleration"; * and, in conclusion, adds these words of warning:—

"It has commonly been the case that Christian liberty, as well as civil, has been lost by little and little; and experience has taught *that it is not easy to recover it when once lost.* So precious a jewel is always to be watched with a careful eye; for no people are likely to enjoy liberty long that are not *zealous to preserve it.*"

The author of this consistent statement of the principle of religious liberty was an extraordinary man, and served his country as a divine, college president, judge, and military commander. Dr. Doddridge, who met him in England, says of him:— Elisha Williams.

"I look upon him to be one of the most valuable men upon

* *New Englander*, April, 1876, p. 304.

earth; he has, joined to an ardent sense of religion, solid learning, consummate prudence, great candour, and sweetness of temper; and a certain nobleness of soul, capable of contriving and acting the greatest things, without seeming to be conscious of having done them."

Views adopted by the "Sons of Liberty."

The views of Williams on the question of religious liberty were adopted by men of another spirit. Dr. Gale, a bitter opponent of the Assembly's Catechism and the Savoy Declaration of Faith, in conjunction with Thomas Darling, of New Haven, the tutor and friend of Ezra Stiles, Jared Ingresol, and others, were associated in a political club, in 1755, called the SONS OF LIBERTY, and were trained together for their future course of action.

Patrick Henry defeats the Clergy in Hanover.

We may note also that in a suit instituted in November, 1763, in Hanover, Virginia, by James Maury, for the recovery of his stipend in tobacco, Patrick Henry defeated the Clergy by an impassioned appeal to the Court, in which he denounced the decision of the Council at home, declaring the King, by whose authority such a decision was proclaimed and enforced, to be not the father, but the tyrant of his people, the exulting crowd seized the orator and carried him to receive an ovation from the multitude without.

Whilst the atmosphere of the American provinces was charged with such elements, the Anglican Clergy were employed in every practicable way, to obtain a change in the civil government, which should be for their advantage. It is startling under these circumstances to find Dr. Samuel

Johnson, an Anglican clergyman, in a long report to the Archbishop of Canterbury, July 13, 1760, writing to this effect:—

"And here, my Lord, I beg leave to add a few words of that colony (Conn.) in general, though it might, perhaps, hurt the Church were I known to write so freely. I am humbly of opinion that every thing being taken into the account, that for its bigness is the best of all his majesty's provinces in America. All the disadvantages it labours under are owing to its *wretched constitution*, being little more than a mere democracy, and most of them upon a level, and each man thinking himself an able divine and politician, hence the prevalency of rigid enthusiastical and conceited notions and practices in religion, and Republican and mobbish principles and practices, next door to anarchy, in polity, and hence frequent feuds and factions in both and every thing is managed by profound hypocrisy and dissimulation, so that they may in effect be called a *commonwealth of hypocrites*. I speak of the prevailing bulk, who all conspire to keep men of true, sober, and honest principles and integrity out of places, and such indeed as they abhor to have any hand in their public affairs, the rest having almost lost all notion of any king or kingdom to which they are accountable. This state of things makes multitudes very inquisitive after better principles, and many, from too much indignation run into the wild extreme of boundless latitude and freethinking; while many (I hope the most of those that are inquisitive) seem to sit down in the golden mean of the Church of England, if they could be provided for; so that it is of the utmost importance for the best weal of that colony and its eastward neighbours, that the Church be propagated and, if possible, supported, and if at the same time their CHARTERS were DEMOLISHED and *they could be reduced under* one form, and managed by *wise and good governors and council appointed by the king*, I believe they would in a little time grow a good sort of people, and be the best of all the provinces."*

Samuel Johnson and the "Commonwealth of Hypocrites."

* Lambeth MSS., 1125.

CHAPTER X.

CONGREGATIONAL Churches in England, untrammelled by general courts, consociations, or councils, moved onward with the quietness of domestic order. In a time of spiritual lethargy, they were liable to silent decay; but with the revival of Christian affection they were drawn together by common sympathies most refreshing to witness. Though independent, they were not isolated. They rejoiced with each other in seasons of prosperity, and when they suffered from spiritual declension they sought the counsel, the help, and the prayers of sister churches in a manner indicative of their thorough sincerity and mutual confidence. We have an illustrative instance in the following letter from the Church at Basingstoke to the Church at the Three Cranes, London :—

"To y^e^ Church of Christ under y^e^ pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. John Hill, of London.

"The Church of Christ at Basingstoke wisheth grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

"BELOVED IN OUR LORD,—Since it hath pleased our great Lord in His sovereign pleasure and holy dispensations to afflict us, by removing from us y^e^ past year, and now again lately, several useful persons, whereby we are much reduced and

weakened, and since y^e^ presence of y^e^ Lord is greatly withdrawn from our solemn assemblies, y^e^ great work of conversion is at a stay, and consequently a threatening to remove y^e^ candlestick out of its place, we cannot but be alarmed at such an awful prospect and concerned for y^e^ departing glory. And having, therefore, *separated some time to humble ourselves before y^e^ Lord by fasting and prayer, and to plead with Him for ourselves and families, relations, and neighbours, that y^e^ Lord would revive His dying cause amongst us*, which also we ever somewhat encourage to hope and wait for from y^e^ many precious testimonies to the grace and truth of our God which His dying servants have left behind them, and which we would own even in y^e^ midst of our deep affliction and distress to y^e^ praise and glory of our God and Saviour. But as y^e^ Lord is calling, warning, and alarming us by His providence, we have thought it our duty to certify this to you, *as desirous of promoting fellowship with you in y^e^ Lord*, and not doubting your tender sympathy and affectionate concern for y^e^ Lord's poor and afflicted remnant here. We do hereby entreat, if it may be convenient *for you to devote some time to spread our case before y^e^ Lord, and help us by your prayers*, that we may yet receive y^e^ blessing from y^e^ Lord of increase and prosperity. We heartily desire y^e^ prosperity of our dear Lord's kingdom with you y^t^ y^r^ Church, with its offices, may increase with y^e^ increase of God, and we pray y^t^ your hearts may be comforted, being knit together in love unto all riches of y^e^ full assurance of understanding to y^e^ acknowledgment of y^e^ mystery of God and y^e^ Father of Christ.

Church at Basingstoke.

"Signed at our Church Meeting in y^e^ name and by y^e^ appointment of the Church, July 16, 1742."

The desire expressed in this communication for the advancement of true piety none felt more earnestly than Doddridge. He saw clearly that it was time to halt in any further accommodation to those who were manifestly departing from the truth.

"He lamented," Orton tells us, "the sad deviation of many ministers from what he thought important truths of the Gospel,

insisting on them much less than they should have done, or in such a manner as if they were making concessions to an adversary rather than opening *their hearts to their hearers on a favourite topic.* He saw persons *reforming* upon a plain gospel till it was *almost evaporated and lost*, and therefore he was the more strenuous in the support of its vital truths. 'I hope,' said he, in a sermon before an assembly of ministers, '*we shall never practise so dangerous a complaisance to unbelievers of the present age as to waive the Gospel that we may accommodate ourselves to their taste*, which, if we do, we may indeed preserve the name of virtue; but I fear we shall destroy the thing itself, lose it in our congregations, and probably in our hearts, for I confess it seems to me much more probable that the doctrines of natural religion should alone be blessed as the means of reforming heathens, who never heard of Christianity, than they should have much effect upon those who, under the profession of it, *slight its most glorious peculiarities, as if the religion of Jesus were a mere incumbrance, which, while we own it to be true, we might nevertheless forget, without great danger or much inconvenience.*

Solicitude of Doddridge for the preservation of the truth.

"In a letter to one of his younger brethren, he says: 'Indeed *the Gospel is a great thing, or it is nothing.* I am more and more convinced of the importance of keeping to *the good old evangelical and experimental way of preaching, and look upon most of the new-fashioned divinity, of which some persons in different extremes are so fond, as a kind of quackery, which bodes ill to the health of the soul and of the Church in general.* You know how cautious I am of troubling the Church of Christ with disputes; but my *faith in the doctrines I preach is more and more confirmed by studying the Scriptures, by experience and observation.*" *

"He had a growing sense of his personal need of the blessing of the Gospel. 'I have just been explaining,' he writes to a friend, 'and I have great need of using the publican's prayer, *God be merciful to me a sinner*, to me, an unprofitable servant, who have deserved long since to have been cast out of his family. You talk of my strength and usefulness. Alas! I am weak and unstable as water. My frequent deadness and coldness in religion sometimes presseth me down to the dust, and methinks it

* "The people long and languish," Walrond writes to Doddridge, "after sound doctrine and plain preaching."

is best when it doth so. How could I bear to look up to heaven, were it not for the *righteousness and blood of a Redeemer?*"

Doddridge had frequent and earnest conversations with Colonel Gardiner on this topic.

"I shall never forget," he says, "that happy day, June 13, 1739, when I first met him at Leicester. I preached from Psalm cxix. 158, describing the mixture of indignation and grief (strongly expressed by the original word there) with which the good man looks on the daring transgressors of the divine law; and in tracing the causes of that grief as arising from a regard to the divine honour and the interest of the Redeemer, and in compassionate concern for the misery such offenders bring upon themselves, and for the mischief they do the world about them. We afterwards sung a hymn— Colonel Gardiner.

"'Arise, my tenderest thoughts, arise,' &c.,

which brought over again some of the leading thoughts in the sermon, and struck him so strongly that, on obtaining a copy of it, he committed it to his memory, and used to repeat it with so forcible an accent as showed how much every line expressed of his very soul.

"His zeal was especially apparent in opposition to those doctrines which seem to derogate from the divine honours of the Son and Spirit of God, and from the freedom of divine grace on the reality and necessity of its operations in the conversion and salvation of sinners.

"*It was his most stedfast persuasion that all those actions which represent our blessed Redeemer and the Holy Spirit as mere creatures, or which set aside the atonement of the former, or the influences of the latter, do sap the very foundations of Christianity, by rejecting the most glorious doctrines peculiar to it. He had attentively observed (what indeed is too obvious) the unhappy influence which the denial of these principles often has had on the character of ministers, and on their success; and was persuaded that an attempt to substitute that mutilated form of Christianity which remains, when these essentials of it are taken away, has proved one of the most successful methods which the great enemy of souls has ever*

taken in these latter days to lead men by insensible degrees, into Deism, vice, and perdition.

"*It was indeed his deliberate judgment that the Arian, Socinian, and Pelagian doctrines were highly dishonourable to God, and dangerous to the souls of men, and that it was the duty of private Christians to be greatly on their guard against those ministers by whom they are entertained, lest their minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.* Yet he sincerely abhorred the thought of persecution for conscience' sake; of the absurdity and iniquity of which, in all its kinds and degrees, he had as deep and rational a conviction as any man I could name."

To give a practical embodiment to his strong convictions on the subject of Missions to the Heathen, Doddridge prepared the form of a sacred engagement, which, when subscribed by himself and eight or ten of his students, he submitted to the members of his congregation to be signed by them.

Formation of a Missionary Society.

"We, whose names are subscribed, being moved, as we hope and trust, by a real concern for the propagation of the kingdom of Christ in the world, have determined to *form ourselves into a Society* for that end, on the following terms:—

"1. That we purpose, as God shall enable us, to be daily putting up some earnest petition to the throne of grace, for the advancement of the gospel in our world, and for the success of all the faithful servants of Christ, who are engaged in the work of it, *especially among the heathen nations.*

"2. That we will assemble, at least four times a year, in our places of public worship, at such seasons as shall by mutual consent be appointed, to spend some time in solemn prayer together on this important account; and we hereby engage, that we will, each of us, if we conveniently can, attend at such meetings, unless such circumstances happen as to lead us in our own consciences to conclude, that it must be more acceptable in the sight of God that we should we employed in some other business elsewhere.

"3. We do hereby express our desire, that some time may

be then spent, if God give an opportunity, in reviewing those promises of Scripture which relate to the establishment of our Redeemer's kingdom in the world, that our faith may be supported and our prayers quickened by the contemplation of them.

"4. It is also our desire, that whatever important information, relating to the progress of the gospel, be received from the various parts of this kingdom, or from foreign lands, by any member of the Society, they may be communicated to us at our general quarterly meetings, and the rest of us make it our request to our minister, that he will, where he can with convenience do it, keep up such correspondence, that we may be more capable of judging how far God answers our prayers and those of His other servants in this regard.

"5. We further engage, that on these days of general meeting, every one of us will, as God shall be pleased to prosper us, contribute something, be it ever so little, towards the carrying on of this pious design; which shall be lodged in the hands of a treasurer to be chosen at the first meeting, to be disposed of by him and four other trustees, then also to be appointed, in such a manner as they shall judge most convenient, towards supporting the expense of sending missionaries abroad, printing Bibles, or other useful books, etc., in foreign languages, establishing schools for the instruction of the ignorant, and the like.

"6. That the pastor for the time being, if one of the Society, be always one of these trustees; and that four more be annually nominated by the Society, at the first meeting afore New Year's Day, with a power of choosing a treasurer out of their own number; and that the accounts of the former year be then laid before the Society, or before a committee appointed to examine them.

"7. That members, after the first meeting, be admitted by the consent of the Society present, at some stated meeting, and that if any member think fit to withdraw, he signify that purpose to the Society, or to one of their trustees.

"8. That brief minutes be taken at every meeting of the business despatched, the persons admitted, the contributions made at it, etc.

"To these rules we subscribe our hands, heartily praying that God may quicken us, and many others by our means, to greater

zeal in this and in every good word and work; and that joining in spirit with all those who, in one place or another, are devoting their lives to the advancement of the gospel, we may another day partake of their joy."*

The elders of the church at Castle Hill, under the care of Doddridge, were stirred up to unite with him in efforts to awaken the zeal of the brethren, and to look well to the spiritual state of the members of the church who had become careless and lukewarm. A faithful letter, April 2, 1741, was addressed to them on this subject requesting them to meet for its serious consideration. Doddridge next preached a sermon, June 30, 1741, at Denton, in Suffolk, *on the evil and danger of neglecting the souls of men*, to an association of ministers, and at the close of the public worship held a conference of which he gives the following account:—

Sermon and Conference at Denton.

"On that memorable day, which I shall always number among the most delightful of my whole life, you were pleased, toward the evening, to indulge me in the liberty of a private conference, when I laid before you some *hints of a scheme which I was then forming for the revival of religion in our parts.*

"Greatly encouraged by the sanction which your concurrence gave to the plan, and also by that which it received from the approbation of London ministers of different denominations, to whom I had an opportunity of communicating it on my return home, I proposed it in general to my reverend and worthy brethren at a meeting of ministers, which was held here, at Northampton, about the middle of August, 1740. The proposals were in the general very well received; and it was agreed to take them into a more particular consideration in our conference at our next assembly, to be held at Kettering, on Thursday, October 15.

* Cong. Mag., 1824, vol. ix., p. 512.

"It was resolved, that it may tend to the 'advancement of religion.'

"1. That the ministers should agree to preach one Lord's-day on family religion, and another on secret prayer, and that the time should be fixed, in humble hope that concurrent labour, connected with concurrent petitions to the throne of grace, might produce some happy effect.

"2. That pastoral visiting should be more solemnly attended to, and that greater care should be taken in personal inspection, noting down the names of the heads of families, the children, the servants, and other single persons in the congregation.

"3. It will be proper, as soon as possible, and henceforward, at least once a year, to visit, if it be practicable, every head of a family under our ministerial care, with a solemn charge to attend to the business of religion.

"4. To set up the work of catechizing in one form or another, and to keep to it statedly for one half-year at least.

"5. To endeavour, by our prayers to God and serious addresses to pious and valuable persons, who live in neglect of the Lord's Supper, to introduce them into communion, cautiously guarding against any thing in the methods of admission which may justly discourage sincere Christians of a tender and timorous temper.

"6. To animadvert on those who give offence, and if they will not reform, solemnly to cut them off from our communion, as a reproach to the Church of Christ.

"7. To advise our people to enter into little bands or societies for religious discourse and prayer, each consisting of six or eight, to meet for these good purposes once in a week or fortnight.

"8. If it can be done, to select out of each congregation under our care a small number of persons remarkable for experience, prudence, seriousness, humility, and zeal for promoting religion in the said Society.

"9. That neighbouring ministers in one part of our land and another, should enter into associations to strengthen the hands of each other by united consultations; that an hour or two in the afternoon be spent in religious conference and prayer, and in taking into consideration, merely as a friendly council and without the least pretence to any right of authoritative decision, the

concerns of any brother, or any society, which may be brought before us for our advice; and finally, *that every member of this association shall consider it as an additional obligation upon him to endeavour to be, as far as he justly and honourably can, a friend and guardian to the reputation, comfort, and usefulness of all his brethren in the Christian ministry, near or remote, of whatever party or denomination.*

"10. That it may be proper to enter into some farther measures to regulate the admission of young persons into the ministry; that if any student within the compass of this association desires to be admitted as a preacher, he apply to the ministers at one of their periodical meetings, when, if they be in the general satisfied that he is a person of a fair character, in sacramental communion with a Christian society, and one who has gone through a regular course of preparatory studies, they will appoint three of their number to examine more particularly into his acquaintance with, and sense of, the great doctrines of Christianity as delivered in the Scripture, and into the progress he has made in literature, the views with which he professes to undertake the ministry, and in general his aptness to teach, in order to judge which it may be proper that a theological thesis be exhibited in Latin, and a popular sermon, composed by the candidate, be submitted to the perusal of the examiners, that if they in their consciences believe he is fit to be employed in the Christian ministry, they give him a certificate of that approbation, which he may be desired to produce at the next general meeting, that his testimonials may be signed by all the associated ministers present, and be solemnly recommended to God in prayer."

Doddridge and the Methodists.

A visit Doddridge received from Whitefield stimulated him to increased effort in the cause of Christ, but for the welcome he gave to the zealous evangelist he incurred the rebuke of Nathaniel Neal, the formal and frigid Secretary of the Coward Trust.

"MILLION BANK, *October* 11, 1743.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—It was with the utmost concern that I received the information of Mr. Whitefield's having preached

last week in your pulpit, and that I attended the meeting of the (Coward) Trustees this day, when that matter was canvassed, and that I now find myself obliged to apprise you of the very great uneasiness which your conduct herein has occasioned them.

"The many characters you sustain with so much honour, and in which I reverence you so highly, makes me ashamed, and the character I sustain, of your friend, makes it extremely irksome for me to express any sentiments as mine which may seem to arraign your conduct; but when I reflect in how disadvantageous a light your regard to the Methodists has for some considerable time placed you in the opinion of many whom I have reason to believe you esteem among your most judicious and hearty friends, and what an advantage it has given against you to your secret and avowed enemies, of either of which facts I believe you are not in any just degree sensible, I could run any hazard of your censure rather than that you should remain unapprised of these facts.

"You cannot be ignorant how obnoxious the imprudences committed, or alleged to be committed, by some of the Methodists, have rendered them to great numbers of people; and though, indeed, supposing they have a spirit of religion amongst them to be found nowhere else, so that a man would, for his own sake, and at any temporal hazard, take his lot amongst them; yet if besides their reputation for a forward and indiscreet zeal, and an unsettled injudicious way of thinking and believing, they have nothing to distinguish them from other serious and devout Christians, surely every man would choose to have as little concern with them as possible. But in the case of such a public character, and so extensive a province for the service of religion as yours, it seems to me a point well worth considering, whether, supposing even the opinion of the world entertains of them to be groundless, it is a right thing to risk such a prospect as Providence has opened before you, of eminent and distinguished usefulness, for the sake of any good you are likely to do amongst these people.

"For my own part, I have had the misfortune of observing, and I must not conceal it from you, that wherever I have heard it mentioned that Dr. Doddridge countenanced the Methodists—and it has been the subject of conversation much oftener than I could

have wished—I have heard it constantly spoken of by his friends with concern, as threatening a great diminution of his usefulness, and by his adversaries with a sneer of triumph.

"The trustees are particularly in pain for it, with regard to your Academy, as they know it is an objection made to it by some persons in all appearance seriously, and by others craftily; and yet they are almost afraid of giving their thoughts, even in the most private manner, concerning it, lest it should be made an occasion of drawing them into a public opposition to the Methodists, as they are likely to be, in some measure, by your letter to Mr. Mason (excusing your prefixing a recommendation of a book of theirs without the advice of the trustees), which letter, they have desired me to inform you, has given them great offence."

John Barker, the stedfast friend of Doddridge, was equally alarmed, and reported some of the extravagances of the Moravians and Methodists. There was apparent cause for apprehension in the irregular and indiscreet conduct of some of the early Moravian brethren, of which Doddridge had afterwards seriously to complain. He was compelled to admit that the zeal of the new converts sometimes outran their discretion.

In a letter to Nathaniel Neal, dated December 12, 1723, he says:—

Reply of Doddridge to censure.

"I had great expectations from the Methodists and Moravians. I am grieved from my very heart that so many things have occurred among them which have been quite unjustifiable; and I would assure you faithfully they are such as would have occasioned me to have dropped the intimacy of correspondence which I once had with them. And I suppose they have also produced the same sentiments in the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, to my certain knowledge, received Count Zinzendorf with open arms, and wrote of his being chosen the Moravian Bishop, as what was done, *plaudente toto cœlesti choro*. I shall always be ready to weigh whatever can be said against Mr. Whitefield, as well as

against any of the rest; and though I must have actual demonstration before I can admit him to be a dishonest man, and though I shall never be able to think all he has written, and all I have heard from him nonsense, yet I am not so zealously attached to him as to be disposed to celebrate him as one of the greatest men of the age, or to think that he is the pillar that bears up the whole interest of religion among us. And if this moderation of sentiment towards him will not appease my angry brethren, as I am sensible it will not abate the enmity some have for many years entertained towards me, I must acquiesce and be patient till the day of the Lord, when the secrets of all hearts shall be made manifest, in which I do from my heart believe that with respect to the part I have acted in this affair, I shall not be ashamed.

"I had before heard from some worthy friends in the West of the offence which had been taken at two of my pupils there, for the respect they showed to Mr. Whitefield; yet they are both persons of eminent piety. He whose name is chiefly in question, I mean Mr. Darracott, is one of the most devout and extraordinary men I ever sent out, and a person who has within these few years been highly useful to numbers of his hearers. Some of these who were once the most abandoned characters in the place, are now become serious and useful Christians; and he himself has honoured his profession, when to all around him he seems on the borders of eternity, by a behaviour which, in such awful circumstances, the best of men might wish to be their own. Mr. Fawcett labours likewise at Taunton, and his zeal, so far as I can judge, is inspired both with love and prudence; yet I hear these men are reproached because they have treated Mr. Whitefield respectfully, and that one of them, after having had a correspondence with him for many years, admitted him into his pulpit. I own I am very thoughtful where these things will end; in the meantime I am as silent as I can be! I commit the matter to God in prayer, and earnestly beg His direction, that He would lead me in a plain path. Sometimes I think the storm will soon blow over, and that things will again return to their natural course. I am sure I see no danger that any of my pupils will prove Methodists; I wish many of them may not run into the contrary extreme." *

* Doddridge Correspondence, vol. iv. 290.

Events in Scotland now began to absorb public attention. The Highlanders, left in a condition of chronic ignorance and superstition, were won to the cause of the Pretender by the Romish priests, who were systematic and persevering in their efforts to prepare the way for the return of the Stuart dynasty.

Disaffection of the Jacobites.

Doddridge says that when Colonel Gardiner was at Northampton, "he appeared deeply affected with the sad state of things as to religion and morals, and seemed to apprehend that the rod of God was hanging over so sinful a nation." He observed a great deal of disaffection which the enemies of the Government had, by various artifices, been raising in Scotland for some years; and the number of Jacobites there, together with the defenceless state in which our island then was with respect to the number of its forces at home (of which he spoke at once with great concern and astonishment), led him to expect an invasion from France in favour of the Pretender.

"'*A few thousands*,' he said, '*might have a fair chance of marching from Edinburgh to London uncontrolled, and throw the whole kingdom into an astonishment*;' and I have great reason to believe that this was one mean consideration which induced him to make such haste to his regiment, which was then quartered in those parts, as he imagined there was not a spot of ground where he might be more likely to have a call to expose his life in the service of his country."

The Government were apprised from time to time of the designs of the Pretender. Horace Mann reported from Florence:—

"*August* 10, 1745.—Cardinal Albani acquaints me that *the*

Pretender has been in person to the Pope, to ask a sum of money of him on account of this expedition.

"*August* 24, 1745.—Cardinal Albani has informed me that an opinion likewise prevailed at Rome that the Pretender will soon go to Avignon or into some part of France, and that nothing retards his journey but the want of money, to obtain which he has applied to the Pope; but as the Chamber at Rome is extremely impoverished, it is said that after many conferences held on the subject, it has been agreed that the Pretender shall be furnished with the sum of an hundred thousand crowns on credit, that he should deposit part of his jewels in a bank called Monte de Pieta for the value of that sum.

Pretender and the Pope.

"*September* 7, 1745.—A Dutch gentleman who is at Rome has acquainted me that he has received a letter from Holland, dated 17th August, to inform him that great preparations are making against Great Britain, and that several attempts are to be made at the same time; that the Pretender's eldest son is to go into Scotland with a body of French troops; that the second is to make an attempt in Ireland with six thousand Spaniards, and that a body of ten or fifteen thousand French troops from Flanders is to make an attempt at the same time upon England, and that the Pretender is to be at hand to profit of any favourable opportunity that may offer to cross the sea." *

Notwithstanding these distinct intimations of impending danger, the northern part of the island was left open to invasion. The friends of the Pretender, vigilant and active, collected their forces secretly, supported by the priests in Rome, who solicited funds in support of his enterprise, and offered prayers for its success. The signal at length was given for combined action. A proclamation from "James the Eighth" was issued from his "Court at Rome," the 23rd day of December, 1743, promising the redress of all grievances and the

* S. P. Tuscany.

largest advantages to every class of the community.

Charles Edward Stuart, the young Pretender, son of the Chevalier de St. George, landed on the 24th of July, 1745, in the wildest part of Inverness-shire, and fixed his head-quarters at Borodale, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, known as the Duke of Perth; Sir Thomas Sheridan, the brother of the Prince; Sir John Macdonald, an officer of the Spanish service; Kelly, a non-juring clergyman; Thomas Strickland, an English gentleman; Buchanan, the messenger; and Æneas Macdonald, the banker—a party called the "Seven Men of Moidart." They were left for some weeks quietly to arrange their plans without opposition. Tidings of the event were immediately sent to his Holiness at Rome. Mann writes:—

Landing of Charles Edward Stuart.

"FLORENCE, *September* 21, 1745.

"After the arrival of the late courier from France, the Pretender sent Mr. Murray, commonly called Lord Dunbar, to acquaint the Pope that his eldest son was arrived in Scotland, where he had published a manifesto, and that he had been received with the acclamations of the people. Immediately after this notice had been sent to the Pope it was made public, and the Pretender has received compliments from several of the cardinals and many of the nobility on this occasion, with an air of assurance as if all was true. Cardinal Valentin, the Pope's Secretary of State; Cardinal Aquaviva, with the French and Maltese Ambassadors, are almost in continual conference with the Pretender and Murray, and *there appears in that whole party an inconceivable joy, mixed with the highest insolence.*"*

Reported at Rome.

The Jacobites at home were not the less jubilant.

* S. P. Tuscany.

The Government had been taken after all by surprise, and Earl Malton received the following communication from the Commander of Fort Augustus, August 23, 1745, announcing the arrival of the Prince:—

"I wrote to your Lordship, directed to Scarborough, at which time I knew nothing of this unlucky affair, which has discovered itself within these few days past. The Pretender's eldest son is *actually landed* on the west coast of Scotland, and is within six miles of this place, at the head of 3000 Highlanders. We expect hourly to be attacked, and I hope I shall give a very good account of them, as by what intelligence I can get they have no artillery. Sir John Cope is encamped near Stirling with all the troops in Scotland except our regiment, and we are garrisoned in the forts of communication between the east and west coast. I have the command of the regiment, and the governor of this fort being absent, I am ordered by Sir John Cope to take that command also upon me. All the roads in this part of the world are *so strongly guarded by the enemy, that all our expresses are interrupted.* I send this twenty miles by water, which goes by private hand, till he can put it into a safe post-office; and I hope it will come safe to hand, that your Lordship may arm against the worst that may happen upon this emergency, as they seem to be entirely bent upon destroying everything before them before they march into England. They expect several more of the Highland clans to join them on their march. The whole may amount to 6000 men." *

The Duke of Newcastle, in a despatch dated Newcastle House, September 14, 1745, communicated this alarming intelligence to Lord Milton, and adds:—

"In this conjuncture it must be very proper for all counties, and especially so considerable as the county of York, to express their zeal and affection for his Majesty's Government. We are sensible that the usual methods of proceeding upon these occasions

* S. P. Dom.

with Lord Lieutenants will not have all the effect that your Lordship's zeal and intentions propose; and therefore the friends here have it under consideration in what manner it may be proper to authorise your Lordship. The Duke of Devonshire and some other Lord Lieutenants who have made the same commendable inquiry, most effectually to exert themselves for the service of the Government, and as soon as we can settle among ourselves what is proper to be done, I will immediately acquaint you with it. *We shall make the best disposition we can all over England. I am sorry to say the King's troops in Scotland have yet been joined by nobody.* We expect very soon six thousand Dutch troops here, two thousand four hundred of which were embarked this day at Williamstadt. We shall send this evening for ten of the best regiments of foot now in Flanders, to be brought over hither with the utmost expedition. I am in a great hurry, and only beg my compliments to my good friend, my Lord Fitzwilliam." *

Letter of Duke of Newcastle to Lord Milton.

The Disarming Act had left the loyal people of Scotland utterly defenceless. Lord Justice Clerk writes to Lord Tweeddale, September 16, 1745 :—

"Your Lordship will be pleased to reflect on the state of this country at present, at the beginning of this rebellious insurrection, which began about six weeks ago, and at this hour is holding in dread the capital of this part of the kingdom. Scotland may be divided into two parts—the one disarmed and the other armed. The disaffected clans retain their arms, and either concealed them at the first disarming or have provided themselves since. At the same time that the dutiful and well affected clans have merely submitted to this measure of the Government and act of the Legislature, and are still disarmed, or have no quantity of firearms amongst them. Had the Whig clans and the Lowland militia been armed, it is as clear as any moral demonstration to every man in Scotland, that this, at first pitiful, and now ugly insurrection would have been dissipated and crushed at once." †

Letter of Lord Justice Clerk to Lord Tweeddale.

* S. P. Dom. † S. P. Scotland.

The first battle of the campaign was fought, September 20, 1745, near the house of Colonel Gardiner, at Prestonpans, and ended disastrously for the cause of the House of Hanover. The troops under the command of Sir John Cope were seized with a panic, caused by the wild and impetuous attack of the Highlanders, and fled at the loss of their pieces of artillery. Colonel Gardiner, though wounded in the breast, attempted in vain to rally the scattered troop of dragoons, and was cut down by a scythe, when the rout became universal.

Battle at Prestonpans.

Sir John Cope, writing to the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lauder, September 21, 1745, says :—

"I tried to rally the foot; it was impossible. I then tried the dragoons at a considerable distance from the enemy. I prevailed on about four hundred and fifty to keep together, with which Lord Loudon, Lord Hume, and I marched, and as the enemy were partly in possession of Edinburgh and Musselburgh, and being in expectation that the Dutch might be soon expected to land, we thought it most advisable to march this body towards Berwick. We only halt here an hour, and then march on as far as we can reach this night." *

Report of Cope.

From a private communication, we learn the following particulars :—

"DEAR EDWARD,—I suppose you will have heard by the time this reaches you, that yesterday morning a battle was fought near Seton, and that it went against Sir John Cope. That general behaved bravely, and the officers as well as men could do. The Marquis of Loudon distinguished himself. The Highlanders came on with all the confusion and fury usual with them at the first onset, and had that been bravely

Private account.

* S. P. Scotland.

sustained, a very small time must have dispersed them. The service expected from the horse was to break them by riding through them, but whether by the fault of the men or the horses, or by what unaccountable fatality, they did not attain that design. They lost their brave Colonel Gardiner, who is either killed or wounded; they retired last night to Coldstream, from whence Lord Mark Ker has by express brought them to this town, so I suppose they will do duty here as foot till we see what is the next motion of the Highlanders. We are advised the Duke of Perth fell in the fight. Their loss is variously reported.

"This day part of the Dutch arrived here, and are now landing. The militia, full of zeal, five full companies of foot and about five hundred dragoons, part of Hamilton's, are within the town, besides the Dutch; whether the last remain here, or be to march elsewhere, I can't tell. 'Tis supposed the rebels will push forward without losing time in this country. With such a manifest hazard of the ruin of their design in its beginning, which I hope will be the consequences of their attempt, as I have not yet seen the Dutch.

"I am, in haste, dear Fred, yours affectionately,

EPHRAIM NEALSON.*

"BERWICK, *September* 22, 1745.

"To Mr. Edward Thomas Nealson, Apothecary,
at the 'Bell and Unicorn,' in Queen Street,
Cheapside."

Exultation at Rome.

The tidings of the victory of the Pretender were received at Rome with exultation, and a circumstantial account of the battle and the fall of Gardiner was given in Italian, and widely circulated.†

Doddridge received the news of the defeat at Prestonpans with great concern. He writes to Mr. Clark:—

* S. P. Dom.

† Relazione de I successi de S. A. R. Carlo Principe di Galles Regente di regni di Scozia. Inghilterra Francia et Ibernia Tradotta Galla Gazzetta Edinburgo.—Edinburgo. 30 Settembre.

"NORTHAMPTON, *October* 13, 1745.

"DEAR AND REV. SIR,—Let the hurry of our armament here, which has taken up a great deal of my time, and the distress I have suffered by dear Colonel Gardiner's death, excuse my silence. I shall be glad to hear your sentiments on y^e^ state of our public affairs. I hope Lady Frances Gardiner is not dead. Lord Halifax, with whom I have lately conversed a great deal, discovers more and more of a character that charms me. I adore the good Providence of God in restraining the rebels from marching directly for England a month ago, w^h^ was y^e^ Pretender's design, in the execution of which he might have done us a vast deal of mischief. *I carried my Lord yesterday twenty-four brave soldiers*, if I may guess at them by their looks, the very best that were brought him. *We join in a weekly contribution for supporting them when they are to march out, but I am in a great hope y^e^ rebels will quickly disperse without a battle, else I fear it will be a very obstinate one.* We have had renewed days of fasting and prayer. May God return some remarkable answer. Hitherto it has been by terrible things in righteousness."*

Doddridge and his Volunteers.

From all parts of the country assurances of zealous support were sent to the Duke of Newcastle. General Oglethorpe says the "gentlemen of the county will raise a regiment of hunters." The Duke of Devonshire is trying to raise men, and asks for troops and a supply of arms. At Nottingham there is an "unanimous desire" to arm speedily in defence of his Majesty's Government. Lord Lonsdale says Cumberland will call out the militia. "A district meeting will be held in York of nobility and gentlemen." Northampton will raise a regiment to resist Popery and for the safety of the county. Lord Manchester sends an express from Kimbolton, and Lord Sandwick from Huntingdon, to testify their zeal and

Support of the Government.

* Mr. Joshua Wilson's Collection of MSS.

fidelity. Lord Lowther and many other representatives of counties write to the same effect. Lord Berkley says the colliers of the Forest of Dean will be ready at three days' notice. Bristol is prepared and will raise a subscription.*

The Church of England, the Kirk of Scotland, and the Dissenters in London sent out printed addresses to stir up the congregations to give practical proof of their loyalty to their King, and to resist to the uttermost the forces of the Pretender. Horace Walpole writes:—"A wonderful spirit is arisen in all the counties, and amongst all sorts of people; the nobility are raising regiments, and everybody else is 'being raised.'"

Earl Derby writes:—

"KNOWSLEY, *September* 22, 1745.

"Your Grace knows well we have many Papists in these parts whose religion makes them secretly as much enemies to the Government in the State as in the Church; at present, for ought I can observe or learn, they are perfectly quiet, but how far things may alter, when they see their friends among them, your Grace will best judge. For the rest of the county there never was less appearance of an intention or a desire to disturb the Government."*

Letter of Earl Derby.

Chancellor Waugh, writing from Carlisle, September 23, 1745, says:—

"All private interests seem to be laid aside by the common danger, the people being of one heart and one mind in their inclination to secure his Majesty's—the well affected gentlemen in the Border of Scotland are, I doubt, in some confusion. Mr. Douglas, of Cavers, a member of Parliament, came there last week, and is gone for London; a brother of his is still here; a son of Sir John Clark, a Baron

Chancellor Waugh.

* S. P. Dom.

of the Exchequer, came last night; two of the Lords of the Session that live in this part of Scotland, and several other gentlemen are expected."

The news of the defeat at Prestonpans caused great excitement.

"NEWCASTLE, *September* 27, 1745.

"DEAR STONE,—This before the post comes in, though I wish to have a letter from you at these troublesome times, yet I don't expect it. I had last Sunday one of my servants ready, and had wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, with the melancholy news of General Cope's late defeat, but altered my mind least I should be thought both meddling and troublesome. Henry Vane.

"I have been here and at Durham since Sunday, except one night that I went home to see my family; who *were very much frighted, as well as every one in this county*. It was much believed and feared the rebels would have been here as to-day or to-morrow at farthest, and as yet there are no forces arrived. The wind has been fair these thirty-six hours, and we expect the Dutch forces every moment. 'Tis with great pleasure I tell you the Duke of Newcastle's letter, which came express to the Mayor of this town, on Wednesday evening, has given great satisfaction to everybody, and raised their spirits, for till then it is impossible to tell you the uneasiness everybody shared, women and children and effects sending out of town; I believe 2000 were sent from hence to London by the waggon last Tuesday. A messenger went this day, about twelve o'clock, for Berwick, from Lord Tweedale. The news to-day is that the Pretender's son has demanded of the Town of Edinburgh, 6000 pair of shoes, 3000 cantines, to be sent to his camp as to-day, and they say there they shall march on Tuesday next either to Berwick and Glasgow to raise contributions, or to England by way of Carlisle. As to their numbers, the reports are so various, I don't care to mention them, for certain it is they are greatly increased since our unhappy fight; and what I can learn from the military folks here, if they do not come to us it will not be advisable to attack them with a less number of our best troops than 12,000 or 14,000. I can't help telling and praising the conduct of the Mayor of this town, who I assure

you has acted like a vigilant and careful magistrate, well affected to his Majesty's Government, sparing no pains. I think I did right to come here; Sir H. Lydall desired me to stay. I shall not say anything of the behaviour of our Lord Lieutenant, the Bishop; only it is very obvious to every one how unfit a clergyman is for that office. I go home to-morrow, shall be here again next week. Till these troublesome times are a little over, I fancy you will think it is better for me to stay in the country than come to Parliament. Pray let me know your opinion.

"There was a newspaper came from Scotland last night, most infamous and scandalous; if I can get one before post set out I will enclose one to you. The Pretender has issued a Proclamation ag^{t} his Majesty, etc., etc.—Adieu, dear Stone, ever yours, "H. VANE."*

On November 10, 1745, the Pretender, with his army, appeared before Carlisle, and sent a message to the Mayor:—

"Being come to recover the King, our father's, just rights, for which we are arrived with all his authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our passage. We, therefore, to avoid the effusion of English blood, hereby require you to open your gates, and let us enter, as we desire, in a peaceable manner; which if you do, we shall take care to preserve you from any insults, and set an example to all England of the exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King's, our father's, declaration and our own. But if you shall refuse us entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such means as Providence has put into our hands, and then it will not, perhaps, be in our power to prevent the dreadful consequences which usually attend a town's being taken by assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your answer within the space of two hours, for we shall take any further delay as a peremptory refusal, and take our measures accordingly."*

Pretender at Carlisle.

The garrison replied by a fire kept up till near midnight, and the city was held until the 15th of

* S. P. Dom.

November; but being threatened with red-hot shot, the gates were opened.*

Joseph Backhouse, the Mayor of Carlisle, has been severely blamed for its surrender. His worship was called to account for his conduct on the occasion, and it seems to be due to his memory to hear his explanation.

The Militia (he tells us) ceased to fight, and declared they would defend the place no longer. He then called a meeting of the principal inhabitants, who advised him without delay to admit the young Pretender, lest the city should be reduced to ashes. Personal resistance on the part of the Chief Magistrate, of course, would have been futile and absurd. The rebels marched in, and a party of Highlanders were directed to go to his house and compel him "to put on his formalities," and bring him by force to the Market Cross.

The Mayor and his "formalities."

Military pressure of a similar kind was also put on John Pearson, the Town Clerk.

"Are you the Town Clerk?" asked the Duke of Perth.

"I am," he replied.

"Then," added the "titular" Duke, "you must stay with me and proclaim the King" (the Pretender).

"I owe my allegiance to King George," said the loyal functionary, "and will not do it."

"If you make any words," rejoined the Duke (holding a pistol in his hands), "I will blow a brace of balls through your head."

* S. P. Dom.

The Mayor and some of the Aldermen, wearing their "formalities," were standing round, attended by a guard of Highlanders, and as representatives of the ancient corporation were ordered to mount the steps of the Market Cross.

"Proclaim the King," said the Duke.

"I have never proclaimed a King," replied the Town Clerk, "and I have no form."

"At your peril you hesitate," sternly vociferated the military commander, holding his pistol cocked, with the company of soldiers ready to do his bidding.

One of the chiefs dictated the words of Proclamation which the Town Clerk, to save his life, repeated, to be in turn proclaimed by the crier.

The Government received reports from all parts of the country, indicative of the spirit of the Jacobites, who at this time were "elevated almost out of their senses." Oliver Bacon, writing from Mitre Court, November 1, 1745, imagined he had found evidence of an alarming conspiracy in the class meetings of the Methodists. He writes:—

Class meetings suspected.

"My Lord,—Being in Cornwall when the rebellion now continuing in Scotland in favour of a Popish Pretender to his Majesty's crown, first broke out, and understanding that an invasion in support thereof was threatened from France, I could not help thinking the county I was then in of too much importance, on account of its situation and number of its inhabitants, to escape the attempt of our artful enemies. The moment this thought was conceived, *I suspected the Methodists*, who were very numerous in the neighbourhood where I resided, who have, as I am informed, *overrun the whole country*. Upon further information, I find my fears not groundless, for from the number and

vigilance of the crafty propagation of this sect—*then appearing in lay habits, preaching in fields, having no visible means to live on, and making no collections for their support,* with a variety of other circumstances which every day occurred, I concluded they could not belong to the Established Church, and began to conjecture they must have some other view than the reformation they pretend to in religion, which hath been so often used as a cloak to cover the most wicked designs against the State. Hence my suspicion first arose; but learning that these itinerant seducers, after distracting the hearts and heads of the lower and more ignorant sort of people, were *taking lists of their names,* and distributing amongst them this motto, 'As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up' —a motto very artfully adapted to leave room for an invasion; but can never, in my opinion, be understood with any degree of propriety the sense of the Sacred Book. The names are understood to be sent to the Court of France, as emissaries of the Pretender." *

If the poor learned gentleman could have mustered courage enough to enter the class, he would have found the members earnestly praying against the Pretender.

Charles Wesley writes in his diary, September 6, 1745:—

"At the hour of intercession we found an extraordinary power of God upon us and close communion with our absent brethren. Afterwards I found, by letters from London, that it was their solemn fast day. The *night we passed in prayer.* I read there are heavy tidings out of the north. The lion is come out of his thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way. September 8, the spirit of supplication was given in the Society for his Majesty King George; and in strong faith we asked deliverance from all his enemies and troubles."†

Though uninterrupted in his progress, the Pretender gained in his march few recruits; but in Manchester he expected to receive a large accession.

* S. P. Dom. † Jackson's Life of Charles Wesley, vol. i., 428.

Their entrance into the town is described by an eye-witness :—

"MANCHESTER, *November* 28, 1745.

"Just now is come in two of the Prince's men, a sergeant and a drummer, and a woman with them. I have seen them. The sergeant is a Scotchman; the drummer is a Halifax man. They are now going to beat up. These two men and the woman, without any others, came into the town, and thousands of spectators. I doubt not but we shall have more to-night. Their artillery will be at Wigan to-night, and many say we are to have the Prince to-morrow. This is all I can inform you at present. I would have you send your messenger again, and I will give you what information I can. They are dressed in plaids and bonnets. The sergeant has a target.

Pretender in Manchester.

"MANCHESTER, *November* 29.

"The two Highlanders who came in yesterday beat up for volunteers, for whom they called his Royal Highness Charles Prince of Wales, and offered five guineas advance. Many took on. Each received a shilling, *to have the rest when the Prince came.* They don't appear to me such terrible fellows as has been represented. Many of the foot are diminutive creatures; but many clever men among the guards and officers, and all in a Highland dress, a long sword and stick, with pistols. Their horses all sizes and colours. Thomas Welman ordered all persons charged with excise and innkeepers forthwith to appear, and bring their last acquittance and as much ready cash as that contains, on pain of military execution. It's my opinion *they make all haste possible through Derbyshire* to *evade fighting Ligonier.* I don't see we have any person in town to give any intelligence to the King's forces, as all the *men of fashion are fled*, and all officers under the Government. Therefore if anything I send you that you judge worthy communicating, should be glad you would acquaint some of the King's commanders. A party came in at ten this morning, and have been examining the best houses. and fixed upon Mr. Dickenson's for the Prince's quarters, Several thousands came in at two o'clock. They ordered the bells to ring, and the bellman has been ordering us to illuminate our houses, which must be done. The Chevalier marched by my

door, in a Highland dress, on foot, at three o'clock, surrounded by a Highland guard, and no music but a pair of bagpipes. Those that came in last night demanded quarters for 10,000 to-day. A printed copy of the Chevalier's Declaration was inclos'd last night."*

The day after the rebels entered Manchester, copies of the Declaration were thrown from the window of the "Bull's Head Inn," Market Place, for two hours, and cockades were made up to distribute.

Except to the "people of fashion," who had to meet the military requisition in hard cash, since there was no bloodshed, the Pretender and his army wearing the "Highland plaid," furnished to the crowd a novel and entertaining spectacle.

Miss Byrom.

The Jacobites in the presence of the Pretender exhibited no great "bravery." Miss Byrom, a young lady of twenty-three years of age, the daughter of a poet, gives us a vivid picture of the mimic court :—

"My papa," she says in her diary, "took care of me to the Cross, where I saw them all; it is a very fine, moonlight night... My papa and uncle are gone to consult with Mr. Croxton, Mr. Fielden, and others, *how to keep themselves out of any scrape, yet behave civilly*.

"On Saturday, November 30, 1745, St. Andrew's Day, more crosses making till twelve o'clock; then I dressed me up in my white gown, and went up to my Uncle Bearcliffe's, and an officer called on us to go to see the Prince. We went to Mr. Fletcher's, and saw him get on horseback, and a *noble sight it is. I would not have missed it for a great deal of money*. His horse had stood an hour in the Court without stirring, and as soon as he got on her the horse began a dancing and capering as if she was proud of the burden, and when he rid out of the Court he was received with as much joy and shouting almost as if he had been king, without any dispute indeed. I think scarce anybody that

* S. P. Dom.

saw him could dispute it. As soon as he was gone, the officer and *us* went to prayers at the Old Church at two o'clock *by their orders*, or else there had been none since they came. Mr. Strigley read prayers. He prayed for the King, the Prince of Wales, and named no names. Then we all called at our house, and eat a queen cake and drank a glass of wine, for we got no dinner. Then the officers went with us all to the camp field to see the artillery. Called at my uncle's, and then went up to Mr. Fletcher, stayed there till the Prince was at supper; then the officer introduced us all into the room, stayed awhile, and then went into the great parlour where the officers were dining. Sat by Mr. Starkey; they were all exceedingly civil, and *almost made us fuddled with drinking the Prince's health*, for we had had no dinner. Murray came to let us know that the Prince was at leisure, and had done supper. So we were all introduced, and had the honour to kiss his hand. My father was *fetched prisoner* to do the same, as was Dr. Deacon, Mr. Cattel and Mr. Clayton did it without, the latter said grace for him. Then we went out to drink his health and to Mr. Fletcher, where mamma waited for us."*

For the honour of Manchester it may be mentioned that Abraham Haworth acted as a loyal subject; he states:—

Abraham Haworth.

"On Tuesday, December 8th, on coming from the church I saw great numbers of armed men in the streets, with guns, swords, and other weapons, and asked them if they would go and fight the rebels? they expressed themselves ready and willing to do so, having assembled themselves for that purpose by a notice of the bellman in St. Ann's Square. Robert Booth, one of the Justices of the Peace, came and read the Riot Act to disperse them.

Joseph Littleton.

"Joseph Littleton was at the 'Golden Goose,' when Mr. Crosby came in and swore at him, and said he would have a limb of him. He offered to take a sword from a rebel Highlander, but was prevented. 'Now is the time!' he said, leaping up and down the house crying, 'My Jemmy! my Jemmy, home again!'" †

* Private Journal, etc., of John Byrom. † S. P. Dom.

Thomas Coppock, who had the promise of a mitre, was the man whom Prince Charles delighted to honour. He preached before him from the text, ".The Lord is king, let the earth be glad thereof." The neighbouring towns shared in the general commotion.

Thomas Coppock.

John Cook, of Ashton, says :—

"I was at the 'Seven Stars' in Manchester, when John Appleton asked me if I and my brother were going home that night or not? I answered I durst not go home for fear of the rebels. Appleton said the rebels have been at Ashton to-day, and have light on me. I was a friend of yours. They wanted to go to your horses, but I told them you were gone to Manchester, and had none but what were lame and some blind. I called for a tankard of ale, and asked Appleton to drink with me, and said, 'Thou art welcome for having been so good a friend to me this day.' A Scotch rebel came in and asked Appleton how he liked the Prince; he said, 'I am for that religion the Prince is of, and would go with him if he had a post."*

Agitation in the neighbourhood.

Joshua Winterbotham, of Greenacres Moor, went through the streets of Oldham, saying, "Oh my bonny, bonny Highland laddie."

Joseph Wardle, of Ashton, tells us the rebels came to his house, knocked at the door, desired a light or a candle, and asked where his master's colt was. They swore they would shoot him dead, and pulled out a pistol. *He was so frightened, he began to cry.*"

Henry Bracken, at Warrington, walked a quarter of a mile on the road, to take a view of the Prince. He said, "he has a brown complexion, full cheeks, and thickish lips, that stand out a little, and looks more of the Polish than the Scotch breed. For

* S. P. Dom.

he is nothing like the King they call his grandfather." *

A correspondent from Stockport, November 27, reports :—

"We are all in the utmost confusion here, all the bridges on the River Mersey being ordered to be destroyed; that at Warrington was demolished on Sunday, that at Barton last night, and last night about seven o'clock a party of five hundred of the Liverpool Royal Blues marched into this town, with orders to destroy the bridge there; and just now, about six o'clock in the morning, they are bearing up to assemble to put the same in execution, so that our communication with Lancashire will be cut off. *All the principal inhabitants are retired with their best effects to Manchester.*" †

The valiant troops of the Pretender finding no resistance, marched towards the sunny south.

Alex. Blair writes from Derby, December 5, 1745 :—

March to Derby.

"I hear General Wade is behind us, and the Duke of Cumberland and General Ligonier upon one hand of us; but we are nearer London than any of them, and it is thought that we are designed to march straight there, being only ninety miles from it. But though both these forces should unite and attack us, we do not fear them, for *our whole army is in top spirits*, and we trust in God to make a good account of them." *

Bartholomew Sandilans, December 5, 1745, writes :—

"DEAR MAMMA,—We are to part in a quarter of an hour, but hope to write you from London in less than ten days. We are all in great spirits." †

Dr. Doddridge, alive to the seriousness of the crisis, wrote to the Secretary of State :—

* S. P. Dom. † Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xv., p. 613.

"NORTHAMPTON, *December* 8, 1745.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—To pardon a man who, though his name be not worthy your Grace's notice, yet feels his heart so pained for the interests of his country, and that of the present Royal family and happy administration, so inseparably connected with it that he cannot forbear pressing in upon a few of your Grace's moments, important as they are, to communicate a few thoughts which appear of some moment in present circumstances, and so much the rather as his situation in life gives him some particular advantages for judging of some things which he may have the honour of mentioning to your Grace, though some others lie out of his sphere. Yet, as he abhors the arrogance of seeming to dictate in the least to such incomparably superior wisdom and experience, he only suggests the following queries to your Grace's consideration, in the most humble and respectful manner, committing, at the same time, your Grace, and all the Councillors of State, at this critical hour, to the guidance of Supreme and Infinite Wisdom:— Letter of Doddridge.

"Q. 1. May not the escape of the rebels unchastised after the ravages they have committed be attended with inconceivable mischief, and might not their being harassed, though they could not be destroyed, not only retard their march, but give their retreat more of the terror and disgrace, and so more effectually deter others from joining them, and themselves from renewing a visit? Would it not also encourage the nation in general which must, I think, be much discouraged if these few sons of Rapine be not strenuously hunted down?

"Q. 2. Might not this be still in part effected by using the good-will of the inhabitants of the country through which they are yet to pass, and of those just behind them, in furnishing out, not by press, but by the more popular and pleasant method of voluntary service, a considerable number of horses for his Majesty's foot or carriages. Had the rebels come hither, I would have engaged that my friends and acquaintances in the neighbouring parts of the country should have brought the Duke a thousand, if he had desired, in the twelve hours' time, and I don't doubt he might, in twenty-four hours, have had double or treble the number, on the interest of six or eight gentlemen in the neighbourhood, had their concurrence been requested, and

I am confident the persons concerned would have rejoiced in such an opportunity of serving his Majesty and their country.

"Q. 3. Might not some good use be made of the zeal of thousands of able-bodied men in different stations, who would gladly learn discipline and serve on occasion near home if properly authorized, under gentlemen of approved attachment to the Government. Perhaps ten thousand such might be raised in this county, who, though not to be depended upon as regular forces, might, on an exigence, do something, and by their numbers greatly discourage an enemy without any expense to the public.

"Q. 4. Can anything be more likely to put a speedy end to this detestable and vexatious insurrection than hunting down these wretches by a few regiments of Highlanders under trusty leaders, who, knowing their country and their ways, and being able to bear those fatigues which to our people are quite insupportable, would be worth double or treble the number of ours, in one sense, and yet, perhaps, in another a much less loss. And might not their family feuds, not to insist on the known loyalty of some of them, however they may be misrepresented by some who knew them less, be an additional security for their fidelity.

"Q. 5. Might it not be expedient to take all our privateers immediately into the pay of the Government, and to station them round the eastern and southern shores, that we might be better guarded against an invasion which seems to grow every day more probable and more formidable, and might, perhaps, before the end of the month, subvert our public credit, and in consequence of that subvert that Government too, which gratitude would render so dear to every good man if it were not, as, under God, it undoubtedly is, the only support of all that is valuable to a people.

"If these things, my Lord Duke, be quite foreign to the purpose, many of the wisest people I know are very much mistaken. Yet I had not presumed to lay them before your Grace had it not been for this late alarm at Northampton, which seemed to bear so threatening an aspect even on London. It will not, I hope, be thought out of character when your Grace knows that I am a Dissenting minister, to add that *the signs of the times* seem to call loudly for the exertion of the Supreme Power to suppress vice and profaneness, and for the public counsels to find out a

more effectual method of doing it. This, I am exceedingly sorry to say, it makes the British forces infamous beyond most in the world, and forgive me that must say it, the Guards beyond all the rest. I fear the vengeance of heaven infinitely beyond all the preparations of our enemies; and I pray God to inspire your Grace, and all others at the helm of Government, with wisdom and resolution to take the most proper method to appease it.

"I am your Grace's unknown but most faithful and obedient humble servant, "P. DODDRIDGE.

"As different interpretations might be put on the liberty I have taken of addressing your Grace, I should humbly beg it may be concealed."*

Horace Walpole describes the panic in London:—

"ARLINGTON STREET, *December* 9, 1745.

"The Duke of Cumberland, from some strange want of intelligence, lay last week four-and-twenty hours under arms at Stone, in Staffordshire, expecting the rebels every moment while they were marching in all haste to Derby. The news of this threw the town into great consternation; but his Royal Highness repaired his mistake, and got to Northampton between the Highlanders and London. They got nine thousand pounds at Derby, and had the book brought to them, and obliged everybody to give them what they had subscribed against them. They then retreated a few miles, but returned to Derby, got ten thousand pounds more, plundered the town, and burnt a house of the Countess of Exeter. They are gone again, and go back to Leake, in Staffordshire, but miserably harassed, and it is said have left all their cannon behind them, and twenty waggons of sick. The Duke has sent General Hawley with the dragoons to harass them in their retreat, and despatched Mr. Conway and Marshal Wade to hasten his march upon the back of them. They must either go to North Wales, where they will probably all perish, or to Scotland with great loss. We dread them no longer. We are threatened with great preparations for a French invasion, but the coast is exceedingly guarded; and for the people, the spirit against the rebels increases every day. *Though they have marched thus into the heart of the kingdom, there has not been the least symptom of rising, not*

General Statement.

* S. P. Dom.

even in the great towns of which they possessed themselves. They have got no recruits since their first entry into England, excepting one gentleman in Lancashire, one hundred and fifty common men and two parsons at Manchester, and a physician from York; but here in London the aversion to them is amazing. On some thoughts of the King's going to an encampment at Finchley, the weavers not only offered him a thousand men, but the whole body of the law formed themselves into a little army, under the command of Lord Chief Justice Willes, and were to have done duty at St. James's to guard the Royal family in the King's absence."

Walpole was misinformed as to the destination of the troops. A plan of the route for Northampton was formed at Stafford, December 4, 1745, with the direction, "If the Guards get horses, they will be at Northampton on the 7th, and Skelton and Howard's on the 9th; but that depends on the horses."*

The Duke of Cumberland wrote:—

"STAFFORD, *December* 4, 1745.

"MY LORD DUKE OF NEWCASTLE,—I am very sorry that I should be forc'd to let the King know that what I had some fear of has hap'ned, for on my assembling all the troops on Tuesday last at Stone (as you will have seen I intended by my last letter), where we all formed about four in the morning, with a view either to give the rebels battle, or push on to Newcastle with our whole force should the rebels have continued their route towards Wales, which seemed to be their point by all their movements. In this state the troops remain till nigh eleven of the clock in the morning, when such advices came as seemed to prove their going to Wales, and our vanguard was already in motion for Newcastle, which was but six miles farther, and where every thing was prepared for the troops; but contrary and certain advices came that they had turned and were gone for Leek and Ashbourn, which is the direct road to Derby.

Despatches to the Duke of Cumberland.

"Had the troops been as able as they seemed to be willing, I should have marched direct for Derby, *but troops that had scarcely halted six hours these ten days, had been without victuals*

* S. P. Dom.

for twenty-four hours, and had been exposed to one of the coldest nights I ever felt without any shelter—(for the country produced not straw sufficient for two battalions), were not able to march without a halt and provisions, so that we immediately came to a resolution of interrupting them at Northampton; a copy of the routes of which design I send enclosed to you. By this I flatter myself we cannot fail of intercepting them. However, I should humbly be of opinion that if, without alarming the city, the infantry that is about London could be assembled on Finchley Common, it would prevent any little part of them who might give me the slip (for I am persuaded the greater part can't) from giving any alarm there.—I am your affectionate friend, "WILLIAM.

"P.S.—A person now brings me word that at about four this afternoon the Pretender entered Derby with about 450 horse and 2300 foot, and that the rest of the army was with the artillery and baggage at Ashbourn, and moved this evening."*

The Duke writes to Marshal Wade:—

"STAFFORD, *December* 4, 1745.

"The troops being tired with continued forced marches for these last ten days, I was obliged to let them halt under cover last night, and to-day marched back to Stafford and Lichfield, from whence *we shall march without any halt to Northampton*, where we hope to be able to give them battle as it is an open country." *

The route, after all, was changed. The Commander-in-Chief writes:—

"PACKINGTON, *December* 6, 1745.

"MY LORD DUKE OF NEWCASTLE,—Sir Edward acquainted you yesterday with the *alteration* we had made for the assembly at Northampton in our former plan, in consequence of which the whole cavalry, the artillery, and the battalion of Powle and Handasye *marched into Coventry*, as this day, which is the tenth march without a halt these battalions have made, and generally marches of twenty London miles each day. The rest of the infantry is incampt near this place on Meriden Common. By this movement we had gain'd a march on the *rebels*, and had it in our power to come between them and London, when of a

* S. P. Dom.

sudden they quitted Derby, and are gone to Ashbourn with great precipitation. Since Monday that we first marched from Litchfield to this day, we have marched more hours than there has been daylight, and the troops have hitherto supported it with a most surprising cheerfulness and health, yet they can hold out no longer without some rest."*

The troops of the Pretender on their retreat alarmed and pillaged the defenceless people. Lord Herbert writes from Shrewsbury, December 11, 1745:—

"The rebels are making the best of their way northward. It is impossible to describe the terror and confusion that the people here were affected with. The night was employed in removing their effects and dispersing themselves. Their ravages have so exasperated the country as they passed, that I imagine the inhabitants will arise and assist in harassing their retreat."

The following communication is curious in relation to the suggestion of Doddridge respecting the stand that might be made at Northampton:—

"STANDISH, IN LANCASHIRE,

"*December* 11, 1745; 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Curate of Standish and the Patriotic Spy.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—The rearguard of the rebels is just now going backward by this village, where Mr. Oliver Williams, in company with a good many of the horse, lay last night. The said gentleman, Mr. Oliver Williams, found reason to put confidence in me, so far as to inform me that he left the Duke's army at Litchfield, on Tuesday, 5th inst., and soon after the same day arrived at Derby, where he *threw himself into the hands of the rebels, who were for marching within three hours directly for London, with a full purpose to throw into confusion and sack the city.* But upon the above gentleman's averring to them that *there actually was an army of* 10,000 *men at Northampton*, a council was called in which, though their Prince was very urgent for advancing, it was at last resolved on to retreat, which they accordingly began to do the next morning." Mr. Oliver Williams says he was kept

* S. P. Dom.

as a hostage very strictly for several days, but has now obtained permission to use his own horse, and to bear his own arms under a white cockade. By the credit of this badge he is determined to carry them back to Carlisle, and in the meanwhile to foment amongst them such discontent and divisions as may be happily instrumental in rescuing the nation from any further fear about the abandoned crew. He says nothing is resolved amongst them without his privity, and he doubts not in the least of turning this advantage to good account. Mr. Williams did in my hearing, I assure your Grace, appeal to several of the rebel officers, if he was not the cause of their present march towards the north, and they readily acknowledged that he was much against their inclinations which were strong for London, towards which Heaven grant they may never set their faces again, except in the capacity of prisoners. 'Tis at the request of the informant that I presumed to trouble your Grace herewith; to which I beg to add my sincerest prayers to the Almighty for a blessing upon his Majesty King George and his Council.—That I am, may it please your Grace, your Grace's humble servt.,

"EDWARD SMALLEY, Curate of Standish.

"P.S.—Mr. Oliver Williams, whom I never to my knowledge saw before this day, desired me to send this information by express from Wigan."*

A member of the Society of Friends writes from Clifton, near Penrith, 12 Mo. 19, 1745-6:—

"ESTEEMED FRIEND,—By this know thine I received, and shall hereby give the heads of the affair here as it was, I being eye and ear-witness thereof; but in first place cannot easily omit acknowledging the great favours and protecting Hand of Power to us manifested in so great a danger, as thou by the following account mayst understand. First, as to ye rebels. When they came south, we did not suffer much. They seemed to have so great assurance, they would proclaim their King in London upon ye 24th of last month, and crown him on New Year's Day, and then they would send Geordy, as they called him, to Hanover, and they should tread

Letter of Savage.

* S. P. Dom.

down his turnip garth Dukes, highly disesteeming our noble and worthy Duke, calling him Geordy's lad and Geordy's wolly, with many more opprobrious speeches. But on their return north *they were cruelly barbarous and inhuman when there, for their heads gave them liberty to plunder for four hours, and to burn Lowther Clifton Bridge, Penrith, and some say for six miles round.* But thanks to the Most High, whose power is above the power of man—often preventing the wicked from y^e^ prosecution of their wicked designs, which certainly was the Lord's doing, in bringing forward our noble Duke and his men in the very hour of great distress. As for my part, *I must ever love and esteem him as a man of worth.*

"Now I shall give thee to understand the beginning and end of the engagement. First, the rebel hussars being gone past to Penrith, came riding back by my door in haste, between one and two in the afternoon, and in about one hour came back again, driving up the rear of their army with whips to my door, and then some others took their places, and they wheeled off and set themselves in ambush against my barn's side, being so enclosed with crop-houses that our King's men could not see them till upon them. We did not know their design, yet I firmly believed it to be evil, and so went into my house, but could not long be easy; therefore ventured forth again, and looking about me, espied the heads of the King's men appearing upon a hill, about 400 yards south of my house, for which my very heart was in pain, believing that a great number of them might be cut off before they were aware; so our care was great to get the King's men notice 300 yards before they came at y^e^ place, when in the meantime a second ambush was laid about 100 yards nearer the King's men, who, with some of the Yorkshire hunters, came down; and so soon as they were opposite to the first ambush, the rebels fired upon them, but did no execution, and then issued out the ambush at my doors, and a furious firing they had; the King's men acting the quickest and nimblest that ever my eyes beheld, and not one of them receiving any harm. Some horse followed the former, so that in a few minutes the rebels ran away like madmen, and close by my doors one of the rebels was brought down and taken, and another of them was also taken at the same time who was their Captain, and named Hamilton, both which were led up to the Duke.

"Then all was still about one hour, in which time I abode in my house, the King's men still standing upon the common, in which time my son went over a little green to see if he could get the cattle brought into their houses, but seeing it was in vain, came homeward again, when four rebels on horseback seized him, calling him a spy, and had him under their horses' feet, swearing desperately many times they would shoot him, and three of them commanded the fourth to shoot him, which he first attempted with his gun and then pistol, but neither would fire, so he escaped and came in a little after, at which I was grown uneasy to go out; however, I ventured and looked about me. I saw the King's men standing upon the common as before, and turning me about, I saw the rebels filling the town street north of my house, as also running down and lining the hedges and walls, even down to my house on both sides. Then I was in great pain for the Duke and his men, it beginning to grow darkish; but I ventured my life, and stood a little off, waving my hat in my hand, which some of them discovering, one came riding down towards me, and I called to him, bidding him cast his eyes about him, and see how the town was filled, and the hedges lin'd; after which he returned, and then a party was dismounted and came down to meet the rebels, and in the time of stillness, as above, they had sent off a party of the horse to plunder and burn Lowther Hall, and also were plundering our town, leaving nothing they could lay their hands on, breaking locks, and making ruinous work, even to all our victuals and little children's clothes of all sorts. Now it beginning to grow darkish, and the rebels so thick about my house, that we had no hope of saving our lives, we concluded to leave this house, and get into the fields if we could. But in the middle of my orchard we parted, one part of us drove into the fields, the other part into the house, severely threatened with taking our lives, never expecting to see one another any more; and we were not the only sufferers, but a son-in-law and his family were under like circumstances, for they seemed more severe upon us than upon others. Now to come to the matter above again. We were not all got to the fireside before the firing on all hands was dreadful, which continued about half-an-hour, in which time was killed of the King's men ten, and twenty-one wounded, and the Duke's footman, who was taken prisoner, but got away again; and of the rebels were killed

five, and many wounded, and that night and early next morning were seventy in custody, and after the heat of firing was over all seemed still. A little space after which some came and broke in at my court doors, then came to the house door, calling sharply to open; but we believing it to be the rebels, I would not open; when they began to be sharp, and orders were given to fire, they supposing it to be full of rebels; but I called and said I would open as fast as I could, and the first words said to me were, '*Could the Duke lodge here this night?*' to which I answered, 'With pleasure, yes!' and *pleasant and agreeable company he was—a man of good parts, very friendly, and no pride in him.* Much on this head I could say if it would not be tedious; but I am like to think I am already tedious to thee; yet I shall mention one thing more which was very remarkable, which was—our cattle were standing among the slain men, and not any of them hurt; as also those that were driven from our houses came in again next morning, which the Duke's men said was a wonder that they were not all killed, our next neighbour being shot at the same time. Thou mayst know also that I had the Duke of Richmond and Duke of Kingston, with about one hundred men and as many horses. One thing I have not mentioned, which was a thing erected like a scaffold, behind a wall at the corner of my house, as we believe to cut off any that might come in at my court, which, if it had not been so that they had fled, the noble Duke had stood a bad chance there. I am afraid thou canst scarcely read this; but if thou thinkest of showing it to any, I would have thee copy fair over what thou thinkest proper, and then show it to whom thou wilt, even if it be to the King. I shall be easy, because I know it to be the truth. I conclude, with true love to thee and thy wife. My love, as also your sincere and true-hearted friend, "THOMAS SAVAGE."*

The Defeat of the Pretender.

We have no delight in war, and hasten to conclude this story of the Pretender's raid. He had a gleam of success at Falkirk, which Horace Mann tells us revived the hopes of the Jacobites in Rome, but only to extinguish them for ever at the battle of Culloden. The Duke

* Collection of MSS., R. Barclay, Esq., Reigate.

of Cumberland has been severely blamed for the atrocities committed after the victory; but his "Order Book," recently published, shows that the troops were firmly held in check, and warned against all violence or disorder.

The young Pretender, after a romantic career, abandoned himself to licentiousness, and sank into the most degraded condition. He became a "dipsomaniac," we are told by his admirers; and in that condition, according to their singular theory, was no longer responsible for his actions.

Thomas Coppock, the titular Bishop, and the martyr of the party, terminated his course in a manner characteristic, in some respects, of the cause for which he suffered by a humble confession, followed by a vehement retractation. He wrote in a very abject strain to the Archbishop; but one of his papers will be sufficient:— End of Coppock.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty. The Petition of Mr. Thomas Coppock, B.A.,

"Most humbly sheweth,—That your Petitioner, before the rebell army came to Manchester, was *very zealous in preaching against the Pretender* and his adherents, and in maintaining your royal familley's *undoubted right and title to the crown*, which much exasperated the rebells, and occasioned the taking him into custody, and by the fair speeches of some and threats of others, especially the young Pretender himself, he was induced to go with the rebell army to Derby, and there to read Prayers, which he did by peremtory orders, but in his prayers for the King and royall familley, made no addition of name; that afterwards he came with the rebells as far as Carlisle, where he was taken prisoner by your Majesty's victorious army; but never during his continuance with the rebells appeared in any hostile manner, except having a plaid sash about his shoulders and a cockade in his hatt, a hanger by his side, which last he has worn

these ten years past when he had occasion to ride thirty miles from home; and at Lancaster he was so far from giving the rebells encouragement that in his sermon he said he wished they had stayed at home and had not invaded the nation in a civil war, which was a demonstration that he had no bad designs in his heart.

"That by a second order when at Lancaster he was *forced to pray in other terms meerly* to save his own life, w^h^ was threatened by the rebells, unless he complied and followed their directions, *when, at the same time, his inclinations led him quite to the contrary.*

"The petitioner is very young, and always manifested his zeal for your royall familley, and is willing to do what final service he may be capable of for them. He is content to be banish'd for life, or dispos'd of what your Majesty shall think proper, and will for the future expose himself to any danger for the preservation of your Majesty's royall offspring; that *the great mercy and moderation his Royall Highness has shown even when Providence* has crown'd him with victory, emboldens your petitioner to intercede to your Majesty." *

Finding these petitions unavailing, Coppock changed his tone, and wrote a "dying speech."

"DEAR COUNTRYMEN,—I'm now on the brink and confines of eternity, being to suffer a scandalous and ignominious death for my duty to God, my King and country for taking up arms to *restore the royal and illustrious House of Stuart, and to banish from a free but enslav'd people—a foreigner, a tyrant, and an usurper.* Such a Parliament was the kingdom never cursed with before. Traitors to God, their King, and their country, have sacrificed their liberty, their all to the boundless ambition and unsatiable avarice of *a beggarly Hanoverian Electorate.* What soul inspir'd with the least grain of courage, or smallest spark of honour, or that sympathizes at the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, wou'd tamely sit down or patiently acquiesce under such monstrous grievances, when religion, liberty, and property call to arms. When a prince, adorned with all the gifts of nature and graces of education, endowed and enriched with every virtue, risks and exposes his precious life to deliver you from

* S. P. Dom.

Egyptian bondage and slavery, I declare upon the honour of a gentleman, the *faith of a clergyman, Churchman, and Christian, and the words of a dying man, that I die an unworthy member of that particular Church, as she stood before the revolution which I firmly believe to be truly primitive, Catholic and Apostolic, free from popish superstition on the one hand and from fanaticism on the other.* May she prosper and flourish; may she, like a house founded on a rock, withstand all tempests, storms, and inundations till time shall be no more. Now God bless my first true and lawful and undoubted sovereign Lord King James; his Royal Highness Charles Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Albany. O Lord God, bless, protect, preserve 'em, and in thy time restore 'em to their jointure, state, and dignity; for nothing but fraud and deceit—nothing but anarchy and confusion—nothing but horrid bloodshed and barbarous murder, villany, ambition, and cruelty—bribery without and corruption within—have reigned and triumpht in this miserable island since their banishment." *

The close of the rebellion was celebrated in Nonconformist churches with thanksgiving services, in which the ministers reviewed the events of the struggle, to show the greatness of the deliverance and the corresponding obligation of all to renewed devotedness to the cause of God. Doddridge returned to more congenial service, and in addition to other literary work at the instance of Watts, wrote and published his "Rise and Progress of Religion," etc.

Watts and Doddridge decided Nonconformists.

It is interesting to observe both with respect to Watts and Doddridge, that with the progress of their individual piety their avowal of the simple principles of Church polity known as Congregational, became more distinct and emphatic. We have a decided proof of this in Watts's "Rational Foundation of Christian

* S. P. Dom.

Church." In answer to the question, "Whether all sorts of Protestants may join together as members of the same Church?" he says, "1. It is impossible, and they *cannot*. 2. It is *unlawful*, and they *ought not*. 3. If it were both possible and lawful, yet it is *highly inexpedient, and therefore it should not be done*."

Watts was no bigot, as he showed in his "Charity and Orthodoxy Combined." Doddridge was a man of the most catholic spirit. The needless contentions of Christian brethren distressed him exceedingly, as we find in his sermon dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon, entitled "Christian Charity and Unanimity Stated, Illustrated, and Urged," yet he was not disposed to relax his hold of vital principles. In a letter to Mrs. Doddridge (August 4, 1748), he says:—

"I went to the Archbishop (Dr. Herring) and was received by his Grace in a very obliging manner. I sat a full hour with him alone, and had as free a conversation as I could have desired. It turned on Archbishop Leighton, on the rebellion, on the late debates in the House of Lords, about the Scots Non-juring Clergy, and especially on the *affair of a comprehension* which I very evidently perceive, that though his Grace has most candid sentiments of his Dissenting brethren, yet he has no great zeal for attempting anything, in order to introduce them into the Church, wisely perceiving the difficulties with which it might be attended; but when I mentioned to him (in the freedom of our discourse) a sort of a medium between the present state and that of a perfect coalition, which was that of acknowledging our Churches as unschismatical, by *permitting their clergy to officiate among us, if desired, which he must see had a counterpart of permitting Dissenting ministers occasionally to officiate in Churches*, it struck him much as a new and very important thought, and he told me more than once, that I had suggested what he should lay up in his mind for *further consideration*" (at a more convenient season).

Watts and Doddridge sympathized with each other, as subjected to reproach. Doddridge says:—

"I settle it as an established point with me that the more diligently and faithfully I serve Christ, the greater reproach and more injury I must expect. I have drunk deep of the cup of slander and reproach of late; but I am in no wise discouraged: no, nor by what is much harder to bear, the unsuccessfulness of my endeavours to mend this bad world. I consider it as my great sense of His *benefits*, and that His Name and cause be near my heart."

He was censured, he says, "by the high Calvinists on this side, and some of the friends of liberty and Catholicism, as by a strange catachresis they call themselves, on the other."

"Some have thought themselves injured, because I cannot oblige them at the expense of my conscience, by granting them testimonials which I know they do not deserve; or helping them into settlements which would be unhappy to themselves and the congregations which refer their case to my advice. For this reason imaginary injuries, never complained of to me, were talked over and aggravated. My conduct was continually watched over for evil; my writings, lectures, sermons, letters, words, everything, were compared to find out imaginary inconsistencies, and to charge them as instances of dishonesty, partiality, and what not? When they went abroad they talked of these things, and there were those, in both extremes, who were ready to lay hold on any story to my disadvantage."

Watts wrote to Doddridge:—

"STOKE NEWINGTON, *October* 18, 1746.

"DEAR SIR,—My much esteemed friend and brother.

"It was some trouble to me that you even fancied I had taken any thing ill at your hands; it was only my own great indisposition and weakness which prevented the freedom and pleasure of my conversation; and I am so low yet that I can neither study nor preach, nor have I any hope of better days in this world; but blessed be God we are moving onwards, I hope

to a state infinitely better. I should be glad of more divine assistance from the Spirit of Consolation, to make me go cheerfully through the remaining days of life.

"I am very sorry to find, by reports from friends, that you have met with so many vexations in these latter months of life, and yet I cannot find that your sentiments are altered, nor should your orthodoxy or charity be called in question. I shall take it a pleasure to have another letter from you, informing me that things are much easier both with you and in the west country. *As we are both going out of the world, we may commit each other to the care of our common Lord, who is, we hope, ours in an unchangeable covenant.* I am glad to hear Mrs. Doddridge has her health better, and I pray for your prosperity, peace, and success in your daily labours.—I am yours affectionately in our common Lord, "I. WATTS."

In his extreme weakness and necessary seclusion Watts was compelled to suspend his correspondence, but he received from his friends the most cheering assurances of fraternal regard and sympathy. We have an interesting example in the following note from the author of "Theron and Aspasio:"—

"WESTON FAVEL, *December* 10, 1747.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Pardon me if I take leave to interrupt your important studies for the good of mankind, or suspend, for one moment, your delightful communion with the blessed God. I cannot excuse myself without expressing my gratitude for the present by your order, lately transmitted from your bookseller,* which I shall always value, not only for its instructive contents, but in a very peculiar manner for the sake of the author and giver. To tell you, worthy Doctor, that your works have long been my delight and study, the favourite pattern by which I would form my conduct and model my style, would be only to echo back, in the faintest accents, what sounds *in the general voice of the nation.* Among other of your edifying compositions, I have reason to thank you for your sacred songs, which I have introduced into the service of my church, so that,

* Watts's "Discourses on the Glory of Christ as God-Man."

in the solemnities of the Sabbath, and in a lecture on the week day, your muse lights up the incense of our praise, and furnishes our devotions with harmony. Our excellent friend, Dr. Doddridge, informs me of the infirm condition of your health, for which reason I humbly beseech the Father of Spirits and the God of our Life, to renew your strength as the eagle's, and to recruit a lamp that has shone with distinguished lustre in His sanctuary; or, if this may not consist with the counsels of unerring wisdom, to make all your bed in your languishing, softly to untie the cords of animal existence, and enable your dislodging soul to pass triumphantly through the valley of death, leaning on your beloved Jesus, and rejoicing in the greatness of His salvation. You have a multitude of names to bear on your heart and mention with your lips, when you approach the throne of grace, in the beneficent exercise of intercession, but none I am sure has more need of such an interest in your supplications, none I believe can more highly esteem it, or more earnestly desire than, dear Sir, your obliged and affectionate humble servant,

"JAMES HERVEY."

The time came when, for a season, Watts and Doddridge were called to "part company." On November 25, 1748, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, Watts rested from his labours; and of more than any of his contemporaries it may be said his "works" do follow him.

CHAPTER XI.

AFTER the subsidence of the interest felt in the "great awakening," Edwards gave himself earnestly to the preparation of discourses for the pulpit and the press. A printed memorial, dated August 26, 1746, from several ministers in Scotland, "for continuing a concert for prayer entered into in the year 1744," was sent to their brethren in America. Edwards was prompted by the circular to preach a series of sermons to his people, and then to publish the substance of them in a treatise, entitled *An Humble Attempt to promote explicit Agreement and Visible Union among God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, pursuant to Scripture Promises and Prophecies Concerning the Last Time.* David Brainerd, who came to the house of Edwards in failing health on May 12, 1747, entered fully in the spirit of the movement. Edwards says —

Edwards' Treatise on Extraordinary Prayer.

David Brainerd.

"I found him remarkably sociable, pleasant, and entertaining in his conversation; yet solid, savoury, spiritual, and very profitable. He appeared meek, modest, and humble; far from any stiffness, moroseness, superstitious demureness, or affected singularity in speech or behaviour, and seeming to dislike all such things. We enjoyed not only the benefit of his conversation, but had the comfort and advantage of hearing him pray in the family

from time to time. His manner of praying was very agreeable, most becoming a worm of the dust and a disciple of Christ addressing an infinitely great and holy God and Father of mercies; not with florid expressions or a studied eloquence; not with an intemperate vehemence or indecent boldness. It was at the greatest distance *from everything that might look as though he meant to recommend himself to those that were about him, or set himself off to their acceptance.* It was free also from vain repetitions, without impertinent excursions, or needless multiplying of words. He expressed himself with the strictest propriety, with weight and pungency; and yet what his lips uttered seemed to flow from the *fulness of his heart,* as deeply impressed with a great and solemn sense of our necessities, unworthiness, and dependence, and of God's infinite greatness, excellency, and sufficiency, rather than merely from a *warm and fruitful brain, pouring out good expressions.* In his prayers, he insisted much on the prosperity of Zion, the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world, and the flourishing and propagation of religion among the Indians; and he generally made it one petition in his prayers 'that we might not outlive our usefulness.'"

Advised by the physician to take further journeys, Brainerd went to Boston, accompanied by the second daughter of Edwards, in the hope that his health would be restored; but the transient improvement was followed by rapid decline, and he returned to Northampton on July 25. He died on Friday, October 9, 1747, and on the Monday following Edwards preached a funeral sermon from 2 Cor. v. 8, entitled *True Saints when absent from the Body are present with the Lord,* which was printed in the December following.

"Since this," Edwards says, in a brief memoir of Brainerd, "it has pleased a holy and sovereign God to take away this my dear child (Jerusha) by death on the 14th of February next following, after a short illness of four days, in the eighteenth year of her age. She was a person of much the same spirit with Brainerd. She had constantly taken

Jerusha Edwards.

care of and attended him in his sickness for nineteen weeks before his death, devoting herself to it with great delight, because she looked on him as an eminent servant of Jesus Christ. In this time he had much conversation with her on the things of religion, and in his dying state often expressed to us, her parents, his great satisfaction concerning her true piety, and his confidence that he should meet her in heaven. She had manifested a heart uncommonly devoted to God in the course of her life, many years before her death, and said on her death-bed that she had not seen one minute for several years wherein she desired to live one minute longer for the sake of any other good in life but doing good, living to God, and doing what might be for His glory." *

Aaron Burr.

Aaron Burr, a young minister, educated at New Haven, who became pastor of the Church at Newark, in New Jersey, became one of the family circle. He entered into intimate relation with Whitefield and his coadjutors, though he was not insensible to the incidental evils which marred the revival. In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated June 28, 1742, he says :—

"I have so many things lying on my mind, that I know not how to communicate them with pen and ink. I long to have you alone a few hours, that I might unbosom myself freely, but 'tis good to have no will of our own. 'Tis glad tidings of great joy we hear from Southberry. But some things that I have heard from there I don't see through, which, in some measure, damp my joy. The bearer has given me more satisfaction. Glory be to God that He carries on His work in any way; I do

* The grave of Brainerd is near to that of Jerusha Edwards, in a sequestered grove near Northampton, separated by a short and well-trodden path made by the footsteps of visitors from many lands leading from one to the other. The epitaphs on plain headstones are to this effect :—

"Sacred to the memory of the Rev. David Brainerd, a faithful and laborious missionary to the Stockbridge, Delaware, and Susquehannah Indians, who died in this town, October 10, 1742, æt. 32."

"Jerusha, daughter of Jonathan and Sarah Edwards. Born April 26, 1730. Died February 14, 1748. 'I shall be satisfied when I awake in Thy likeness.'"

rejoice and will rejoice. However, there are some things that persons are apt to run into at the present day, that we ought not to encourage—1. Their being led by impressions and impulses made on their own minds, with or without a text of Scripture, and taking their own passions and imaginations for the operations of God's Spirit. 2. Giving heed to visions, trances, and revelations. 3. Speaking of Divine things with an air of levity, vanity, laughter, etc. 4. Declaring their judgment about others openly and freely in their absence, whether they are converted or not. 5. Making their own feelings a rule to judge others by. 6. For laymen to take upon them to exhort in a public assembly. 7. Separating from their minister under a notion of his being unconverted."

Ebenezer Pemberton, who gave an impressive charge at the ordination of Brainerd, was a man of kindred spirit. These enlightened and earnest men looked for the sympathy and co-operation of their ministerial brethren of kindred views in the mother country. The writings of Doddridge led them to seek an acquaintance with him personally, by means of a free and brotherly correspondence. Aaron Burr writes:—

"NEWARK (New Jersey) near New York, *April*, 1748.

"REV. SIR,—'Tis not strange that you should be known and much endeared to many you are altogether unacquainted with. I being one of that number shall make no apology for paying my respects and owning my grateful acknowledgments to you by writing. Letter of Aaron Burr to Doddridge.

"I have often bless't the God of all grace for the benefits I have received from your works. By the help of your pious and ingenious 'Family Expositor' I often have sat at the feet of my heavenly Master and heard His instructions with peculiar delight.

"I can hardly tell you how much I long to see the Epistles done in the same way, especially St. Paul's, which I take to be the most difficult and important part of the New Testament.

"There are many prayers, I trust, daily at the throne of grace,

that you may live to finish that important work, and have the special direction and assistance of Heaven in it.

"Your sermons on 'Regeneration,' 'Grace,' etc., I have read with much pleasure and spiritual edification. There always appears something in your practical writings suited to reach my heart. But among all your works that have fallen into my hands, I have most reason to be thankful for the 'Rise and Progress of the Spiritual Life,' the reading of which made great impressions on my mind.

"'Twas no small satisfaction to me to find there described, as I humbly hope, the transactions of Divine Grace in my own soul, and that in a more clear and distinct manner than I have ever met with in any human composure.

"The address to the declining Christian, and directions for a daily walk with God, were words in season to me, and the prospect of its being eminently serviceable to the interest of vital piety has often rejoiced my heart.

"A consciousness with what view I mention these things, saves me from all fear of being suspected of flattery. As it must be matter of joy and satisfaction to you to know God is making of you an extensive blessing in the world, so I hope it will animate and encourage you to proceed in your labours of love.

"I take this opportunity to give you some account of the attempts that have been used *to erect a college in this province* (New Jersey) with a particular view to the education of youth for the ministry.

"It has been long the complaint in these parts (the more so of late years) that the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few.

"We have not been able to get a sufficient and suitable supply for the many destitute places, especially in Pennsylvania and the back parts of Virginia, where of late there has been a loud call for candidates for the ministry.

"This put us upon the design, but we brought nothing to pass till about a year ago, when we obtained a charter for that purpose from the president of our council (there being then no governour) but he being superannuated, and doing it without consent of council, we were like to meet with difficulty.

"It pleased God at this difficult juncture to send Mr. Belcher to be our governour, a gentleman of many excellent accomplish-

ments, and one that appears a hearty friend to the cause and kingdom of Christ.

"He has given us a new charter, and seems much engaged to promote so good a design.

"The school was opened, and the edification of such youths as offered begun in May, 1747. Some of the students had gone through the greater part of their education in private schools before they entered the college (a way in which we have been obliged to fit men for the ministry), and so were graduated at the time you see.

"By the death of that great and good man, Mr. Dickinson (whose death is lamented as a very great loss to the churches, the care of the students is devolved on me, which, together with the care of a congregation, makes my work very great and important). This I mention not only that I may have a special interest in your prayers, but also if the many important duties that lie upon you would permit, that you might give me some directions about that part of my work which you are so well acquainted with. By this means you might perhaps do special service to that cause you have so much at heart.

"I beg your prayers and friendship for this infant college. We labour under difficulties at present, both for want of a fund to support the charge of it, and also for want of books. We trust God, in His providence, will raise up benefactors to it, and make it a flourishing seminary of piety and learning.

"May you long continue an extensive blessing to the churches of Christ, and after many years and much usefulness receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.—I am, Rev. Sir, with much esteem and respect, your unworthy fellow-labour in the gospel, and humble servant,

"The Rev. Dr. Doddridge. "AARON BURR."*

In further communications on the subject of the college, Burr says:—

"'Tis not easy for those at a distance, who are unacquainted with these parts, to conceive how much the interest of religion is concerned in this undertaking. We have some enemies (bigots

* Mr. Joshua Wilson's MSS. Copied by Mr. Thomas Wilson.

among the Episcopal party) who wish the design to prove abortive, though in general it is well approved of." "Though Mr. Belcher is one of the best of governors without exception, so far as my knowledge has reached, yet he is not without his enemies. One Chief Justice Morris, son to our former governor, though a man of great ingenuity and good sense, is (*sub rosa*) of most abandoned principles, a professed enemy to all revealed religion. He has rendered himself very odious to this province. He designs to go to London this fall, 'tis said, with a view to undermine Governor Belcher and to get into the chair himself; which, if effected, would be of very pernicious consequence. So that whatever you do to support his Excellency's interest at the Court of Great Britain will be a very acceptable service to Church and State, and should he be removed by death or translated, as 'tis said there is a proposal for it (to Boston), I beg you would join with the friends of religion, liberty, and learning in getting a suitable person appointed for his successor. The welfare of our infant college and our most valuable interests depend much upon it.

"In the present state of affairs 'tis of more consequence to the interest of religion to have a good governor in the Jerseys than any of the other provinces. My affectionate salutations to the young gentlemen the students of your Academy. I congratulate them on their distinguishing privileges, and pray they may have grace and wisdom to improve them, and you, dear sir, on being the happy instrument of forming so many youths for special service in the world, a delightful specimen of which I had in Mr. Steffe and Mr. Shepherd. 'Tis happy for the Church of Christ when such young gentlemen are trained up for the ministry, and their minds cultivated to such a taste for preaching. Mr. Steffe I think a very extraordinary person for his years, and doubtless, had he lived, would have been among the brightest ornaments of the Church. How must your soul be encouraged and delighted in your work with such excellent fruits of your labours. May God long preserve your valuable life, and cause you to shine brighter and brighter to the perfect day."*

Pemberton wrote on the same topic, and almost in identical terms. Dark clouds began to gather

* Ibid.

round the path of Edwards at Northampton. For sometime he had been surprised and grieved to find the young people of his charge not only frivolous, but addicted to evil practices, alike disgraceful and injurious to the community. To check these disorders, with more zeal than discretion, he read the names of the delinquents from the pulpit, and naturally caused serious umbrage to their parents and friends.

Trial of Edwards.

During this painful excitement in the congregation, the conviction was forced upon him that the mode of admitting members introduced by his grandfather Stoddard, and long adopted by himself, was unscriptural, and he had abundant and painful proof that it was attended with most serious evils. His views were not extreme. He did not even demand that the applicant for communion should think himself to be a true Christian, but only looked for those affections and that faith which would lead the person or persons responsible for admission into the Church to believe him to be such. There might be persons of sincere piety who, for some reason, had not, as yet, a Christian hope; he would not exclude such, but only those who made no pretensions to, and gave no evidence of, a religious character. He says that a person making a profession willingly to comply with the commandments of God requiring the service of his soul and body ought to be received to the communion, and had a right to be so received as an object of public charity, whatever scruples he might have from not knowing the time or method of his conversion, or from finding in himself great remaining sin.

Views of Church Communion.

Moderate as were his statements on the question, he was met both by his own people and the ministers of the county in the most rancorous manner. Every proposal for calm consideration and mutual conference was rejected. In the midst of the violent agitation, he submitted to his people the following document:—

"I, the subscriber, do hereby signify and declare to such as it may concern, that if my people will wait till the book I am preparing for the press, relating to the admission of members into the Church is published, I will resign the ministry over this Church, if the Church desire it, after they have first asked advice of a council mutually chosen. The following things also being provided, viz., that none of the brethren be allowed to vote on this affair but such as have either read my said book, or have heard from the pulpit what I have to say in defence of the doctrine that is the subject of it; and that the Society will engage that I shall be free from all rates, and also that a regular council approve of my thus resigning my pastoral office in this Church.

"Northampton, *April* 13, 1749." "J. E.

The treatise to which he referred is entitled, *An Humble Inquiry into the Rules of the Word of God, concerning the Qualifications requisite to a Complete Standing and Full Communion in the Visible Christian Church*, and contains a full discussion of the question, "Whether any persons ought to be admitted to full communion in the Christian Church but such as in the eye of a reasonable judgment are truly Christians?" From delay in printing, the work was not completed until August. Edwards proposed to give a series of lectures on the subject; but the people requested him not to speak on the question from the pulpit. He persisted, however, in his design, though few of

his own people attended, and continued his discourses in February and March, 1750.

Difficulties arose in the selection of a Council. Finally a number of the neighbouring ministers met to consider the case, and decided by a majority of one, that the pastoral relation should be dissolved. Edwards acquiesced in the decision, and after a few days preached a farewell sermon, almost unexampled for its solemnity, pathos, and freedom from personal complaint. A minority of the people were anxious to retain him among them, and to form another Church, but in the interests of peace, he deemed it best to retire, and in this view a second Ecclesiastical Council concurred.

Meeting of Council.

Solomon Williams wrote in opposition to his views, and was answered by him in the most conclusive and effective manner. To be clear in the matter, Edwards closed the work with a faithful letter to his former flock, warning them of the danger attendant upon the error which he had been led personally to renounce.

Edwards opened his mind freely to Dr. Erskine and other friends in Scotland. In a letter to Mr. McCulloch, after relating the deplorable state of the country, he adds :—

Dr. Erskine and friends in Scotland.

"There are some things that afford a degree of comfort and hope in this dark day respecting the state of Zion. I cannot but rejoice at some things which I have seen, that have been lately published in England, and the reception they have met with in so corrupt a time and nation. Some things of Dr. Doddridge (who seems to have his heart truly engaged for the interests of religion), particularly his 'Rise and Progress' and 'Col. Gardiner's

Life,' and also Mr. Hervey's 'Meditations.' And I confess it is a thing that gives me much hope, that there are so many on this side the ocean united in the concert for prayer proposed from Scotland. I had lately a letter from Governor Belcher, and in the postscript he sent me the following extract of a letter he had lately received from Dr. Doddridge:—'Nor did I ever know a finer class of young preachers for its number than that which God has given me this year to send out into the Churches, yet are not the supplies, here as elsewhere, adequate to their necessities; but I hope God will prosper the schemes we are forming for their assistance. I bless God that in these middle parts of our island peace and truth prevail.'"

We have interesting collateral proof of the exemplary conduct of Edwards at this distressing juncture.

Dr. Erskine, in a letter to Mr. Noy, dated Kirkintullock, November 5, 1750, writes:—

"This night I had a letter from Mr. Moorhead, of Boston, but nothing in it remarkable. I saw a letter from Mr. Walley, a justice of peace there, to Mr. Maclaurin, in which is the following account of Mr. Edwards' dismission from his Church:—'Mr. Hobby tells me Mr. Edwards behaved with the utmost meekness and Christian temper, and appeared all submission to the Divine will; not one word dropping from him the least fretful, though some spoke pretty harshly to him. After the Council was over, a number of the friends in the town, who were of the same mind with him, begged him not to be uneasy, for they would stand by him, and provide the same support he formerly had. It is thought another house will be built, and he retained there, for even some of his hottest opponents seem softened by his carriage.

Letter of Dr. Erskine.

"Mr. Hobby staid till next Sabbath, at the general desire of the town, and gave them a faithful and solemn charge to consider what they had been doing.

"P. S.—Mr. Hobby was converted after he was a minister. I have a few little things by him, wrote with a great deal of piety, and at the same time life and spirit. Mr. Moorhead sent me the

result of the Council of Churches, consisting of ten ministers and nine elders. The Council say that as Mr. Edwards and his people have sentiments diametrically opposite as to the design of the Sacrament and the qualifications necessary for it, they think it necessary immediately to dissolve the relation existing between them. At the same time, they have abundant reason to believe that Mr. Edwards has taken much pains to get light in this matter, and is uprightly following the dictates of his conscience. They reflect with pleasure on the Christian temper he has discovered in the unhappy controversy, and recommend him to any people of his sentiments as one eminently qualified for the ministry. Against this, Mr. Hobby and three ministers, as also three elders, protest, because they apprehend Mr. Edwards' sentiments to be perfectly agreeable to Scripture, and that though he were in the wrong, the error did not deserve a dismission, especially as his Church had not been active either to give or receive light. They then express sorrow that the once dearly-beloved pastor of Northampton should be esteemed their enemy for telling them the truth; and after giving him a very high character, they express their hopes that though his people in general cease to rejoice in his light, others may rejoice in it for a season.

"N.B.—The four protesting ministers were friends for the revival. Three of those who voted Mr. Edwards' dismission I find also attestators of it. The other three I reckon unfavourable to it; and one of them at least is an Arminian."

Edwards was not forsaken. Some friends in Scotland contributed to the maintenance of his family. The principle for which he contended from that time gradually prevailed, and a "door of opportunity" was opened to him in connection with the "Society in London for Propagating the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent."

Writing from Stockbridge to his friend Thomas Gillespie, Carnock, July 1, 1751:—

"I am sensible that it becomes me to look on what has lately

happened as an awful frown of heaven on me, as well as on the people. God knows the sinfulness of my heart, and the great and sinful deficiencies and offences which I have been guilty of in the course of my ministry at Northampton. I desire that God would discover them to me more and more, and that now He would effectually humble me and mortify my pride and self-confidence, and empty me entirely of myself, and make me to know that I deserve to be cast away as an abominable branch, and as a vessel wherein is no pleasure; and if it may consist with His holy will that He would sanctify me, and make me a vessel more meet for my Master's use; and yet improve me as an instrument of His glory, and the good of the souls of mankind.

Edwards and Gillespie.

"One thing that has contributed to bring things to such a pass at Northampton was my youth and want of more judgment and experience, in the time of that extraordinary awakening, about sixteen years ago. Instead of a youth there was want of a giant in judgment and discretion among a people in such an extraordinary state of things. In some respects, doubtless, my confidence in myself was a great injury to me, but in other respects my diffidence of myself injured me. It was such that I durst not act my own judgment, and had no strength to oppose received notions and established customs, and to testify boldly against some glaring false appearances and counterfeits of religion till it was too late. And by this means, as well as others, many things got footing which have proved a dreadful source of spiritual pride, and other things that are exceedingly contrary to true Christianity. If I had more experience and ripeness of judgment and courage, I should have guided my people in a better manner, and should have guarded them better from Satan's devices, and prevented the spiritual calamity of many souls, and perhaps the eternal ruin of some of them, and have done what would have tended to lengthen out the tranquillity of the town.

"However, doubtless at that time there was a very glorious work of God wrought in Northampton, and were numerous instances of saving conversion, though undoubtedly many were deceived, and deceived others, and the number of true converts was not so great as was then imagined. Many may be ready, from things that are lately come to pass, to determine that all

Northampton religion is come to nothing, and that all the famed awakenings and revivals of religion in that place prove to be nothing but strange tides of a melancholy and whimsical humour. But they would draw no such conclusion, if they exactly knew the true state of the case, and would judge of it with full calmness and impartiality of mind.

"I have had a call to settle in Stockbridge, a place in the western borders of New England, next to the province of New York, about thirty-six miles from Albany, and about forty miles from Northampton, the place where Mr. Serjeant was minister and missionary to the Indians. I am both called by the church here, constituted partly of English, and am appointed missionary to the Indians, by the commissioners of Indian affairs in Boston, agreeably to what you suggest in your letter, as though you had been able to foresee future events, when you say, 'Perhaps you are to be employed where the gospel has been little understood or attended to.' I suppose this place will for the future be the place of my ordinary abode, though it will be some months before I can remove my family."

In this beautiful neighbourhood Edwards spent the first months of 1751, preaching at Stockbridge both to the white settlers and, through an interpreter, to the Indians. He then returned to Northampton, and in August, 1751, removed his family to their new home. His household was large and their wants numerous. He had purchased a valuable homestead, with adjoining lands for pasturage and fuel, and erected a commodious dwelling-house, but it was several years before he could dispose of the property, and on coming to Stockbridge he was under the necessity of erecting another dwelling-house. The debt thus incurred subjected him to pecuniary embarrassment. He was of weakly and infirm constitution, and subject in consequence to

Missionary at Stockbridge.

fits of depression, but in Mrs. Edwards he had a pleasant and intelligent companion, a tender and patient nurse, and a willing helper. She managed his temporal affairs with prudence and economy, and trained the children with gentleness and skill.

The natural sympathies of Edwards were not dried up by his metaphysics. In the evening, after tea, he customarily sat in the parlour with his family for an hour, unbending from the severity of study, entering freely into their feelings and concerns.

In a letter dated Stockbridge, March 28, 1753, prescribing a variety of curious remedies, Edwards writes:—

Letter of Edwards to his Daughter.

"DEAR CHILD,—We are glad to hear you are in many respects better, but concerned at your remaining great weakness. I am glad to see some of the contents of your letter to your mother, and particularly that you have been enabled to make a free-will offering of yourself to God's service, and that you have experienced some inward divine consolations under your affliction by the extreme weakness and distressing pains you have been the subject of. I would not have you think that any strange thing has happened to you in this affliction. 'Tis according to the course of things, in this world, that after the world's smiles some great affliction often comes. God has given you early and seasonable warning not at all to depend on worldly prosperity, therefore I would advise, if it pleases God to restore you, to look upon no happiness here. Labour while you live to serve God, and to do what good you can, and endeavour to improve every dispensation to God's glory and your own spiritual good, and be content to do and bear all that God calls you to in this wilderness, and never expect to find this world anything better than a wilderness. Lay your account to travel through it in weariness, painfulness, and trouble, and wait for your rest and prosperity till hereafter, where they that serve the Lord rest from their labour and enter into the joy of their Lord. You are like to spend the rest of your life (if you should get over this ill-

ness) at a great distance from your parents, but care not much for that. If you lived near us, yet our breath and yours would go forth, and we should return to our dust, whither we are all hastening. 'Tis of infinitely more importance to have the presence of our Heavenly Father, and to make progress toward our heavenly home. Let us all take care that we may meet there at last.

"I desire that Mr. Burr and you would be frequent in counselling Tommy as to his soul's concerns, commending you to God, before whom we daily remember you in our prayer.—I am your affectionate father, "JONATHAN EDWARDS."*

Edwards was now within seven miles from his friend Samuel Hopkins, who was settled at Housatonick, or Great Barrington, a frontier village of thirty families, charming in its scenery, but unattractive in its society. The secluded pastoral missionaries often met each other. Hopkins often refers to this in his journal.

Samuel Hopkins, a neighbour.

"BETHLEM, *October* 13, 1754.

"Mr. Edwards not being able to travel, I am yet with him at Mr. Bellamy's. Friday, October 18, having done my business at Waterbury, and Mr. Edwards continuing to have a severe fit every day, I left Mr. Edwards at Waterbury, and set out homewards to-day. Lodge at Mr. Bellamy's. Monday, August 28, this day being attended as a public fast, Mr. Bellamy preached for me all day. I believe there's not a better preacher in America on all accounts. August 30, rode with Mr. Bellamy to Stockbridge. February 12, 1755, Mr. Bellamy came to my house last Tuesday, with whom I went to Stockbridge, and stayed there two nights and one day to hear a treatise upon the 'Last end of God in the creation of the world.' Returned home to-day; Mr. Bellamy came with me. March 9, went to-day to borrow some books, and returned. September 2, 1756, rode to Stockbridge to-day on an important secret errand, and returned. September 3, Mr. Edwards and Madam, and their son Timothy, at my house to-day."

* Dr. Raffles' MSS.

Edwards, Hopkins, and Bellamy evidently "had all things common" in books, fraternal sympathy, friendly criticism, and confidential communication. To think and to write out his thoughts with Edwards became a necessity as much as to breathe.

Writings of Edwards.

During his ministry at Stockbridge he wrote his principal works. His *Treatise on the Will* he commenced in August, 1752, but soon laid aside on account of extraordinary avocations and hindrances; but resumed it in the following November, and finished the first draft on or before April 14, 1753. After an illness of more than six months from chills and fever, he began his *Dissertation concerning the End for which God created the World*, and his *Treatise concerning the Nature of Virtue*. This was followed by his work, *Original Sin*, finished May 26, 1767.

His aim in these successive publications, as in his miscellaneous observations, always accumulating under his hand, was eminently practical. Packets of pamphlets and books were sent to him as they issued from the press by his theological correspondents in Scotland, and he examined every phase of opinion with the utmost care, marking its tendency in relation to evangelical truth. His object in his *Treatise on the Will* was *to take away the excuse for sinning from the strength of sin.* The speculations of the time received his special attention. He observed their common aim to set aside all previous systems of philosophy or of divinity, and practically to dispense altogether with the aid of divine revelation, and met their objections at all points.

The personal troubles and difficulties of Edwards

in his secluded mission station did not leave him in ignorance of the general field of Christian operations, nor heedless of the danger arising from the incursions of error. The writings of the English Arians produced a decided effect in New England. Bellamy wrote his work entitled *True Religion Delineated*, to counteract tendencies to Socinianism. Noah Porter, of Fairfield, Connecticut, refers to the treatment of the doctrine of the Trinity as highly blasphemous. Jonathan Edwards observed with concern the attack of Mayhew:—

"STOCKBRIDGE, *February* 11, 1757.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I can't assign any particular acquaintance as my warrant for troubling you with these lines, not being one of them that have been favoured with opportunities for such an advantage. I only write as a subject and friend of the same Lord, and a follower and fellow-disciple of the same Jesus. A regard to His interests has made me uneasy ever since I read Dr. Mayhew's late book some time the last year, and saw that marginal note of his wherein *he ridicules the doctrine of the Trinity;* and my uneasiness was increased after I had wrote to Mr. Foxcroft upon it, and fully expressed my sentiments to him concerning the call of God to ministers that way, or others whose business it was to teach the doctrines of Christianity, to appear publicly on this occasion in defence of this doctrine, and he in reply informed me that the same affair had been proposed and considered at the board of overseers, and in the issue nothing concluded to be done. Very lately, Mr. Emlyn's book has fallen into my hands, published in New England by one who calls himself a layman, who, in his dedication to the ministers of the county, gives them an open and bold, though a very subtle and artful, challenge to answer that book, and defend the proper deity of Christ if they can. Since I have read this book, I am abundantly confirmed that my opinion, signified to Mr. Foxcroft, was right, and that the call of God that some one should appear in open defence of the doctrine is very loud and plain, and that

Letter of Edwards on the attack of Mayhew.

an universal neglect of it in the churches of New England on this occasion will be imputed by the Head of the Church, whose glory is so struck at, as a lukewarmness that will be very displeasing.

"Though I live so much at a distance, yet I know so much of the state of the country that I am persuaded it will be of very bad consequences. This piece by many will be looked upon as invincible. It will be concluded that those who maintain the divinity of Christ are afraid to engage, being conscious that they are unable to defend their cause, and the adversary will triumph, and their cause will more and more prevail.

"Now, sir, I humbly conceive that you, above all others, are called to engage in this cause. You are set for the instruction of our youth in divinity in the principal seminary of learning, and it will be among them especially that these pernicious principles will be like to gain ground. Something from you will be more regarded and attended to than from any other person. I have heard say that your health is not firm, which may possibly be an objection with you against engaging in a laborious controversy, which, if once begun, may possibly be drawn out to a great length; and probably spending your time in controversy may be much against your inclination. But yet you doubtless will allow that the case may be so, that Christians may be evidently called, in adverse providences, to engage in very irksome and laborious services, and to risk considerable ventures in the cause of their Lord, trusting in Him for strength and support; as men, in a just war for their king, in many cases doubt not of their being called to great fatigues, and to very great ventures even of life itself. And shall all stand by at such a day as this, under the testimonies of God's anger for our corruptions, which are always so great, and see the cause of Christ trampled on, and the chief dignity and glory of the King of Zion directly and boldly struck at, with a challenge to others to defend it if they can, and be silent, every one excusing himself from the difficulty and fatigue of a spiritual warfare? I live on one side, far out of the way, for I know not what the view of the ministers of the country is; I can only judge what the case requires; I think Zion calls for help; I speak as one of her sons. If nothing be done, I dread the consequences. I entreat you, sir, for Christ's sake, not lightly

to refuse what I have proposed and requested, and forgive the freedom which has been used by,

"Honoured sir, with great esteem and respect,

"Your son and servant,

"JONATHAN EDWARDS. *

"To the Rev. Edward Wigglesworth, D.D., Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, at Cambridge."

Wigglesworth explained that he had called attention, in a discourse, to the subject of Dr. Mayhew's book, and in particular to the marginal notes insinuating "that the canon of the Old Testament was compiled according to the humour and caprice of the people." "If the divine authority of the books of the Old Testament be once shaken," Wigglesworth added, "besides all the other mischiefs too many to be mentioned, we shall be deprived of the weight of that evidence which might be drawn from them for the proper Godhead of the Saviour." In the "Boston Lectures" the worthy ministers of that town were generally vindicating the divinity of Christ. With respect to Emlyn, the Professor of Divinity was of opinion that it was "by no means desirable to publish a new answer to a book that hath been answered over and over again on the other side of the water." "If the controversy be once begun," he says to Edwards, "perhaps neither I nor you, sir, who are much younger, will live to see the end of it." The gates of the theological fort at Harvard were silently opened to admit the stealthy adversary, and held as the principal tower of defence of Unitarianism.

Original and profound as a thinker, keen and

* Clark's Hist. of Cong. Churches in Mass., p. 181.

subtle in his disquisitions, severely logical as a reasoner, and patient in investigation, it might be supposed that the metaphysical studies of Edwards would unfit him for the practical duties of his sphere; but with all his fondness for philosophical inquiry he was a devout student of the Word of God, and a firm believer in its inspired declarations. He was quite at home with the Indians, and deeply concerned for their temporal and spiritual interests.

Interest in the Indians.

From the notes of his discourses we learn that he preached to them with wonderful clearness and simplicity. Of his far-reaching plans for their welfare we have remarkable proof in the paper he sent to the venerable Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, in which he pointed out the mistaken policy of neglecting the instruction of the Indians, the steady inroads of the French in the erection of a complete chain of forts, and the seduction of the tribes by the enemy that might be gained by just and honourable treatment.

"The French," he says, "have left no stone unturned, no method neglected, to gain their purpose. They have not only sent forth their missionaries and other emissaries, but they have of late, on several occasions, gone with armies to do their business the more thoroughly. Their way is, when they have gain'd the friendship of a nation, to persuade some of 'em to come and settle in Canada, with presents and many fair promises to inveigle 'em to permit their building forts in their territories, whereby their countries are in effect annexed to the French dominions, so they are constantly enlarging the French Empire in America, and more and more curtailing the British dominions. In the time of war they are far more active and thorough in their business than we, and they are not less active to establish and enlarge

Warning against the French.

their interest and undermine ours in time of peace, when we are soundly asleep. In time of war they drive us in. 'Tis found by experience that we can't maintain our frontiers against them and their Indians, but where they once get footing they hold their own and never give back.

"What will be the consequence in future times God only knows, but if another war should break out whilst these things are in their present situation, we may well cry, The Lord have mercy on us. Unless the Most High should remarkably appear for us, there would be great probability of our being brought into before unexperienced distress. Indeed, if things continue in the course they are now in, there is a great prospect of the French King's having the greatest part of North America in his possession, tho' the King of Great Britain has much the greatest number of subjects here, and has had heretofore vastly the greatest advantage to enlarge his dominions in these parts of the world."*

Edwards had won the confidence of several tribes, who were eager to have their children taught the English language. He proposed to found a college for the more advanced pupils, but his plans were defeated by the cupidity and selfishness of the white settlers. Five hundred pounds, granted in aid of the mission to the Indians, were spent in intoxicating drink, and at every turn the old troublers at Northampton sought to annoy and to hinder the self-denying missionary pastor.

We have a striking confirmation of the statements of Edwards, in a "Message from the Council and House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay to Governor Sherley, April 17, 1754:—

"It now evidently appears that the French are far advanced in the execution of a plan, projected more than fifty years since,

* Lambeth MSS.

for the extending their possessions from the mouth of the Mississippi in the south, to Hudson's Bay on the north, for securing the vast body of Indians in that inland country, and for subjecting this whole Continent to the Crown of France. This plan, agreeable to the genius and policy of the French nation, was laid for a future age. The operation of it has been gradual and almost insensible, whilst the British Government in the plantations have been consulting temporary expedients, and they are in danger of continuing to do so until it be too late to defeat it. And, however improbable it may seem that this scheme should succeed, since the French inhabitants on the Continent at present bear but a small proportion to the English, yet there are many other circumstances which give them a great advantage over us, and which, if not attended to, will soon overbalance our superiority in number. *The French pay no regard to the most solemn engagements, but immediately after a peace take and keep possession of a country which, by treaty, they had just before expressly ceded,* whilst the English in the plantations, afraid of incurring displeasure and of being instrumental of bringing on a war in Europe, suffer these encroachments to be made and continued. *The French in time of peace are continually exciting the Indians, settled among them, to come upon our people, and to carry their scalps and prisoners to Canada,* where, as we have full evidence, a reward is given for them, and by this means we are *prevented from extending our settlements in our own country,* whilst the English, from the principle just now mentioned, *scruple to avenge themselves* by carrying the war into the Indian settlements, lest they should annoy his Majesty's allies, amongst whom our most barbarous enemies are settled, and by whom they are cherished and encouraged.

Message of the Council.

"The French have under their influence by far the greatest part of the Indians on the Continent, whilst the English, by the different measures of the several Governments, are in danger of losing the small proportion which at present are attached to them. The French have but one interest and keep one point in view; the English Government having different interests, are disunited. Some of them have their frontiers covered by their neighbouring Governments, and not being immediately affected seem unconcerned. The French are supported by the Crown and

treasure of France, which seems now more than ever to have made the plantations the objects of its attention. The English Governments are obliged to carry on any schemes at their own expense, and are not able to support any great undertaking.

"These are some of the disadvantages which the English at present labour under, and they are *not likely to be removed without his Majesty's gracious interposition*.

"We therefore desire your Excellency to represent to his Majesty the exposed hazardous state of these his Governments, and humbly to pray that he would be pleased to cause the most effectual measures to be taken for the removal of any French forts or settlements that may be made in any part of his territories on this Continent; and in particular the *subjects of the French king may be compelled to quit the Province of Nova Scotia*,* where, in direct violation of the most express agreement to the contrary, they are daily increasing and fortifying themselves who are settled among the French, or are under their direction and control, shall captivate and destroy his English subjects, his respective Governments shall suffer and encourage the Indians who are in the English interest to make reprisals upon the French, there being no other way of putting a stop to the incursions of the French Indians, or of forwarding the settlement of our frontiers."†

Hopkins wrote to Dr. Bellamy, September 3, 1754:—

"REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—The dire alarm we have had is like to prevent the proposed journey of myself and wife, yet I shall come down next week, if it can be thought prudent to leave my family. You will doubtless rejoice with me when you hear that the first news we had from Stockbridge was not true, that good Mr. Edwards is yet alive, and, as we hope, safe. His fits of the fever and ague had left him some time ago, but are now returned again, and he has a fit every day. I made him a visit last week. He seemed to be more dejected and melancholy than I ever saw him before, is quite depressed, and *pines at the loss of so much time*. On the Lord's-day p.m., as I was reading the Psalm,

Stockbridge attacked by Indians and French.

* Acadia. † S. P. Col.

news came that Stockbridge was beset by an army of Indians, and on fire, which broke up the assembly in an instant. All were put into the utmost consternation, men, women, and children crying, 'What shall we do?' *not a gun to defend us, not a fort to flee to, and few guns and little ammunition in the place.* Some ran one way, and some another; but the general course was to the southward, especially for the women and children. *Women, children, and squaws flocked in upon us from Stockbridge half naked, and frightened almost to death, and fresh news came that the enemy were on the plains this side Stockbridge, shooting, and killing, and scalping people as they fled. Some presently came along bloody, with news that they saw persons killed and scalped, which raised a consternation, tumult, and distress inexpressible,* many particulars of which Mr. Wheeler, now at my house, *quorum pars magna fuit,* can relate, which I have not now time to write. Two men are killed and scalped, two children killed, and one of them scalped; but two Indians have been seen at or near Stockbridge, that we certainly know of. Two Indians may put New England to a hundred pounds' charges and never much expose themselves in the way that we now take. The troops that came to our assistance are now drawing off, and what have they done? *They have seen Stockbridge, and eaten up all their provision, and fatigued themselves, and that's all, and now we are left as much exposed as ever* (for I suppose they are all going). In short, the case of New England looks very dark, especially of the frontiers. A few savages may be a terrible scourge to us, etc. I began this letter in the morning, since which time (for it is now past five o'clock p.m.) I have had thoughts of moving my children to Canaan. If I do, I shall be at commencement, it is likely. My regards to Mrs. Bellamy.—From your friend and servant,

"SAMUEL BELLAMY." *

This Indian and French attack was repelled, but with heavy loss. The force under the command of Col. Williams suffered most severely, their leader being slain on the field. Before he left Albany, in this fatal campaign, he made his will, in which, after assigning to several of his relations

Colonel Williams.

* Park's Memoir of Hopkins. Works, vol. i, pp. 41, 42.

and friends appropriate bequests, he directed "that the remainder of his land should be sold, at the discretion of his executors, within five years after an established peace, and the interest of moneys arising from the sale, and also the interest of his notes and bonds, should be applied to the support of a free school in a township west of Massachusetts (the locality of his old command) for ever, provided said township fall within Massachusetts upon running a line between Massachusetts and New York, and provided the said township, when incorporated, shall be called WILLIAMSTOWN."

College at Williamstown.

The brief career of Edwards as an evangelist and pastor was chequered, and some of the troublers from Northampton found their way to the settlement, and sought continually to thwart his plans. He suffered many interruptions from sickness and war. Nevertheless his work was congenial. He enjoyed the confidence, esteem, and fraternal sympathy of his friends in Scotland—some of the best men of their time. Their correspondence was kept up with mutual interest, and he was never left without a supply of books on the questions of the day. He met the inquiries submitted to him, and in return received replies to questions he proposed for their consideration. Obstacles in his path were removed, and he would have been content to pursue the even tenour of his way in this beautiful retreat for the remnant of his days. Changes, however, were at hand rapid in succession, and all pointing to the close of his manifold labours.

Troublers from Northampton.

AARON BURR, married to his daughter Esther,

visited Stockbridge in the latter part of July or the beginning of August, 1757. On his return homeward he was called to preach an extemporaneous sermon at Newark; and after a visit to Philadelphia, he received tidings of the death of his friend, Governor Belcher, and that he had been designated to preach the funeral discourse. Though in a high state of fever, he prepared the sermon, and rode next day to Elizabethtown, a distance of forty miles, to conduct the service, and then went home to die. In a letter dated Princetown, October 7, 1757, after relating the incidents connected with the event, his widow writes to her mother, in the form of address common at the time:—

Death of Aaron Burr.

"No doubt, dear madam, it will be some comfort for you to hear that God has not utterly forsaken, although He has cast down. I would speak it to the glory of God's name. That I think He has, in an uncommon degree, discovered Himself to be an all-sufficient God, a full fountain of all good. Although all streams were cut off, yet the fountain is left full. I think I have been enabled to cast my care upon Him, and have found great peace and calmness of mind, such as this world cannot give nor take. I have had uncommon freedom and nearness to the throne of grace, God has seemed sensibly near in such a supporting and comfortable manner, that I think I have never experienced the like. God has helped me to review my past and present mercies, with some heart-affecting degree of thankfulness.

Letter of Esther Burr.

"I think God has given me such a sense of the vanity of the world, and uncertainty of all sublunary enjoyments, as I never had before. The world vanishes out of my sight. Heavenly and eternal things appear much more real and important than ever before. I feel myself to be under much greater obligations to be the Lord's than before this sore affliction; the way of salvation by faith in Jesus Christ has appeared more clear and excellent, and I have been constrained to venture my all upon

Him, and have found great peace of soul in what I hope have been the actings of faith. Some parts of the Psalms have been very comforting and refreshing to my soul. I hope God has helped me to eye His hand in this awful dispensation; to see the infinite right He has to His own, and to dispose of them as He pleases.

"Thus, dear madam, I have given you some broken hints of the exercises of my mind since the death of him, whose memory and example will ever be precious to me as my own life. O dear madam! I doubt not but I have your and my honoured father's prayers daily for me; but give me leave to entreat you both to request earnestly of the Lord, that I may never despise His chastenings, nor faint under His severe strokes, of which I am sensible there is great danger, if God should only deny me the supports that He has hitherto graciously granted.

"Oh, I am afraid I shall conduct myself so as to bring dishonour on my God, and the religion I profess! No, rather let me die this moment, than be left to bring dishonour on God's holy name. I am overcome; I must conclude, with once more begging, that as my dear parents remember themselves, they would not forget their greatly afflicted daughter (now a lonely widow) nor her fatherless children. My duty to my ever dear and honoured parents, and love to my brothers and sisters.

"From, dear madam, your dutiful and affectionate daughter,

"ESTHER BURR."

Edwards wrote a letter of affectionate condolence to his daughter, but it is not to be found. She writes to him:—

"PRINCETON, *November* 2, 1757.

"Since I wrote my mother a letter, God has carried me through new trials, and given me new supports. My little son has been sick with a slow fever ever since my brother left us, and has been brought to the brink of the grave; but, I hope in mercy, God is bringing him back again. I was enabled, after a severe struggle with nature, to resign the child with the greatest freedom. God has showed me that the children were not my own but His, and that He had a right to recall what He had

lent, whenever He thought fit, and that I had no reason to complain, or to say that God was hard with me. This silenced me. But oh, how good is God, He not only kept me from complaining, but comforted me, by enabling me to offer up my child by faith, if ever I acted faith. I saw the fulness there was in Christ for little infants, and His willingness to accept of such as were offered to Him. 'Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not,' were comforting words. God also showed me, in such a lively manner, the fulness there was in Himself of all spiritual blessing, that I said, 'Although all streams were cut off, yet so long as my God lives, I have enough.' He enabled me to say, 'Although thou slay me, yet will I trust in Thee.' In this time of trial, I was led to enter into a renewed and explicit covenant with God, in a more solemn manner than ever before, and with the greatest freedom and delight. After much self-examination and prayer, I did give myself and my children to God, with my whole heart. Never, until then, had I an adequate sense of the privilege we are allowed in covenanting with God. This act of soul left my mind in a great calm and steady trust in God. A few days after this, one evening, in talking of the glorious state my dear departed husband must be in, my soul was carried out in such large desires after perfection, and the full enjoyment of God, and to serve Him uninterruptedly, that I think my nature could not have borne much more. I think, dear sir, I had that night a foretaste of heaven. This frame continued, in some good degree, the whole night. I slept but little, and when I did, my dreams were all of heavenly and divine things; frequently since I have felt the same in kind, though not in degree. This was about the time that God called me to give up my child. Thus a kind and gracious God has been with me in six troubles and in seven."

Edwards invited to Princeton.

The trustees of Princeton invited Edwards to accept the presidential chair. In his reply he raised many objections in relation to his personal unfitness, which were over-ruled. Leaving his family at Stockbridge till the spring, he went to Princeton, January 21, 1758, and received the most cordial welcome.

A few days after his arrival, he received the tidings of the death of his father, on January 27, 1758, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He preached from Sabbath to Sabbath in the College Hall, and prepared some papers for the students in divinity. The smallpox prevailing in the country, he was inoculated February 13; it was supposed that all danger was over, but a secondary fever set in, and he died on March 22, 1758.

Death of Edwards.

"Dear Lucy," he said to one of his daughters, a little before his end, "it seems to me to be the will of God that I must shortly leave you, therefore give my kindest love to my dear wife, and tell her that the uncommon union which has so long subsisted between us has been of such a nature as I trust is spiritual, and therefore will continue for ever, and I hope she will be supported under so great a trial, and submit cheerfully to the will of God. And as to my children, you are now like to be left fatherless; which I hope will be an inducement to you all to seek a Father who will never fail you. And as to my funeral, I would have it to be like Mr. Burr's; and any additional sum of money that might be expected to be laid out that way, I would have it disposed of to charitable uses."

As the friends who stood by—expecting he would breathe his last—were lamenting his death, not only as a great frown on the College, but as having a dark aspect on the interest of religion in general, to their surprise and great comfort, he said, "Trust in God, and ye need not fear," and then fell on sleep.

Intelligence reached Mrs. Edwards as she was preparing to pay a visit to her sister, Mrs. Hopkins, at West Springfield, and to her mother, Mrs. Edwards, at Windsor, after her bereavement.

After a few days she penned the following brief note to Mrs. Burr:—

"STOCKBRIDGE, *April* 3, 1758.

"MY VERY DEAR CHILD,—What shall I say? A holy and good God has covered us with a dark cloud. O that we may kiss the rod, and lay our hands on our mouths! The Lord has done it. He has made me adore His goodness, that we had him so long. But my God lives, and He has my heart. O what a legacy my husband and your father has left us! We are all given to God, and there I am, and love to be. Your ever affectionate mother, "SARAH EDWARDS."

On the same sheet another daughter wrote :—

"MY DEAR SISTER,—My mother wrote this with a great deal of pain in her neck, which disabled her from writing any more. She thought you would be glad of these few lines from her own hand.

"O, sister, how many calls have we one upon the back of another. O, I beg your prayers, that we, who are young in this family, may be awakened and excited to call more earnestly on God, that He would be our Father and Friend for ever.

"My father took leave of all his people and family as affectionately as if he knew he should not come again. On the Sabbath afternoon he preached from these words: *We have no continuing city, therefore let us seek one to come.* The chapter that he read was Acts the 20th. O how proper! what could he have done more? When he had got out of doors he turned about. 'I commit you to God,' said he, 'I doubt not but God will take a fatherly care of us, if we do not forget Him.'—I am your affectionate sister, "SUSANNAH EDWARDS."

CHAPTER XII.

THE friendly interest manifested by Doddridge in the Methodists and Moravians did not exempt him from the vexatious intrusion of those who had zeal without knowledge. Moravian teachers of this order entered his flock to shake their confidence and alienate their affections. Several members of the Church at Castle Hill withdrew in consequence from its communion, causing the deserted pastor great mental disquietude and self-reproach from the fear that, in necessary absorption in other engagements, he might have neglected the souls committed to his care.

Moravian troublers.

The contentions of the leaders in the work of evangelization was the occasion of much solicitude to Doddridge. At a meeting of ministers at Creaton, in Northamptonshire, January 12, 1749-50, he preached a sermon, which was published under the title, *Christian Candour and Unanimity Illustrated and Urged.* In the dedication to the Countess of Huntingdon, he says:—

"We too generally seem to study our Bibles (if we study them at all) for amusement or ostentation, rather than practical instruction. We fix on some curious incident or high speculation, and are first ingenious to *explain it where it cannot be explained*, and then impassioned to defend it as if it were fundamental truth, till we *beat out the sacred gold so thin that every breath of air carries it away;* whilst the *plain things* which

tend to inspire an heavenly temper, and lead us on to the most exalted goodness, are slightly passed over as too obvious, low, and vulgar to engage our attention or to excite our emulation. Thus we feed our pride by what was intended to humble it, and make that the prize of mutual contention which was designed to be the bond of love."

The sermon preached by Doddridge on *The Evil and Danger of Neglecting the Souls of Men*, was not forgotten by his ministerial brethren. Thomas Harmer, in a letter dated Wattesfield, April 14, 1746, asks for more information :—

"Be so kind as to let me know what success you have met with at Northampton upon your plan, and what methods you have taken to apply the contributions of your friends for that purpose, so as to answer the design most effectually. I am apprehensive of very great difficulties in the doing of any tolerable service for the propagation of the gospel, nor have I received much instruction from a collection of papers published by order of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1719, which I have in my hands. I presume it must be by the channel of New England that you purpose to do some service in this way, however it would be agreeable entertainment to me to receive an account from you concerning the management of these collections; and if there be any room for it, I shall be desirous of recommending it to our brethren in these countries, so it may be brought under our deliberation at our meetings."*

Doddridge and Missions.

Doddridge found ample scope for the application of the Mission fund in support of the pioneers of religious truth and freedom in the southern provinces of America, though we do not learn to what special object the first contributions were appropriated. SAMUEL MORRIS, of Hanover County, in Virginia, gives the following account of his work in that region :—

Samuel Morris.

* Mr. Joshua Wilson's MSS.

"The Rev. Mr. Whitefield had been in Virginia, I think, in the year 1740, and at the invitation of the Rev. Mr. Blair, our late commissary, had preached in Williamsburg, our metropolis, about sixty miles from Hanover. His fame was much spread abroad as a very warm and alarming preacher, which made us in Hanover as had been awakened very eager to see and hear him; but as he left the colony before we heard of him, we had no opportunity. But in the year 1743 *a young gentleman arrived from Scotland with a book of his sermons preached in Glasgow,* and taken from his mouth, which with difficulty I procured. After I had read it with great liking and benefit, *I invited my neighbours to come and hear it;* and the plainness, popularity, and fervency of the discourses being peculiarly fitted to affect our unimproved minds, and the Lord rendering the word efficacious, many were convinced of their undone condition, and constrained to seek deliverance with the greatest solicitude. *A considerable number convened every Sabbath to hear these sermons instead of going to church, and frequently on week days.* The concern of some was so passionate and violent, that they could not avoid crying out, weeping bitterly, etc.; and that when such indications of religious concern were so strange and ridiculous, that they could not be occasioned by example or sympathy, and the affectation of them would have been so unprofitable an instance of hypocrisy that none could be tempted to it. My dwelling-house at length was too small to contain the people; whereupon we determined to build a meeting-house merely for reading, for we know of no minister in the world whom we could get to preach to us according to our liking, and having never been accustomed to social *extempore* prayer, none of us durst attempt it in company. By this single means sundry were solemnly awakened, and their conduct ever since is a living attestation of the continual and happy issue of these impressions. When the report of these sermons and the effects occasioned by reading them was spread abroad, I was invited to several places to read them at a considerable distance; and by this means the concern was propagated. About this time our absenting ourselves from church, contrary, as was alleged, to the laws of the land, was taken notice of, and we were called upon by the Court to assign our reasons for it, and to declare what denomination we were of. As we knew little of any denomination of Dissenters except

Quakers, we were at a loss what name to assume. At length hearing that Luther was a noted reformer, and that his doctrines were agreeable to our sentiments, and had been of special service to us,* we declared ourselves Lutherans, and thus we continued till Providence afforded us an unexpected opportunity of hearing the Rev. William Robinson, the son of a Quaker, a man of wealth and an eminent physician in Carlisle, who had been trained at the *Log College* at Neskaming, Pennsylvania, under William Tennent.

"On the 16th of July, 1743, Mr. Robinson preached his first sermon to us, from Luke xiii. 3, and continued with us preaching four days successively. The congregation was large the first day, and as the report of him spread, it vastly increased on the three ensuing. It's hard for the liveliest imagination to form an image of the condition of the assembly on these glorious days of the Son of Man.

"Such of us as had been hungering for the word before were lost in an agreeable confusion of various passions—surprised, astonished, enraptured! so that we were hardly capable of self-government, and some could not refrain from publicly declaring their transport. We were overwhelmed with the thoughts of the unexpected goodness of God in allowing us to hear the gospel preached in a manner that surpassed even our former wishes, and much more our hopes. Many that came through curiosity were 'pricked to the heart,' and but few in the numerous assemblies, on these four days, appeared unaffected. They returned astonished, alarmed with apprehension of their dangerous condition, convinced of their former ignorance of religion, and anxiously inquiring what they should do to be saved, and there is reason to believe there was as much good done by these four sermons as by all the sermons preached in these parts before or since.

"Before Mr. Robinson left us, he successfully endeavoured to correct some of our Antinomian mistakes, and to bring us to carry on the worship of God more regularly at our meetings. He advised us to meet and read good sermons, and to begin and conclude with prayer and singing of Psalms, which till then we

* Morris personally had been led to the truth by reading Luther on Galatians, Bunyan, Flavel, and other divines.

had omitted. When we next met, we complied with his directions, and when all the rest refused, I read and prayed with trembling and diffidence; which method was observed in sundry places till we were furnished with a minister. The blessing of God remarkably attended these more private means, and it was really astonishing to observe the solemn impressions begun or continued in many by hearing good discourses read. I had repeated invitations to come to many places round, some of them thirty or forty miles distant, to read, with which I generally complied."

Samuel Davies.

SAMUEL DAVIES, one of the most eloquent preachers of his age, and who became President of the College at Princeton, in a letter to Doddridge (October 2, 1750), recites these particulars, and gives the sequel respecting his own course:—

"After this," he says, "they applied to our Synod for a minister, though about 300 miles distant; but the number of our ministers being not at all proportionate to our vacancies in many parts, we would only send some of them to officiate amongst them for a few Sabbaths about once a-year, till about two years ago I was sent to take the pastoral charge of them. These transient labours of my brethren were extensively blessed, and when in their absence the people associated to read and pray, the Lord was in the midst of them, so that now there are seven meeting-houses in and about this county where about six years ago, there were not seven Dissenters. The nearest of these meeting-houses are twelve or fifteen miles apart, and at each of them large congregations are wont to assemble who generally hear with eager attention, and though the religious commotion is not so apparent now as formerly, yet the Lord is still quickening whom He will, and the prospect of success is encouraging. This supports me under the fatigue of my ministration, which seems unavoidable at present, for the number of our ministers is so small, and our vacancies in various parts so many, that I have thought it my duty to take the seven meeting-houses under my ministerial care.

"I have also comfortable hope that Ethiopia will soon stretch out her hands unto God, for a considerable number of negroes have not only been proselyted to Christianity and baptized, but seem to be genuine seed of Abraham by faith. There are as many as 1000 of them in this colony, and some 100 of them are the property of my people. I have baptized about forty of them in a year and a-half, seven or eight of whom are admitted into full communion, and partake of the Lord's Supper. I have also sundry catechumens who, I hope, will be added to the Church, after further instruction.

"Sir, favour us with your prayers, that we may see greater things than these, for tho' the Lord has done great things for us, for which we are glad, and which I would mention with the warmest gratitude, yet I have cause to complain that my success at present is not equal to what the posture of affairs would seem to promise according to common observation, which I ofttimes impute to my own unfitness to move in so large a sphere. If I am acquainted with the temper of my own mind, I do not rejoice in the increase of our numbers as captures from the Established Church, and if I do, I am sure your generous spirit would abhor it. The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; and if men are walking the heavenly road, it affords me but little uneasiness that they are not of my mind in every circumstance, and their notion of things will not be wholly the same till we view them in the light of celestial day; but if their journey with us be attended with a disposition to receive the truth as it is in Jesus; if the cause of it be a weariness of the ministry of such as did not direct them what they should do to be saved, and speak a word in season to their weary souls; and if their general conduct be so happily changed as to argue a change of heart as well as of sentiment in lesser points, I think, sir, it is a matter of solid joy to the most catholic spirit.

But *it has been our unhappiness to lie under the odium of the Government and Clergy as incendiaries and promoters of schism, and sundry measures have been and still are pursued to restrain and suppress us.* Sundry of the people have been indicted and fined, and tho' our side are willing to comply with the Act of Toleration (as I have actually done), yet the Government, under a variety of umbrages, has endeavoured to infringe upon my

liberties, and to exclude my brethren from settling here. It has been alleged that the Act of Toleration does not extend to this colony (tho' by the way, our Legislature has expressly adopted it, so far, at least, as to exempt Protestant Dissenters from penalty for absenting themselves from church), and the Council have lately determined that a Dissenting minister has no right to more meeting-houses than one, in consequence of which they have superseded a license granted by a County Court, for an eighth meeting-house amongst a number of people that live 20 or 30 miles distant from the nearest of the seven meeting-houses formerly licensed by the General Court, and, I fear, will confine me entirely to one, which will be an intolerable hardship to the people, as they are so dispersed that they cannot convene at one place. I should be glad, sir, to have your sentiments on this point, and particularly that you would inform me whether a Dissenting minister is tolerated with you to have more meeting-houses than one, in case the bounds of his congregation require it.

"The President of the Council lately informed me that he had written to the Bishop of London to lay the affair before the King and Council for advice. I can't charge his Honour with designed partiality, but I have the utmost reason to conclude his representation is defective. I hope, therefore, dear sir, you will use your interest in our behalf as far as your imperfect acquaintance with our affairs will permit.

"To qualify you to intercede for us I would further observe that we claim no other liberties than those granted by the Act of Toleration, and made only upon our compliance with all its requirements that all our ministers attest their orthodoxy by subscribing the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechism at their licensure and ordination, and such of the Articles of the Church of England as that Act imposes on us when we settle in this colony; that we attest our loyalty by taking the usual oaths to his Majesty's person and Government, and by all our public and private methods that belong to our province; and that our very enemy don't pretend to impeach us of any practical immorality." *

Doddridge forwarded this extract from the letter

* Hist. Coll., Amer. Col. Ch., Virginia; Fulham MSS., unbound.

of Samuel Davies, to the Bishop of London, and received from his Lordship the following courteous reply, dated May 11, 1751 :—

Letter of the Bishop of London to Doddridge.

REV. SIR,—I am very much obliged to you for the open and candid manner in which you have communicated to me the case of Mr. Davies, and an extract of his letter upon this subject. I wish all cases of this sort could be as fairly stated; it would exclude frivolous complaints, and bring the rest to be understood, which oftentimes they are not. The best return I can make is to send you extracts *verbatim* from the account I received from Virginia; and from the answer I returned. You have them enclosed. The question upon Mr. Davies' case, as far as it appears as yet, relates to the meaning and construction of the Act commonly called the *Toleration Act*. What I conceive the meaning to be appears in the extract from my answer. If you consider the Act, and the circumstance under which it was granted, you will not, I believe, see reason to think me mistaken. If you judge the liberty granted not sufficient, and that you and everybody has a natural right to propagate their opinions on religion in such manner as they approve themselves—that is quite another point, and with which Mr. Davies, who claims under the Act of Toleration, has no concern.

"If you suppose the Church of England to be (which I am persuaded you do not) in the same state of corruption as the Romish Church was at the time of the Reformation, there wants, indeed, no license or authority from the Government to justify the methods of conversion which Mr. Davies is pursuing, and which the Methodists now do, and long have pursued. But if the Act of Toleration was desired with no other view than to ease the consciences of those who would not conform—if it was granted with no other view, how is Mr. Davies' conduct to be justified, who, under the colour of a toleration to his own conscience, is labouring to disturb the consciences of others, and the peace of a Church acknowledged to be a true Church of Christ? He came 300 miles from home, not to serve people who had scruples, but to a country where the Church of England had been established from its first plantation, and where there were not

above four or five Dissenters within 100 miles, of not above six years age. Mr. Davies says in his letter to you, 'We claim no other liberties than those granted by the Act of Toleration,' so that the state of the question is admitted on both sides to be thus: how far the Act of Toleration will justify Mr. Davies in taking upon himself to be an itinerant preacher, and travelling over many counties to make converts, in a country too where, till very lately, there was not a dissenter from the Church of England.

"You will observe in the extract from my letter that I promised to take the opinion of lawyers upon the case. But I have not done it, which I tell you that you may not think I have an opinion, and conceal it from you.

"Mr. Davies says sundry of the people have been indicted and fined, and it is upon this information, I suppose, that you express yourself apprehensive that methods of severity, not to say of oppression, may be used. Of this I have heard nothing. But give me leave to set you right in one thing, and to tell you that my name neither is, nor can be, used to any such purpose. The Bishop of London and his Commissarys have no such power in the plantations, and I believe they never desired to have it, so that if there be any ground of complaint, *the civil government only is concerned.*

"There is another part of Mr. Davies' letter which gives me great concern: I mean the character he gives of the clergy and laity in Virginia. I dare say you have so much candour as to deduct something from this general character, knowing how hard it is not to suspect and charge corruption of principles upon those who differ in principles from us. I had no such account of the clergy of Virginia as will justify this character, tho' there may be some reason in some cases for very just complaints, and how can it be otherwise, considering the state of the Church of England abroad? The care of it as an Episcopal Church is supposed to be in the Bishop of London. How he comes to be charged with this care I will not inquire now; but sure I am that the care is improperly lodged; for a bishop to live at one end of the world, and his church at the other, must make the office very uncomfortable to the Bishop, and in a great measure useless to the people. With respect to ordinations, it has a very ill effect, the people of the country are discouraged from

bringing up their children for the ministry, because of the hazard and expense of sending them to England to take orders, where they often get the smallpox, a distemper, fatal to the natives of these countrys. Of those who are sent from hence, *a great part are of the Scotch and Irish, who can get no employment at home, and enter into the service more out of necessity than choice. Some others are willing to go abroad to retrieve either lost fortunes or lost characters.* For these reasons and others of no less weight, I did apply to the King as soon as I was Bishop of London to have two or three bishops appointed for the plantations to reside there. I thought there could be no reasonable objection to it, not even from the Dissenters, as the bishops proposed were to have no jurisdiction but over the clergy of their own Church, and no more over them than should enable them to see the pastoral office duly performed; and as to New England, where the Dissenters are numerous, it never was proposed to settle a bishop in that county. You are, probably, no stranger to the manner in which the news of this proposal was received in New England. If you are, I will only say that they used all their influence to obstruct the settling of bishops in the Episcopal Church of England. Was this consistent even with a spirit of toleration? Would they think themselves tolerated if they were debarred the right of appointing ministers among themselves, and were obliged to send all their candidates to Geneva or Scotland for orders? At the same time they gave this opposition, they set up a mission of their own for Virginia — a country entirely episcopal, by authority of their Synod; and in their own country, where they have the power, they have persecuted and imprisoned several members of the Church for not paying towards supporting the Dissenting teachers, tho' no such charge, by any colour of law, be imposed on them. This has been the case in New England. I am sorry to add that some here, for whose characters and abilities I have due esteem, have not upon this occasion given signs of the temper and moderation that were expected from them.

"I do not willingly enter into these complaints, even to you, who, I am confident, will make no ill use of them. I wish there was no occasion for them. In this wish I am sure of your concurrence, from the love you bear to our common Christianity. "T. L."

Doddridge replied, May 14, 1753:—

"My Lord,—I should blame myself exceedingly if I were to neglect the first opportunity of acknowledging the favour of the very obliging as well as early notice you have been pleased to take of my letter relating to Mr. Davies, and of that very candid and particular account of the affair which your Lordship hath condescended to give me. My sending you the copy of his letter in some circumstances which attended it, was a proof of my confidence in your Lordship's goodness, and I hope I shall never forget how much I am indebted to your Lordship for this new instance of it, which I shall endeavour to improve in the most prudent and grateful manner I can. Reply of Doddridge.

"I entirely join issue with your Lordship in thinking that the question relating to Mr. Davies is 'What he has to expect on the footing of what is commonly called "The Act of Toleration."' I know not, my Lord, how far there may be something peculiar in his situation as an inhabitant of Virginia, but I have had many opportunities of knowing the practice among us, which seems, so far as I can judge, very agreeable to the tenour of that Act. If any private persons desire to have a place licensed for religious worship after our manner, any three of them, of whom the occupant of the place should be one, signify it to the justices at the Quarter Sessions, and the Clerk of the Peace has, of course, their orders to give under the seal of his office, to the person so certifying (whose certificate is recorded in Court) an attestation of having done it; but this instrument, which we call the license of the place, makes no mention at all of any minister in favour of whom it is granted. On the other hand, my Lord, our preachers are licensed on their having qualified themselves according to law, without the least mention of their being designed for any one place more than another. If a licensed preacher preach in an unlicensed place, or an unlicensed preacher in a place that is licensed, a penalty is incurred; but where these two circumstances concur, we think ourselves quite secure, and there are few villages round about Northampton in which we have not some places licensed. But so far as I can judge by the fashion of these

licenses, which your Lordship has done me the honour of transmitting to me, the form of them is very different from ours. I at present think it the felicity of my brethren in those parts of America to live in a province under the jurisdiction of so equitable, candid, and excellent a person as their present diocesan, and if their connection with the see of London must hold, may they long know that happiness. But I freely acknowledge, my Lord, that I think it a considerable hardship on those in the communion of the Church of England there to be obliged to send hither for ordination. That very worthy person, the Archbishop of Canterbury, made a large remonstrance to me on that head, when I had last the honour of paying him a visit, and I have retained it deeply in my mind. I do, indeed, find a great aversion in the Dissenting inhabitants of our American colonies to admit the scheme formed for the remedy of the inconveniences justly alleged, which, I suppose, may arise from the terrible notions they have formed of Prelatical Power (as they are used to call it) from the severities which their forefathers endured, which seem to have made the aversion to it hereditary. Your Lordship knows mankind too well to be surprised at this, and will make all candid allowances, even for the excess of caution in such a case. I am, perhaps, myself scrupulous to a fault in anything in which religious liberty so much as seems to be concerned, yet I could by no means satisfy myself in opposing what appears to be so highly reasonable as that the Church established at home in the principal part of the British dominions, should have a full capacity of doing all which they think expedient in religion, with respect to themselves at least, as freely as any other society or denomination of Christians in those parts.

"As for the claims entered on the inhabitants of New England in general, for the payment of the minister's stipends there, I cannot, my Lord, pretend to be any competent judge of their validity, because I know not how far the Congregational discipline which prevails there stands on the same foot of legal establishment with that of Diocesan Episcopacy in England, or of Presbytery in Scotland. But I have always pleaded for the reasonableness of submitting to a majority here, and of our being obliged, though we are Dissenters, to do our part towards maintaining that clergy which the authority of our country in general has thought fit to establish, and indeed, so far as I can judge, it is

admitted by all but the Quakers, whose opposition is now mere matter of form. I make all the abatements which reason seems to dictate for the account which Christians and ministers of different communions may give of each other, and for the causes which your Lordship's evidence and sagacity assigns for what, so far as it is indeed the case, we both lament. As for the Church of England in general, I esteem it a very respectable body, and heartily pray that it may in every regard become more and more the glory of the Reformation.

"I number among my best friends some persons of eminence, both in ecclesiastical and civil stations, who are firmly attached to it. May it please God ever to honour the Establishment and every other denomination of Christians, whether at home or abroad, with a learned and diligent, a candid and pious clergy, who may successfully exert themselves in the service of our common charity with a fraternal tenderness for the reputation, comfort, and usefulness of each other, that whatever the separation the imperfection of our knowledge here may render unavoidable, their flocks may learn by their example to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. As for myself, my much honoured Lord, having now lived almost half a century, I consider myself, if all my best hopes do not deceive me, as quickly to join that general assembly of the Church of the first-born, where our views and hearts will be for ever one, and as that prospect approaches, I really find everything that would feed the spirit of party daily losing its influence over me. These sentiments I inculcate in my own heart, and in the young people that I am endeavouring to form for the service of the sanctuary, I would hope for a better age than we have ourselves. I thank your Lordship that by such humane and generous treatment you make this part of my duty still easier to me, and I beg you would do me the justice to believe that I am, with the truest veneration and cordial gratitude, my Lord, your Lord's most dutiful, affectionate, and obliged humble servant,

"P. DODDRIDGE." *

Doddridge was totally disarmed by prelatical courtesy, and in the exuberance of his gratitude for

* Fulham MSS. unbound.

the civility he received, lost sight of the real facts of the case. The simple and consistent principle of the Quakers not to pay tithes according to the Levitical economy, nor Church rates in support of a national form of religion according to the Pagan system, he was too polite to recognize.

We must look a little more carefully into the extracts received by the Bishop from the clergy of Virginia. We are told by Dr. Finley that Davies was a man of the sweetest and most compassionate disposition. Let us listen to the clergy of Virginia, and first to Mr. Dawson, in his case as given by the Bishop of London:—

"*July* 27, 1750.

"Seven meeting-houses, situated in five counties, have been licensed by the General Court for Mr. Samuel Davies. In these counties there are eight ministers of the Established Church. The Justices of New Kent County lately granted him a license to have a meeting-house in St. Peter's parish, but their order has been superseded by the General Court, it being judged that this affair is not within the jurisdiction of county courts. The instruction alluded to in the answer of Peyton Randolph, Esq., Attorney-General of Virginia, to the first question, is as follows: 'You are to permit a liberty of conscience to all persons except Papists, so they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to the Government.' I earnestly request the favour of your Lordship's opinion, whether in licensing so many houses for one teacher they have not granted him greater indulgence than either the King's instructions, or the Act of Toleration intended? It is not to be dissembled that *several of the laity as well as clergy are uneasy on account of the countenance and encouragement he has met with*, and I cannot forbear expressing my own concern to see schism spreading itself through a colony which has been famous for uniformity of religion. I had almost forgot to mention *his holding forth on working days to great numbers of poor people, who generally are his only followers.* This

Correspondence of Virginian clergy.

certainly is inconsistent with the religion of labour, whereby they are obliged to maintain themselves and their families; and their neglect of this duty if not seasonably prevented, may in process of time be sensibly felt by the Government." *

We have next a petition: "To the Worshipful the Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses—

"Sheweth,—That there have been frequently held in the counties of Hanover, Henrico, Goochland, and some others, for several years past, numerous assemblies, *especially of the common people, upon a pretended religious account*, convened sometimes by merely lay enthusiasts, who in those meetings read sundry fanatical books, and used long extempore prayers and discourses; sometimes by strolling, *pretended* ministers, and at present by *one* Mr. Samuel Davies, who has fixed himself in Hanover; and in the counties of Amelia and Albemarle, by a person who *calls himself* Mr. Cennick,† well known in England, and by his strict intimacy with the Rev. Mr. Whitefield.

"That though these teachers and their adherents (except the above-mentioned Cennick), assume the denomination of Presbyterians, yet we think they have no just claim to that character, as the ringleaders of the party were, for their erroneous doctrines and practices excluded the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia in May, 1741 (as appears by an address of the said Synod to our Governor) nor have they since that time made any recantation of their errors, nor been readmitted as members of that Synod, which Synod, though of many years' standing, never was reprehended for errors in doctrine, discipline, or government, 'either by the Established Kirk of Scotland, the Presbyterian Dissenters in England, or any other body of Presbyterians whatsoever,' whence we beg leave to conclude, that the distinguishing tenets of these teachers above-mentioned are of dangerous consequence to religion in general, and that the authors and propagators thereof are deservedly stigmatized with a name unknown, till of late in this part of the world.

"That your petitioners further humbly conceive that though

* Hist. Col. Amer. Ch., Virginia. Fulham MSS. unbound.

† Author of the hymn: "Thou dear Redeemer, dying Lamb."

these excluded members of the Synod of Philadelphia were really Presbyterians, or of any of the other sects tolerated in England, yet there is no law of this colony by virtue whereof they can be entitled to a license to preach, far less to send forth emissaries, or to travel themselves over several counties (to many places without invitation) to gain proselytes to their way; 'to inveigle ignorant and unwary people with their sophistry,' and under pretence of greater degrees of piety among them than can be found among the members of the Established Church, to seduce them from their lawful teachers and the religion hitherto professed in this denomination.

"Your petitioners, therefore, confiding in the wisdom and piety of this worshipful house, the guardians of their religious as well as civil privileges, and being deeply sensible of the inestimable value of the souls committed to their charge, of the infectious and pernicious tendency, nature, and consequences of heresy and schism, and of the sacred obligations they are under, 'To be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word, and to use their utmost care, that the flock of Christ may be fed with the sincere milk of the word only;' humbly pray that the good laws, formerly in that case made and provided, may be strictly put in execution; particularly that entituled 'ministers to be inducted,' and as we *humbly* think, *this law still retains its primitive force and vigour,* so we pray that it may, on the present occasion, *effectually exert the same;* to the end that all novel notions and perplexing uncertain doctrines, and speculations which tend to the subversion of true religion, designed by its adorable Author to direct the faith and practice of reasonable creatures, may be suitably checked and discouraged; and that the Church of which we are members, and which our forefathers justly esteemed a most invaluable blessing, worthy, by all prudent and honourable means to be defended and supported, being by us in the same manner regarded, may remain the pillar and ground of truth, and glory of this colony, which hitherto hath been remarkably happy for uniformity of religion. And your petitioners as in duty shall ever pray,

"D. Mossom, John Robertson, Pat Henry,
"Rob. Barrett, John Brunskill." *

* Ibid.

This promising movement for the suppression of schism so called, was checked by the discovery that the law on which the petitioners relied had become obsolete.

"WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, *August* 16, 1751.

"Mr. Dawson to the Bishop of London:—

"MY LORD,—Our new president having lately communicated to the Council a letter from the Lords of Trade, dated Whitehall, September 1, 1750, subscribed 'DUNK HALIFAX, J. Pitt Dupplin, and directed to Col. Lee, late President of the Council and Commander-in-chief of Virginia; I thought it my duty to send your Lordship an extract of it relating to Mr. Davies.

"With regard to the affair of Mr. Davies, the Presbyterian—as toleration and a free exercise of religion is so valuable a branch of free liberty, and so essential to the enriching and improving of a trading nation, it should ever be held sacred in His Majesty's colonies; we must therefore earnestly recommend it to your care; that nothing be done which can in the least affect that great point; at the same time you will do well to admonish Mr. Davies to make a proper use of that indulgence which our laws so wisely grant to those who differ from the Established Church, and to be cautious not to afford any just complaint to the clergy in the Church of England, or to the people in general.

"*The petition was not presented to the assembly*, several members being of opinion that they were restrained by the Toleration Act from granting relief, and indeed, at that time I could not do anything in the affair, having been very long confined by a dangerous illness."

The law referred to, and entitled "ministers to be inducted," is as follows:—

"That for the preservation of purity and unity of doctrine and discipline in the Church and the right administration of the sacraments, *no minister be admitted to officiate in this county but such as shall produce to the Governor a testimonial that he hath received his ordination from some bishop in England, and shall then subscribe, to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England*, and the laws there established; upon which

the Governor is hereby requested to induct the said minister into any parish that shall make presentation of him, and if any other person, pretending himself a minister, shall, contrary to this act, presume to teach *publicly or privately*, the Governor and Council are hereby desired and empowered to suspend and silence the person so offending; and upon his obstinate persistence, *to compel him to depart the county*, with the first convenience, as it hath been formerly provided by the seventy-sixth Act made at James City, March 2, 1642." *

Not to leave the matter doubtful in the future, Davies appeared in person before the House of Burgesses, and in a speech of great eloquence claimed and obtained full protection. Doddridge continued to take a deep interest in the Mission, and received from him the following report :—

"*As there is a propriety in transmitting to you an account of the distribution and reception of that noble charity which the Society to which you belong are so usefully employed in promoting, I must at present confine myself to that, and refer to my other correspondence for other articles of intelligence.*

Report of Missions in Hanover County.

"Though there are very few of the white people in this colony in abject poverty, yet there are many in such circumstances that they cannot spare money to purchase good books, and many more who might do it without injury to their temporal affairs, but are so stupidly ignorant of their want of instruction. On one or other of these accounts, there are few houses in Virginia well furnished in these respects. It is amongst these I have distributed the valuable cargo of books with which I was entrusted. Whilst I am thus endeavouring to diffuse a sense of religion amongst my own countrymen, the poor neglected negro slaves lie with great weight upon my mind. These outcasts of human nature, who are so far from having any money to purchase the means of instruction that they themselves are the property of others, who generally neglect them as though immortality were not the privilege of an African, because born

* Fulham MSS.

in ignorance and bred up in slavery; these unhappy parts of the human species are the principal objects of the society's charity.

"The inhabitants of Virginia are computed to be about 300,000, one half of which are supposed to be negroes. Of these last there are about 300 who give constant attendance on my ministry, and never have I been so struck with the appearance of an audience as when I have glanced my eyes to meet so many black countenances, all diligently attentive to every word they hear, and many of them bathed in tears of undissembled sorrow or sacred joy. A considerable number of 'em—about 100—have been already baptized. After having been catechumens for some time, and given credible evidence not only of their acquaintance with the doctrines of the gospel, but of a deep sense upon their spirits, and a life of strictest morality and piety, as they are not sufficiently polished to dissemble with a good grace. They express the sentiments of their hearts so much in language of simple nature, and with such just indications of sincerity as it is impossible to suspect their professions, especially when attended by a Christian behaviour both to God and man.

"My worthy friend Mr. Tod, minister of the next congregation, has about the same number under his care, who generally discover the same serious turn of mind; in short, sir, there are multitudes throughout these wide-extended plantations who are willing and eagerly desirous to be instructed, and embrace every opportunity for this end; but, alas! have very little assistance to improve so good a disposition, or even learn to read. Many of them, however, to my agreeable surprise, by dint of application in the few leisure hours from toil and labour, have made such progress as to be able to read intelligibly a plain author, and especially their Bibles, when they have the happiness to get one in their possession.

"Before I'd the honour of joining as a member of your society, they were wont frequently to come to me with such moving accounts of their distress, for want of that divine instruction, that I could not help supplying them to the utmost of my small ability. When I distributed those amongst them which my friends and your society sent over with me, I had reason to think I never did a charitable action in my whole life that met with so much gratitude from the receivers. I have already ex-

hausted my whole stock; but still on Saturday evenings, the only time of leisure allowed them, my house is still crowded with those whose very countenances carry the air of importunate petitioners for the same favour, and sorry I am that I must send them away grieved and disappointed.

"Give me leave, sir, to become an advocate in their behalf with you, and by your mediation with many more of your generous friends, for a further supply, especially of Bibles, Testaments, Watts' Psalms and Hymns. The two last are not among those given by your society, and therefore must be procured by some other.

"*I the rather mention them as of all the human species I have ever heard, the negroes have the best voices and ear for musick; nor is there anything they take so ecstatic delight in as Psalmody.* A few I brought over with me, nor could I have made them a more acceptable present, which they considered at once as an encouragement to their diligence, and a rich reward of their proficiency.

"*I could almost wish you to have been here on Lord's-day to hear the praise of God in perfect harmony, except what discords arise from the untunable voices of our own countrymen.* It is thus, sir, your generous charity may extend itself across the Atlantic Ocean to the shores of America Here the outcast of nature may partake of divine refreshments from your overflowing bounty, and bless the Providence that made them slaves in a country where, by your means, they were brought into the glorious liberty of the Son of God; nor will they alone be partakers of the happy effects of this noble charity, their prayers will return it back in blessings on their unknown benefactors, amongst whom the consciousness of having been an instrument of spreading the gospel would be alone sufficient recompense to minds disposed like theirs to every good work and labour of love. Already, sir, they have many beneficiaries here who are thus employed, and every fresh instance of your concern for their happiness will, I doubt not, increase the number of such petitioners, amongst whom you will please to esteem him who, on so many accounts, has the greatest cause to subscribe himself

"Yours and their most obliged and humble servant,

"S. DAVIES."*

* Mr. Joshua Wilson's MSS.

Doddridge was a true Nonconformist. A report was spread in 1750 that he was about to conform to the Church of England.

"Assure them," he said, "who may have heard of the reports, that, though my growing acquaintance with many excellent persons, some of them of great eminence in the Establishment, increase those candid and respectful sentiments of that body of Christians which I have long entertained; *yet I am so thoroughly persuaded of the reasonableness of Nonconformity, and find many of the terms of Conformity so contrary to the dictates of my conscience in the sight of God, that I never was less inclined to submit to them, and hope I shall not be willing to buy my liberty or my life at that price.*"

Doddridge a decided Nonconformist.

In the dedication of a sermon to his clerical neighbour, James Hervey, of Weston Flavel, he said:—

"You being, I doubt not, persuaded in your own mind that diocesan episcopacy is of divine original, and that the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in matters of faith, have solemnly declared that belief, and in consequence of it have obliged yourself to render canonical obedience to those whom you thereby acknowledge as governing you by an authority delegated from Christ, that thus you may be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, and thereby approve your submission to Him. I have declined that subjection, not from any disrespect to the persons of the established governors (many of whom I hold in the highest esteem, and number among the most distinguished ornaments of our common Christianity), and, least of all, from an unwillingness to yield subjection where I apprehend Christ to have appointed it, for, so far as I know my own heart, it would be my greatest joy to bow with all humility to any authority delegated from Him; but I will *freely tell you and the world my Nonconformity is founded on this, that I assuredly believe the contrary to what the constitution of the Church of England requires me to declare* on the above-mentioned heads and some others to be the truth. And I

esteem it much more eligible to remain under an incapacity of sharing its honours and revenues than to open my way to a possibility of obtaining them, by what would in the while, I have such an apprehension, be undoubtedly an act of *prevarication, hypocrisy, and falsehood,* reverencing herein the authority of God, and remembering the account I must shortly give in His presence."

Failing health of Doddridge.

The multiplied and continuous services of Doddridge were beyond his strength. "How can you be so wicked," said his anxious wife, "to preach three times?" On the journey to preach the funeral sermon of his faithful friend and adviser, Dr. Samuel Clark, at St. Albans, December, 1750, he contracted a cold, which hung upon him through the remainder of the winter, subsiding in the spring, but returning with great violence in the summer. His friends and physicians urged him to rest, but he could only find comfort and relief in congenial occupation. His strength rapidly declined; for the last time he administered the Lord's Supper to his people in June, 1751, speaking of the "General Assembly," Heb. xii. 23, as one expecting soon to be in the midst. After returning from a journey to London, he determined to speak to his flock once more on July 14, 1751, on the devotedness to Christ in life and in death, Rom. xii. 8.

The last public service in which he was engaged was at the ordination of Mr. Adams, at Bewdley, in Worcestershire, July 18. His friends were deeply concerned to witness his evident physical weakness and decay. Barker, in a touching letter, said:—

"I will not now say, why did you spend so fast? why did you not spare yourself a little sooner? I will rather heartily thank you that you use all the means you can to repair your frame, and restore and prolong your usefulness. It is the kindest

thing you can do, and the highest instance of friendship you can now show us; and I acknowledge your goodness to us in this point with tears of joy. Consent and choose to stay with us a while longer, my dear friend, if it please God. This is not only needful to Northampton, and the adjacent towns and villages, but desirable to us all, and beneficial to our whole interest. Stay, Doddridge, oh, stay! and strengthen our hands whose shadows grow long. Fifty is but the height of vigour, usefulness, and honour. Don't take leave abruptly. Providence hath not directed thee yet on whom to drop thy mantle. Who shall instruct our youth, fill our vacant churches, animate our associations, and diffuse a spirit of piety, moderation, candour, and charity through our villages and churches, and a spirit of prayer and supplication into our towns and cities, when thou art removed from us? Especially, who shall unfold the sacred oracles, teach us the meaning and use of our Bibles, rescue us from the bondage of systems, party opinions, empty, useless, speculations, and fashionable forms and phrases, and point out to us the simple, intelligible, consistent, uniform religion of our Lord and Saviour? Who shall—— But I am silenced by the voice of Him who says, '*Shall I not do what I will with my own?* Is it not my prerogative to take and leave as seemeth Me good? I demand the liberty of disposing of my own servants at my own pleasure? He hath laboured more abundantly. His times are in my hand. He hath not slept as do others. He hath risen to nobler heights than things below. He hopes to inherit glory. He hath laboured for that which endureth to eternal life—labour which the more it abounds the more effectually answers and secures its end. It is yours to wait and trust, mine to dispose and govern. On Me be the care of ministers and churches; with Me is the *residue of the Spirit.* Both the vineyard and the labourers are mine. I set them to work, and when I please I call them and give them hire.' With these thoughts my passions subside, my mind is softened and satisfied. I resign thee, myself, and all to God, saying, '*Thy will be done.*' "

Letter of Barker.

In August Doddridge went to Bristol to try the effect of the waters, and received on every side the manifestations of affectionate sympathy. To one of

his friends, at whose house he had stayed some weeks, he wrote :—

"I thank you for all the tender and affectionate friendship which attended me, while I was with you, at home and abroad, to the throne of grace and everywhere else. I shall never forget it; my God will never forget it. He will be in a superior degree mindful of your tears. May He reward you by richer and more abundant communications of His Spirit, give you everything that can conduce to your earthly happiness, and especially all that can anticipate that of heaven. Be assured I will take every precaution to live, and the rather that I may, as far as in me lies, comfort and cheer your heart. I see, indeed, no hope of my recovery; yet my heart rejoiceth in my God and in my Saviour, and I call Him, under this failure of everything else, *its strength and everlasting portion.*"

Correspondence of Doddridge.

Change of climate was next recommended, and spending the winter in a warmer country. "All advised me to go to Lisbon," he writes to a friend. "My wife will attend me with all heroic resolution. A thousand objections and fears arise. May I know the will of God and the call of duty."

Means were cheerfully supplied to meet the expenses, and on September 17, and after a fatiguing journey of ten days, he arrived at Falmouth. "I am, upon the whole," he wrote to a friend, "better than could be expected after such a journey. Let us thank God and take courage. We may yet know many cheerful days. We shall at least know (why do I say at least?) one joyful one which shall be eternal." To another correspondent, "If I survive my voyage, a line shall tell you I bear it. If not, all will be well; and (as good Mr. Howe says), 'I hope I shall embrace the wave, that, when I intended Lisbon, should land me in heaven.' I

am more afraid of doing what is wrong than of dying."

On the voyage he said to Mrs. Doddridge, "I cannot express to you what a morning I have had; such delightful and transporting views of the heavenly world is my Father now indulging me, which no words can express." His countenance lighted up with thankfulness and joy, reminded her of the verse in one of his hymns—

> "When death o'er nature shall prevail,
> And all its powers of language fail,
> Joy through my swimming eyes shall break,
> And mean the thanks I cannot speak."

He landed at Lisbon on Lord's day, October 13. In a letter to his assistant, after a short account of his voyage, he adds:—

"When you see my dear friends of the congregation, inform them of my circumstances, and assure them that I cheerfully submit myself to God. If I desire life may be restored, it is chiefly that it may be employed in serving Christ among them; and that I am enabled by faith to look upon death as an *enemy that shall be destroyed;* and can cheerfully leave my dear Mrs. Doddridge a widow in this strange land, if such be the appointment of our heavenly Father. I hope I have done my duty, and the Lord do as seemeth good in His sight."

Doddridge at Lisbon.

He was welcomed to the home of Mr. David King, a merchant at Lisbon, whose mother was one of the Doctor's congregation at Northampton, and much to his gratification he met there with a copy of Dr. Watts' treatise on *The Happiness of Separate Spirits.* With some alternations of temporary relief, he gradually sank—calmly and delightfully anticipating

the heavenly rest, and sending messages of affectionate remembrance to his dear children—his flock, and all his friends. To his wife he said, "I am sure my heavenly Father will be with you. It is a joy to me to think how many friends and comforts you are returning to. So sure am I that God will be with you and comfort you, that I think my death will be a greater blessing to you than ever my life hath been." The day before his death, after lying still some time, and being supposed asleep, he told her he had been renewing his covenant engagements with God, and though he had not felt all that delight and joy he had so often, yet he was sure the Lord was his God, and he had a cheerful well-grounded hope, through the Redeemer, of being received to his everlasting mercy."

Dying experience.

He slept through the following day till an hour before his departure, when in the final struggle he appeared restless, and sighing deeply, passed away about three o'clock in the morning on Saturday, October 26, 1751, O.S. Mrs. Doddridge, a few days after, conveyed the intelligence of the event in the following letter :—

"LISBON, *November* 11, N.S., 1751.

"MY DEAR CHILDREN,—How shall I address you, under this awful and melancholy providence. I would fain say something to comfort you; and I hope God will enable me to say something that may alleviate your deep distress. I went out in a firm dependence, that, if Infinite wisdom was pleased to call me out to duties and trials as yet unknown, He would grant me superior aid and strength that would support and keep me from fainting under them; persuaded that there was no distress or sorrow into which He would lead me, under which His gracious and all-sufficient arm

Letter of Mrs. Doddridge.

could not support me. He has not disappointed me, nor suffered my heart and eyes directed to Him to fail. 'God all-sufficient, and my only hope,' is my motto; let it be yours. Such indeed have I found Him; and such I verily believe you will find Him too in the time of deep distress.

"Oh, my dear children, help me to praise Him! Such supports, such consolations, such comforts has He granted to the meanest of His creatures, that *my mind, at times, is held in perfect astonishment, and is ready to burst into songs of praise, under its most exquisite distress.*

"As to outward comforts, God has withheld no good things from me, but has given me all the assistance, and all the supports that the tenderest friendship was capable of affording me, and which I think my dear Northampton friends could not have exceeded. Their prayers are not lost. I doubt not but I am reaping the benefit of them, and hope that you will do the same.

"I am returned to good Mr. King's. Be good to poor Mrs. King. It is a debt of gratitude I owe for the great obligations I am under to that worthy family here. Such a solicitude of friendship was surely hardly ever known as I meet with here. I have the offers of friendship more than I can employ, and it gives a real concern to many here that they cannot find out a way to serve me. These are great honours conferred on the dear deceased, and great comforts to me. It is impossible to say how much these mercies are endeared to me, as coming in such an immediate manner from the Divine Hand. To His Name be the praise and glory of all!

"And now, my dear children, what shall I say to you? Ours is no common loss. I mourn the best of husbands and of friends removed from this world of sin and sorrow to the regions of immortal bliss and light. What a glory, what a mercy is it that I am enabled with my thoughts to pursue him there! You have lost the dearest and the best of parents, the guide of your youth, and whose pleasure it would have been to have introduced you into life with great advantage. Our loss is great, indeed! But I really think the loss the public has sustained is still greater. But God can never want instruments to carry on His work. Yet, let us be thankful that God ever gave us such a friend; that He has continued him so long with us. Perhaps, if we had been to have judged, we should have thought that we,

nor the world, could never less have spared him than at the present time. But I see the hand of Heaven, the appointment of His wise Providence in every step of this awful dispensation. It is His hand that has put the bitter cup into ours; and what does He now expect from us, but a meek, humble, entire submission to His will! We know this is our duty. Let us pray for those aids of His Spirit which can only enable us to attain it. A Father of the fatherless is God in His holy habitation; as such may your eyes be directed to Him! He will support you; and that He may, is not only my daily but hourly prayer.

"We have never deserved so great a good as that we have lost; and let us remember, that the best respect we can pay to his memory is to endeavour, as far as we can, to follow his example, to cultivate those amiable qualities that rendered him so justly dear to us and so greatly esteemed by the world. Particularly I would recommend this to my dear Philip. May I have the joy to see him acting the part worthy the relation to so amiable and excellent a parent, whose memory, I hope, will ever be valuable and sacred to him and to us all! Under God, may he be a comfort to me, and a support to his family! Much depends on him. His loss I think peculiarly great. But I know an all-sufficient God can over-rule it as the means of the greatest good to him.

"It is impossible for me to tell you how tenderly my heart feels for you all—how much I long to be with you, to comfort you and assist you! Indeed, you are the only inducements I now have left to wish for life, that I may do what little is in my power to form and guide your tender years. For this purpose I take all possible care of my health. I eat, sleep, and converse at times with a tolerable degree of cheerfulness. You, my dears, as the best return you can make me, will do the same, that I may not have sorrow upon sorrow. The many kind friends you have around you, I am sure, will not be wanting in giving you all the assistance and comfort that is in their power. My kindest salutations attend them all.

"I hope to leave this place in about fourteen or twenty days. But the soonest I can reach Northampton will not be less than six weeks' or two months' time. May God be with you, and give us, though a mournful yet a comfortable meeting! For your sakes, I trust my life will be spared; and I bless God, my

mind is under no painful anxiety as to the difficulties and dangers of the voyage. The winds and waves are in His hands, to whom I resign myself, and all that is dearest to me. I know I shall have your prayers, and those of my dearest friends with you.

"Farewell, my dearest children. I am your afflicted but most sincere friend and ever-affectionate mother,

"M. DODDRIDGE."

The loss of Doddridge was deeply felt by his Transatlantic friends. Samuel Davies, in a letter to Mrs. Doddridge, dated Hanover, in Virginia, January 25, 1752, expresses the strong affection he cherished towards him :—

Letter of Davies to Mrs. Doddridge.

"There is no person upon earth," he says, "to whom I am in more danger of giving umbrage to suspect me of flattery than to you; but the truth is, Madam, I have a very peculiar regard for you, both for your own sake and as the relict of the ever dear Dr. Doddridge. Though I never had the happiness of an interview with him, he has made an entire conquest of my heart, in a degree peculiar to himself, that I am often surprised at it, and am at a loss to account for it. I am an admirer of his writings, and both I and my family are every day instructed by his excellent Family Expositor. But it is his spirit and temper that most powerfully charms me. There are two things which for some years have appeared to me as the most amiable accomplishments of human nature, and they are—an ardent zeal for God, and a generous benevolence towards all mankind. These, I must own, are my favourite virtues, and these appear to me to have been the very characteristics of the Doctor's spirit which so peculiarly endears his memory to me. I think you also inherit no small share of his spirit, and therefore you have a proportionate share in my affection. I wish I could add myself to the number, and confirm the favourable opinion you have entertained of me in retaining some traits of his spirit. But that is the error of your generous charity, and shows your fallibility. My tenderer and better part read your letter with a flood of tears, and I hardly think you have many friends even in the circle of your acquaintance that so affectionately sympathize with you."*

* Mr. Joshua Wilson's MSS. Copied by Miss Wilson.

After a touching recital of domestic affliction and relative bereavements, Davies adds :—

"My two eldest boys, Billy and Sammy, received your valuable memento with their little hearts full of gratitude. I had furnished them with the same some time ago, as I was sensible of their peculiar excellency, and they had learned them by heart. But when they came from your hands the little creatures, without any persuasion, took frequent reviews, and can now repeat them all with but very few blunders.

"You could not have complimented Mrs. Davies with a more acceptable present than Dr. Doddridge's Hymns, and I shall sometimes circulate the pleasure through our congregation by using them in public worship. She wishes it were in her power to make you compensation. But this is not the country for productions of equal value.

"The other books you sent me I have endeavoured faithfully to distribute to the best advantage. I know no book in the world of human composition better adapted to good in Virginia than the *Rise and Progress of Religion*. God has already blessed it to sundry, and I hope it will be still more extensively useful, especially among many friends of fashion and politeness, to whose taste it is well suited.

"Our common friend, Mr. Cruttenden, has let me into a secret which your modesty concealed; for which I cannot but return you the most hearty thanks in the name of the miserable part of human nature that has received the benefit of it. I mean *the very generous collections transmitted, and I suppose solicited by you from Hinckley, Bedworth, and Stretton, to purchase books for the poor negroes.* The generous benefactors are unknown to me, and therefore I must request you to be my deputy to make them all proper acknowledgments, and to assure them I shall do all in my power to render their pious charity as useful as possible. If a most grateful reception can give them any pleasure, it has already met with that from the poor slaves. Many of them in my congregation have already learned to read by dint of application, and the prospect of being supplied with books has set others upon the attempt—some from an eager thirst after Christian knowledge, some from natural curiosity, and some from

ambition. But, whatever the principle, I hope the consequence will be happy for them."*

At this point, it may not be out of order to revert to the subject of ministerial education. We have not deemed it important to enter into any minute account of the private academies, useful as a temporary expedient, but limited to the service of a single tutor. The academy under the care of Joseph Hallet at Exeter soon dwindled away. Micaiah Towgood, though of different views from the orthodox ministers at Exeter, became co-pastor with them in the two united congregations in 1749, and in 1760 opened an academy in a house given by Mr. William Mackworth Praed, to which the library of the former institution was brought for the use of the students.

Private Academies.

An academy, under the care of Dr. David Jennings, who gave lectures in Wellclose Square, at his death, in 1762, changed its theological character under the care of Dr. Samuel Morton Savage, Dr. Andrew Kippis, and Dr. Abraham Lees, and was removed to Hoxton. With this manifest tendency to the "new scheme," the adherents of the evangelical system were stirred up to more vigorous efforts to plant institutions according to their own principles. In this important work, the Fund Board and the King's Head Society acted conjointly. It was resolved to commence an academy at Ottery, in Devonshire, as we learn from the following minutes:—

Joint Action of the Societies in London.

"*January* 14, 1752.—Agreed, that Nicholas Cross, Thos.

* Ibid.

Bishop, John Punfield, and Joseph Wilkins be recommended to the Fund to be taken on their foundation, under the care of Mr. Lavington, lately chosen their tutor. That the Rev. Mr. Brewer and Mr. Fuller be desired to carry this request to the Fund Board.

Academy at Ottery.

"*February* 4, 1752.—Mr. Fuller reported that our request of the 14th January being made at the Fund Board, it was agreed that the four young men should be examined, and if approved, should be put under the care of Mr. Lavington.

"*April* 7, 1752.—That the four young men taken on foundation of the Fund be allowed to leave our academy at Whitsuntide next, in order to visit their friends before they enter upon their studies with Mr. Lavington at Midsummer next."

For twelve years Lavington discharged faithfully the duties of his office. JAMES ROOKER, of Bridport, his successor, in a letter dated Feb. 6, 1765, says :—

"He was a man of an excellent natural temper, of eminent piety, and of great zeal for the glorious doctrines of the gospel. He had no small furniture for his ministerial and academical work, and he applied close to it; and his way of communicating knowledge was remarkably easy. Though he kept up a strict discipline in his house, and narrowly observed the morals and religious conduct of his pupils, yet he had such a method of gaining their affections, that from one set to another they loved him like a father. It has been much lamented that in public academies, even when the tutors professed to believe all the doctrines of the gospel, many of the students came out in the new scheme, and many more were favourers of it. But Mr. Lavington's pupils have all come out sound in the faith, and have been generally acceptable to the Churches. On the Lord's-day after the good man's death, Mr. Micaiah Towgood,* one of the tutors of the new scheme at Exeter, in the pulpit, said, 'He was more pious, more learned, and more useful than us all.'" †

* Author of an able work on Dissent.

† SAMUEL BUNCOMBE, of Ottery, was engaged to give preparatory instruction to students whose education was imperfect. Thomas Reader, of Taunton, a student of Dr. Doddridge, succeeded Mr. Rooker in 1794. In 1796, James Small, of Axminster, succeeded "Good Mr. Reader."

"*February* 26, 1754.—Agreed that the following message be sent from this Society to the Fund Board, viz. :—

"'The Society meeting at the King's Head being sensible that a perfect harmony between the Congregational Fund and the Society is most conducive to the flourishing state of the academy in which they are both nearly concerned, they do assure the members of that Board of their sincere desire to act in conjunction with them; and request the Fund will appoint a committee to confer with a committee from the Society, both on the expediency of moving the academy some distance from London, and on such other business as the providence of God may make necessary for the future advantage of the pupils under their prospective care.'

"*April* 9, 1754.—A report was brought from the committee and the Society :—

"'At a meeting of the Joint Committee at Plasterers' Hall, April 4, resolved that the Rev. Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Grosvenor, and Mr. De Berdt, be desired to wait on Dr. Marryatt as soon as convenient, to assure the Doctor of our concern for his present ill state of health, and of our hearty wishes for his recovery; and to desire that he would favour us with his sentiments whether he judges himself likely to return to his work as a tutor.

Interview with Dr. Marryatt.

"'On April 5, the above deputation waited on the Doctor. The Doctor declared, in answer to the message from the committee, that he looked upon himself as in a dying condition, and had no apprehensions of returning to his work as a tutor. Being asked if, after this declaration from him, it would be agreeable to him that the choice of a tutor in his room should be taken into consideration, he answered that it would give him the greatest pleasure to have an agreeable tutor chosen, and that he should rejoice to hear of such a person being appointed even to-morrow. The Doctor expressed a great satisfaction in the kind wishes and friendly regards of the committee.

Dying Message.

"'Being acquainted that the joint committee had met together with the greatest unanimity, he expressed a very high pleasure at the information. He acquainted us that a young man of the academy having mentioned the students coming to his house for lectures, he had answered him, that he could not

hearken to his proposal, as he had sustained such a shock on his memory.'

"*May* 14, 1754.—Dr. Guyse reported that the Fund had agreed that three tutors, at least, would be necessary to carry the students usefully and honourably through an education for the ministry in the academy at London."

Three tutors were chosen—Mr. Conder, Mr. Gibbons, and Mr. Walker. With a more efficient tutorial staff, the rules of the institution were strictly enforced. An academic mutiny ensued, and Mr. Conder, on April 5, 1757, reported the "disagreeable behaviour of the young men." After full inquiry, a committee, appointed for the purpose, vindicated the tutor.

Three Tutors appointed.

Academic Mutiny.

"So far," they said, "are the rules and orders of the house from affording any just reason for uneasiness and dissatisfaction, that it is their opinion they should be strictly enforced, and *some further regulations established.*

"Through the whole inquiry, nothing turned up but what reflected honour and reputation on the tutor; nor is it possible for your committee to disapprove of any part of his conduct, excepting *a too great indulgence to the students, flowing, as they apprehend, from the moderation of his temper.*

"The students, after being examined and conversed with separately and together, declared they had *no dissatisfaction but on account of the alteration in their breakfasts,* and with being restrained from coming to town without Mr. Conder's leave."

A charge of more grave importance was then considered—that of a combination to destroy the reputation of Mr. Conder, and to disparage his lectures—on which the committee reported that—

"After a very long and dispassionate inquiry, it appears to your committee, as it did also to the Fund Committee and the

reverend ministers present, that the allegations and complaints against Mr. Conder's lectures, made by Price, Cogan, Ernans, Hicks, Jones, Boozey, and Truman, are frivolous, and utterly void of any just foundation, and the effects of petulance, ignorance, and arrogancy. Vindication of Conder.

"After the students were severally examined, Mr. Conder was pleased to lay before the reverend ministers and the two committees, the general plan, with a summary view, of his lectures; and then withdrew.

"On which, the reverend gentlemen severally and unanimously declared that, in their opinion, Mr. Conder's lectures were elaborate and very judicious; no way inferior to those they were favoured with from very eminent and celebrated tutors, and in some respects superior.

"The offending students were called in separately a second time, and severely reprimanded by the reverend ministers for their injurious and causeless attempt on Mr. Conder's reputation, and after they had severally begged Mr. Conder's pardon publicly, and promised the most respectful and dutiful behaviour towards him for the future, it was agreed to leave them in a state of probation till the ensuing vacation.

"That the thanks of this Society be given to the Reverend Mr. Bradbury for discountenancing the perverse and unjust complaints carried by some of the young men to him, and for supporting Mr. Conder's reputation to the complainants."

In the north of England the churches found an able and devoted tutor in JAMES SCOTT. After finishing his studies in Edinburgh, he set out on foot, with but little money, to find a sphere of labour in England. After brief ministerial service at Stainton, Horton-in-Craven, Ravenstondale, and Tockholes, he came to Heckmondwike, in 1754, at the call of six brethren, who for a year had watched over the church, in the hope of finding a minister.

Edward Hitchin, minister of White Row meeting, the largest in London, soon afterwards visited

Heckmondwike, and made the acquaintance of Scott as a man of sterling piety and of sound learning. Observing this populous and trading part of England so destitute of the gospel, upon his return to London he consulted his friends on the necessity and the means of dispelling the "cloud of Socinian darkness" then spreading over the northern counties.

Northern Education Society.

They formed themselves, May 24, 1756, into a Society for Educating Young Men for the Work of the Ministry in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and resolved to support an institution for this purpose under the care of Scott.* By means of the Academy were raised up faithful men, who preached the gospel and formed Christian Societies in Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Wakefield, Pontefract, Manchester, Liverpool, Warrington, Bolton, and many other towns before left in a state of spiritual destitution.

Whitefield about this time revisited the scene of his former labours, in which he was accompanied by Doddridge, and "oft refreshed" by his converse and that of his neighbour and friend, James Hervey. Many ambitious attempts have been made to sketch the wonderful preacher with force and exactness. We have from the pen of JAMES SLINN a graphic description of his movements that has not been included in any printed "collection of letters."

Letter of James Slinn.

We give it *literatim* :—

* Of the Northern Education Society, Dr. Guyse was chairman, J. Webber, Esq., treasurer, and Rev. E. Hitchin, B.D., secretary. Mr. Hitchin died January 11, 1774, and was succeeded by John Gibson, Esq., London; W. Fuller, Esq., banker, of London, was the successor of Mr. Webber.

"North^{ton}, Sep. 24, 1760.

"DEAR, VERY DEAR MADAM,—My dear, very dear laborous man of God, Mr. Whitefield, was here yesterday morn at 10 o'clock. On tuesday he wished me to give you a line that you might know it. By a good Providence he came last fridy evēn, and preach^{t} to a small number on Saturday morn, when thear was God's power felt, and his glory seen indeed! for I never saw so many—in the even, to a large number, and *then out came the Devell in some Lawers clarks.* Mr. Wh^{d} was asking what family the hearers belong to, and they rored out like Bulls, wich declared they was of theare father the Devell. 'Well,' said he, 'heare are sum of God's family, too (don't be mov^{d}); heare is sum good to be done; the devel rores. Pray, ye people of God.' So he preached them silent, and they came on Sunday evenen like children. He called to them, 'Are you gentlemen?' and dear Mr. Riland took a great deal of pains, and was in the heat of the Battle, and came off conquor; reasoned, as 'Gentlemen, hear the word of God!' and *gave them broadsides in Lattin* (for it was in his cortyard). Sabbath morn, all peace, and a great good time. Then Mr. Wh^{d} was fetch^{d} to Only (Olney) Church, to begin at 11 o'clock, Mr. Brown being from home; to North^{n} again at 5 that evenen, whear people came 20 miles round; whear was a sight that pleased my d^{r} M^{r}. Whitefield, I believe. Monday morn preached before we set of. Called on Lady Ann Jekell on the road to Long Buckley, where he preached to a large number of seraious people, for notis was gave on Saboth at the 2 meetings thear, and Deventry, Kilsby, and at Mr. King's of Welford. Large meetings all of them, we heare. The Rev. Mr. Ashworth, of the Academy, who was all theare of Deventry, gave him an invitation to call, whenever Mr. Whit^{d} comes that way, to make his hous his home. We had a large shower of rain at preaching. Then set of to Husbands Bosworth to preach at 5 o'clock to a small number, on accont of a race too miles of. It rained an hour of the time so fast, I believe a spout (7 foot long), at a house eve wood have catch a quart of water in one minute. Mr. Whit^{d} was wet through all; and the water ran out of his gownd sleeve. 'Well,' said he, 'if you don't mind the rain, I don't; I believe you don't mind a little rain at a markett. Well, com, if you can, find Christ the way. You will have a much better prise than your poor poltry prise they will get at yonder

race, where they are forsing the poor creatures allmost to death.' One that I know well, a godly man (and who is allways full of pain), said, 'I felt no pain while I was hearing.' Then away we went to Harborrow on tusday morn. They set the cryer about. Ther came ten times more people than Mr. Wh[d] expected, as quiet as lambs.

"I have gave this to sow his labours in knight and day, and as he's melted at the tabernacle with heat, so he's washed in the fields with water. 'Strange that a harp of thousand strings should keep in tune so long,' says Dr. Watts. Shoorly this motto he has ever before him in Dr. Doddridge's hymns—'My soul the oracle receives, and feels its energy to cheer.' 'A present Heaven, a present God forbid my griefs, forbids my tears.' Mr. Whit[d] set of for Notingham. Desires, God will, to be heare in three weeks again.

"I am, dear Madam, yours to command, though the vilest,
"JAMES SLINN.

"We receaved the parsell.

"Mrs. Elizabeth Whitefield, at the tabernacle hous,
Uper Morefields, London."

The patient workers in the obscure parts of the vineyard should not be overlooked.

ROBERT HALL at this time entered on his ministry. He was born April 15, 1728, at the Black Heddon, a village about twelve miles from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. At the death of his father, in 1740, he left home for the house of his uncle, at Kirkley, and in his twelfth year became the subject of deep religious concern, finding a gleam of hope in Galatians iv. 4, 5. He now attended the ministrations of Mr. Dryden, five miles distant, who had a few young men under his care, designed for the ministry, with two of whom, James Rutherford and William Peden, he became intimate, but through the influence of his brother Christopher—though with reluctance he was induced to hear Mr. David

Robert Hall, of Arnsby.

Fernie, and was received into the Church at Hexham, January 5, 1752. The Church conceiving that Mr. Hall was possessed of ministerial gifts, urged him to the exercise of them, and his first discourse was from that text which he left for his funeral, "It is finished." After five or six months' trial by the Church, Mr. Hall was solemnly called out to public work about June, 1752.

The Church at Arnsby, an antiquated village in Leicestershire, of three hundred inhabitants, was inclined at this period to invite to the vacant pastorate, Mr. Walker, of Olney, but were opposed by one of the trustees, who had control over the meeting-house, the burial-ground, and an endowment left by Mr. Winkles. He told the people that he had sent for a great man from Cumberland (Christopher Hall), of whom he had heard an extraordinary character; and if he were invited the minister's house would be peaceably given up for his accommodation. Accordingly Christopher Hall came to Arnsby in the summer of 1752, but the arbitrary trustee, after hearing him preach two Sabbaths, was not at all in his favour. Unwilling to return at the request of the people under these circumstances, he recommended to them his brother Robert, who, on coming amongst them, soon found his heart cleaving to them. Though they were a poor and plain people, the members of the church only twenty-six in number, he felt that he "was unfit to preach to another, but such." Impressed with the promise, "My presence shall go with thee," he accepted their invitation in June, 1753. He was tried by a combination of difficulties of no ordinary kind. The trustee refused

to admit the people to the meeting-house, and retained possession of the minister's house. The new pastor preached in a private room, amidst the jeers and violent opposition of a company of ignorant and besotted villagers, incited by the unprincipled trustee. This state of things continued for nearly six years. "The people could not raise fifteen pounds a year through all the time of great and sore trouble. But," he says, "*I found my heart so united to the people,* that I never durst leave them, though I often thought I should be obliged to do so. I trust that the Lord was with us of a truth. 1 Pet. v. 2 was habitually impressed on my mind. *It appeared pretty clear to me and my wife that we were where God would have us to be.* This sense of duty, and a willingness to live honestly, made us resolve in the strength of the Lord, that we would not run into debt, let us live as hardly as we might, which resolution has enabled us to keep, but many, and except to ourselves unknown difficulties, we had to grapple with. However, I am thankful that I have been enabled to continue with the people to this day; of whom I can say, 'I love them in the Lord.'" The chapel was restored, but it was only about twelve yards in length, and six in breadth. The afflictions of this faithful servant of Christ were not confined to the early years of his pastorate. A cloud came over the intellect of his devoted wife. Her case was most distressing. The care of fourteen children devolved upon their father, who, amidst all straits and perplexities, kept to his resolution to "live honestly." He did not, however, trust God in vain. Help came as it was needed. With purity of

motive and simplicity of aim, his mental resources were constantly augmented. He was distracted with no doubts, for every day he proved the faithfulness of God, and found in His word the clearest light and the surest support. He found the balance of truth, and conscious of the necessary limitation of his powers, he was content and satisfied to walk by faith. He became a "burning and shining light." His brethren in the ministry valued his counsels, admired his character, and cheerfully assigned to him pre-eminence in their associations. He lived to render inestimable service in his treatise entitled, *Help to Zion's Travellers*, and his illustrious son, bearing his own name, said, "I shall ever esteem it one of the greatest favours an indulgent Providence has conferred upon me, to have possessed such a father, whom in all the features of character it will be my humble ambition to imitate."

The temporal straits of Christopher Hall at Whitehaven were equally severe with those of his brother Robert. We learn from the Church Book that he was the instrument of gathering the Church in Charles Street.

Christopher Hall at Whitehaven.

"He was invited in November, 1751, by George Sephton, a journeyman in the paper-trade, to preach a lecture some evening in his house." In compliance with this request he preached from Psa. cxliv. 15. "He was invited to come again, and he did so. We hired a house, and sometimes we had preaching on a Lord's-day evening, and sometimes on a week-day evening, until December, 1752. He removed his family to this town, being encouraged to hope that the Lord had much people in this city. He was constrained willingly to take the oversight of the little flock, which God had gathered by him, and he and his brethren having

waited upon the Lord by fasting and prayers, were satisfied that it was the Lord's will, and so they appointed April 25, 1753, for his ordination over them in the Lord. (His confession of faith occupied more than ten pages folio.) The church at Whitehaven joined in association with the church under Mr. Johnson's care at Liverpool, and the Church under Mr. Crabtree's care, meeting in Bradford, Yorkshire. From the letter of the Association at Liverpool, it appears that the church had an exceeding love for Brother Hall, and he for them; but their circumstances in the world rendered it impracticable for them to afford a comfortable subsistence to him and his family, which gave us great concern."

The letter of the Association, held at Whitehaven on June 3 and 4, 1756, intimates nothing more encouraging except assistance to enable Mr. Hall to keep a shop. June 1, 1760, Christopher Hall preached his farewell sermon from 2 Cor. xiii. 11, and by God's providence was removed from Whitehaven to the church at Leicester, for which place he with his family set forward on Monday, June 2, 1760. *

* Cong. Mag. 1822, vol. v. p. 666.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE surrender of Canada by the French, September 6, 1760, led to a change in the relation of the American colonies to the mother country little anticipated. The Congregational Churches rejoiced in the return of peace, and expressed on the occasion of the final victory sentiments of the most devoted loyalty. The Annual Convention held in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, adopted the following form of congratulation :—

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble address of the ministers of the Congregational Churches in and about Portsmouth, in the Province of Hampshire in New England.

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects—ministers of the Congregational Churches in and about Portsmouth, the principal town of your Majesty's Province of New Hampshire, beg leave from these remote parts of your dominions, upon this first opportunity of our convening, to present before the throne this *humble testimony of our loyal duty and affection to your Majesty, whose succession to the British Crown gives the highest joy and satisfaction to all your subjects.* The loss sustained by the death of our late most excellent sovereign, would have remained indelibly imprinted on our minds, had not the throne been again so happily filled by a prince of your Majesty's conspicuous virtues and abilities.

Loyal address of Congregational Churches on the surrender of Canada.

"*We cannot but recollect with the greatest pleasure, how securely we enjoyed our creed and religious liberties during the reign of your Majesty's royal grandfather, by whose wisdom and moderation, the authority of the laws was supported, and Protestants of all denominations countenanced and protected from the furious insults of party zeal. Especially these American colonies must ever remember his paternal care, who, at a very critical time, of most threatening danger, defended us by his arms, which accompanied with most signal smiles of divine Providence, have delivered us from the massacres of the barbarous savages, to which our frontiers were continually exposed, the fears of Romish superstition and the claims of France.*

"We congratulate your Majesty that your royal head is now encircled with a crown, whose lustre is so much heightened *by the glorious conquest of the whole country of Canada, and adorned and aggrandized more and more by repeated successes and new acquisitions, through the remarkable continuance of the divine blessing on the British arms, ever since your Majesty's acceptance of the throne.* We joyfully behold the honours to which the supreme Ruler of all nations hath advanced your Majesty, and are encouraged to hope that God will effectually humble and subdue all your Majesty's enemies; distinguish your reign with peace and prosperity, and make *Britain instrumental of diffusing light and liberty through the world.* Animated by the repeated accounts transmitted to us of your Majesty's piety, high sense of liberty and justice, and generous affection for your faithful subjects, especially by the declaration of these noble sentiments again and again made from the throne we assure ourselves that the privileges which our Churches, now numerous and flourishing, where ignorance and barbarity once reigned, have hitherto enjoyed under your Majesty's royal ancestors, shall be perpetuated to us, and therefore cheerfully commit ourselves and the interests of religion and virtue among us, under God, to your Majesty's royal favour and patronage while we are labouring according to the peculiar duties of our sacred character, to promote the religion of Jesus Christ and our divine Master, agreeably to the purity and simplicity of the gospel, *we shall ever be careful to inculcate upon them principles of loyal subjection to your Majesty's Government, and enforce those duties by our example, and it gives us the most sincere pleasure that the strongest attachment*

to your Majesty's person and illustrious house appears universally in the Churches of New England. Nor shall we cease to offer up our most ardent supplications to Almighty God, that your Majesty may be more and more inspired with wisdom directed and prospered in all affairs of Government, and continue to reign through a long series of years over a free and flourishing nation, till the fading honours of an earthly, give place to the glories of an heavenly crown.

"NATHANIEL GOOKIN,
"SAMUEL LANGDON,
"SAMUEL HAVEN,* } Committee of the Convention."

JAMES OTIS said, at a public assembly :—

"We in America have certainly abundant reasons to rejoice. The heathen are not only driven out, but the Canadians, much more formidable enemies, are become our fellow subjects. We may safely conclude, from his Majesty's wise administration hitherto, that liberty and knowledge will be co-extended, improved, and preserved to the latest prosperity. No other constitution of civil government has yet appeared in the world so admirably adapted to this great purpose as that of Great Britain." † James Otis.

The New England settlers in Nova Scotia were abundantly satisfied with the measures of the home government.

WILLIAM MOOR, a minister in Halifax, speaking "on behalf of himself and the other Dissenting ministers residing in that province, says :—

"He is not insensible of the inestimable blessing which the inhabitants of Nova Scotia enjoy, in living under the benign protection of his Sacred Majesty, in whom every prevailing virtue shines with the greatest lustre, whereby *we are entirely exempted from those chimerical suspicions* of being deprived of any of the natural rights and liberties to which we are entitled as William Moor and the Churches in Nova Scotia.

* Collections of the Hampshire Historical Society, vol. iv., p. 140.

† Hutchinson.

British subjects, and by *which the minds of too many are inflamed at the present day.*" *

The ministers of Boston unitedly commended, May 12, 1769, the Canadian Churches to the sympathy of the people of England, and expressed the opinion "that it is of the greatest importance to support the Dissenting interest in that province;" and add, "Charitable donations which are bestowed with this design will not only promote the interest of civil and religious liberty, but strengthen the British Empire in America, and advance the kingdom of the Divine Redeemer." †

At the earnest and repeated solicitation of New England, the Acadians who had incited the Indians to destroy their settlements were removed. In a despatch dated December 18, 1764, Governor Wilmot states :‡—

"The Acadians declined to take the oath of allegiance when offered to them (November 9). Since that time, no reasonable proposals being able to overcome their zeal for the French and aversion to the English government, many of them soon resolved to leave this province, and having hired vessels at their own expense, six hundred persons, including women and children, departed within those three weeks for the French West Indies. The remainder of them have the same destination in view. Thus, my Lord, we are in the way of being relieved from these people, who have been the bane of the province and the *terror of its settlements*. This consideration, including the many mischiefs they committed, the check

The Acadians.

* Thomas Foxcroft, Matthew Byles, Charles Chauncy, Andrew Eliot, Samuel Cooper, Ebenezer Pemberton, Simon Howard, Samuel Mather, Pennel Bowen, John Lathrop, and Samuel Stillman.

† S. P., America and West Indies Memorials, No. 293.

‡ S. P., Nova Scotia.

they gave to peopling the country, and the progress of industry, from the zeal and activity with which they served the French as spies and partisans; and lastly, the determined and resolute manner in which they refused their allegiance to the King, and the insolence with which they avowed their duty to the King of France only, together *with the danger which might in a future war arise from their interest with the Indians, and knowledge of all parts of the country*, induced the Council, at which Lord Colville, his Majesty's rear-admiral, assisted, to be unanimously of opinion that they should be *at full liberty to depart.*"

The whole land apparently was at rest, and the door was open as it had never been before for united effort to leaven the American continent with the benign and elevating principles of the gospel of Christ. But the propitious season was lost, and just at the point where the work should have been earnestly commenced, an internecine conflict arose between the two countries that for seven years wasted the resources, corrupted the morals, and caused the direst suffering to both. The issue, in the recognition of the independence of the United States, was a gain to civilization, but the injuries inflicted in the interval were not the less to be deplored. The causes that led to the direful contest were various, but not difficult to trace. The ecclesiastical struggle was the occasion of distrust and alienation.

Opportunity for Evangelization of Canada neglected.

Causes of the War of Independence.

JONATHAN MAYHEW, in a letter to his friend Hollis, in London, says (1761-62) :—"We are apprehensive that there is a scheme for sending a bishop into this part of the country. S. F. Bernard, a true churchman, is deeply in the plot.

Mayhew and Stiles.

This gives us a good deal of uneasiness, as we think it will be of bad consequence."*

EZRA STILES, writing to Mayhew (April, 1763), says:—

"Shall we be hushed into silence by those whose tender mercies are cruelty; and who, notwithstanding their pretence of moderation, *wish the subversion of our churches, and are combined in united steady and vigorous effort, by all the arts of subtlety and intrigue for our ruin?* So far as episcopal influence can be exerted, *the assignment of all civil and military lucrative offices and honourable employment in the provinces, are and will be more and more improved to subserve the proselyting to the Mother Church, and while they are using carnal,* may not we use spiritual weapons of defence? If they can play off upon us our artillery of charity, benevolence and peace, so successfully to seal our lips, while they are open and bold in asserting their own cause, *our churches truly are in great danger. The Dissenters in England have been practised upon in like manner, with every artifice. During the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, they sustained great oppression. The twenty years from the Revolution they were alternately caressed and threatened. The court measures, under the house of Hanover, have addressed them with every species of corruption, which Walpole or Newcastle could invent.* Their ministers and gentlemen of the laity having been advanced to bishoprics and nobility, great offices conferred, connected with the almost never-failing condition of becoming of the Established Church. And the body has sustained the impression with the loss of a few Maddoxes, Bolingbrokes, Herrings, and now and then a genteel Debauchee and Deist, but with no great diminution on the whole, in a period of nearly two hundred years. *And I believe we shall sustain the attack as successfully,* though I expect the exigencies of our churches, for this and the next generation, will require as vigilant and spirited a defence as the first hundred years of the reformation.

"*Our eyes are much turned on Dr. Chauncy and on you too.*"

So stimulated, Mayhew wrote a pamphlet in 1763, in which he says:—

* Bradford's "Life of Mayhew," p. 194.

"When we consider the real constitution of the Church of England, and how alien her mode of worship from the simplicity of the gospel, and the apostolic times; when we consider her enormous hierarchy, ascending by various gradations from the dirt to the skies; when we consider the visible effects of that Church's prevailing among us to the degree that it has; when we reflect on what our forefathers suffered from the mitred, lordly successors of the fishermen of Galilee, for nonconformity to a non-instituted mode of worship, which occasioned their flight into this western world; when we consider that, to be delivered from their unholy zeal and oppressions, countenanced by sceptered tyrants, that they threw themselves as it were into the arms of savages and barbarians; when we reflect, that one principal motive to their exchanging the fair cities, villages, and delightful fields of Britain for the then inhospitable shores and deserts of America, was, that they might here enjoy, unmolested, God's holy word and ordinances, without such heterogeneous and spurious mixtures as were offensive to their well-informed consciences; when we consider the narrow, censorious and bitter spirit that prevails in too many of the Episcopalians among us; what might probably be the sad consequences, *if this growing party should once get the upper hand here, and a major vote in our assembly (in which case the Church of England might become the established religion here; tests be ordained, as in England, to exclude all but Conformists from posts of honour and emolument; and all of us be taxed for the support of bishops and their underlings*). When we consider these things, and too many others to be now mentioned, we cannot well think of that Church's gaining ground here to any great degree, and especially of seeing bishops fixed among us, without much reluctance. *Will they never let us rest in peace, except where all the weary are at rest? Is it not enough that they persecuted us out of the Old World? Will they pursue us into the new to convert us here?* compassing sea and land to make us proselytes, while they neglect the heathen and the heathenish plantations. *What other New World remains as a sanctuary for us from these oppressions, in case of need? Where is the Columbus to explore one for, and pilot us to it, before we are consumed by the flames, or deluged in a flood of Episcopacy?*"

' Mayhew and Stiles were keen political partisans,

and though in the main contending for right, they manifested on some occasions the spirit of the incendiary. We cannot accept their statements therefore as those of sober-minded men, sincerely anxious for the public good; but we find that in their views of the danger from the imposition of bishops by State authority the most temperate and judicious of their countrymen thoroughly sympathized. Dr. JOHN RODGERS, "registrar to the Reverend General Convention of Delegates from the Consociated Churches of Connecticut and from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, met at New Haven September 14, 1769," wrote an earnest appeal for help to the Dissenting Deputies in relation to this matter, in which he says:—

Letter of the American Convention to the Dissenting Deputies.

"*The late attempts of the Episcopalian missionaries amongst us to introduce an American Episcopate have given a very just and general alarm to our Churches*, who fled from the unmerciful rigour and persecution of the diocesan bishops in our mother country, to settle in an uncultivated wilderness."

This was no senseless panic, arising from their jealousy of another religious denomination:—

"We oppose not," they say, "the introduction of diocesan bishops into America, from any apprehension that we have any exclusive privileges above others, or from any right we have to endeavour to prevent them from enjoying the same liberties with any other denominations of Christians in the colonies. *We oppose the scheme from very different motives and principles.* Our fears would not be so much alarmed, could any rational method be devised for sending our bishops among us, *stripped of every degree of civil power, and confined to the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions to their own society*, and could we have sufficient security that the British Parliament would send them over thus limited, to gain a peaceable settlement here, and would never be induced by

their complaints for the want of power, to enlarge it at some future period. But it is very evident that *it is not that harmless and inoffensive bishop which is designed for us*, or the missionaries among us request; and therefore we cannot but be apprehensive of danger from the proposed Episcopate, however plausible the scheme may be represented. We well know the jealousy of the Bishops in England concerning their own power and dignity, suffering by the example of such a mutilated Bishop in America, and we also know the force of a British Act of Parliament, and have reason *to dread the establishment of Bishops' Courts among us.* Should they claim the right of holding these courts, and of exercising the powers belonging to their office by the *common law of England* (which is esteemed the birthright of a British subject) *we could have no counterbalance to this enormous power in our colonies, where we have no nobility, or proper courts to check the dangerous exertion of their authority, and where our governors and judges may be the needy dependants of a prime minister, and therefore afraid to disoblige a person who is sure of being supported by the whole bench of bishops in England, so that our civil liberties appear to us to be in imminent danger from such an establishment. Besides, nothing seems to have a more direct tendency to weaken the dependence of the colonies upon Great Britain, and to separate them from her, an event which would be ruinous and destructive to both, and which we therefore pray God long to avert.* And we have abundant reason to believe that such would be the jealousies and uneasiness of all other denominations of Christians among us, that we cannot but tremble at the prospect of the dreadful consequences that could not be prevented from taking place upon the establishment of an American Episcopate.

"*We have so long tasted the sweets of civil and religious liberty that we cannot be easily prevailed upon to submit to a yoke of bondage which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear. Besides all this, we can assure you that the Episcopal provinces of Maryland and Virginia do not appear to desire bishops among them. It is only the request of a few discontented missionaries in the middle colonies, the laity of their communion* 600 (*a few Highflyers excepted*) *dread the powers of a Bishop's Court as much as any other denomination, and have as high a sense of liberty, civil and religious.* It therefore appears to us highly unreasonable to gratify these persons in a matter that is so evidently dangerous to the rights

and privileges of so many of his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects: these are some of the many reasons which we have for our opposition to the proposed Episcopate, and the views by which we are actuated in this matter."

HENRY CANER, in reporting the onslaught of Mayhew to the Archbishop of Canterbury (June 8, 1763) says:—

Report of Henry Caner.

"It seems to be below the character of a gentleman to enter into controversy with them. His doctrinal principles, which seem chiefly copied from Lord Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, etc., are so offensive to the generality of the Dissenting ministers, that they refuse him a member of their association, yet they appear to be pleased with his abusing the Church of England—but enough of him." *

The Archbishop, who better understood the case, replied in another tone:—

Letter of the Archbishop.

"GOOD MR. CANER," he writes (Lambeth, Sept. 15, 1763), "This controversy will increase the difficulty of obtaining bishops in America. *We had proposed that scheme to Lord Egremont*, who promised to consult the other ministers concerned in it, but he died without giving us an answer from them. His successor, Lord Halifax, is a friend to us, but what the rest of the Administration are, I know not. Besides, their continuance in office may be doubted; and if they continue, the opposite party may find other employment enough for them, and deter them from an undertaking which will displease numbers of persons. Therefore, we must wait for clearer light, and *I hope our American friends will behave in the meantime as prudently as possible.* No one can get the better of Dr. Mayhew in his own way, and for that cause, amongst others, the contrary way must be taken. *Nothing should be said against Dissenters in general*, but endeavours used to satisfy them that we desire only to make due provision for the members of our own Church, and have no design to invade the rights or disturb the peace of theirs. Dr. Mayhew's enormities should be set

* Lambeth MSS.

forth, not with bitterness, but with mild expostulation be begged to consider how much he wrongs us. Allowances should be craved for the misinformations which the Society may have received, and the mistakes which it may have made; and the Dissenters should be reminded that in one thing or another—perhaps in some like things—they may have need of allowances also, and that mutual moderation—always a Christian duty—is more especially needful when we are surrounded by unbelievers eager to take advantage against us all." *

The Anglican clergy in New England were not disposed to act with so much discretion. Dr. Johnson, in a long letter on their affairs to the Archbishop, Dec. 20, 1763, repeats the question:—

"Is there nothing more that can be done, either for obtaining bishops, *or demolishing these pernicious charter governments, and reducing them all to one form, in immediate dependence on the king?* I can't help calling them *pernicious*, for they are indeed so, as well to the best good of the people themselves, as to the interest of true religion, as your Grace remembers, I formerly intimated in some queries and letters."

Dr. Johnson and the Abolition of Charter Governments.

Johnson only expressed the real sentiments of his clerical brethren. Their aim, undoubtedly, was to effect a change in the government of the Colonies that should render them subservient to the Anglican Establishment. The agitation might be suspended from motives of policy, but the object was still sought, and by some, at least, mainly with reference to its political bearing. Under these circumstances, there was an indefinite foreboding of evil that prepared the Churches in America to listen to Mayhew and Stiles, and to apprehend the worst. The ferment increased, and it could not be allayed, for no

* Lambeth MSS.

statesman either understood the real cause of their disquietude, or, if it could be explained to him, would sympathize with what he would regard as idle crotchets or groundless fears.

Commercial men were no less disturbed in feeling. The regulations of the Commissioners of Trade, and their capricious imposts, were becoming insufferable. As the Colonies increased in population, and their commodities for exportation rose in value, they naturally desired to extend their trade, and to realize the reward of their industry; but it had long been the policy of the home government to restrict their commerce and to check their enterprise. British merchants selfishly preserved their monopoly, and treated the colonists to some extent as tributaries. As the terms of the provincial charters expired, clauses were introduced on their renewal less advantageous to the Americans. For a time, oppressive duties were evaded by contraband trade, at which the provincial authorities connived, but stringent measures were adopted by the home government to prevent such irregularities, so that the position of the colonists was daily becoming worse.

Restriction of Commerce.

Added to these elements of discontent, there was the feverish desire for universal change induced by the destructive philosophy. Many were anxious to reconstruct society. The mistakes of rulers, the tumult of the people, or their distress, prepared the way for the wider dissemination of their ideas.

Destructive Philosophy.

At this time of suspicion, restlessness, and apprehension, and notwithstanding the remonstrance

and appeals of the Opposition in Parliament and by the press, the Stamp Act was passed, March 22, 1765, professedly to raise a revenue in aid of the great expenses of the war, but chiefly to assert the right of Great Britain to tax her colonies. Stamp Act.

Armed vessels were sent to enforce the obnoxious impost, and the slumbering discontent broke forth in acts of riotous opposition. Intelligence from New England was received by the Government that left no doubt as to the hostility of the people.

"To the Lords Commissioners, Admiralty Office.

"'CYGNET,' RHODE ISLAND HARBOUR,

"*Thursday morning, August* 29, 1765.

"SIR,—As a ship is just now sailing for Bristol, I think it my duty to acquaint their Lordships with the following circumstances which happened the day before yesterday, and last night. On Tuesday morning, about 8 or 9 o'clock, a mob of people assembled on the Parade before the Town House, and erected a gallows, *on which they hung the effigies of Mr. Aug. Johnston, who is lately appointed stamp distributor, and Mr. Martin Howard, the author of a pamphlet entitled the 'Halifax Letter,' in which he endeavoured to prove to his countrymen the right the Parliament have to tax the colonies, and Mr. Moffat, Doctor of Physick, who has professed the same principles as Mr. Howard.* These effigies continued hanging, amidst the acclamations of all kinds of people, till near dark, when they were cut down, cast into a fire prepared underneath, and burnt. The above gentlemen and Mr. Robinson, collector of the customs, who were the objects of their resentment, prudently went out of the way. Mr. Howard and Dr. Moffat went out of town, and Mr. Robinson came aboard the 'Cygnet' for my protection, on their finding things were thus situated. Nothing further was done that night and all yesterday, when the gentlemen repaired to their houses, imagined all was over; but about dusk the mob re-assembled, and a person heading a detached part of it, collared Mr. Robinson and assaulted Letter to the Lords Commissioners.

him, but Mr. Robinson luckily found means to disengage himself from him, and made the best of his way to his house, and in about an hour afterwards he was pressed by several of his friends to get out of the way, for that the mob were coming to take him out of his house. He accordingly took boat, and came again on board. Soon after Mr. Benjamin Wickham, late lieutenant in his Majesty's 47th regiment, and now on half-pay, was likewise obliged to fly for protection, they having, from his connection with the King's service, conceived a dislike to him. This gentleman was immediately followed by the above Mr. Johnston, who came also for protection, and they relate the following circumstances, viz., that the mob has broke into the above Mr. Howard's house and destroyed every part of the inside, and thrown his furniture into the street; after that did the same to the above Dr. Moffat's house; then they came down to the Custom House, and demanded the person of Mr. Robinson, but not finding him there, by the entreaties of the gentleman who owns the house (Mr. Robinson only being a lodger), they retired, after much abuse and threats, when they continued in this manner all the night, stopping everybody they suspected was an officer in the King's service, and made particular search after any officers, people, and boats, but as *I knew, from the like thing having happened at Boston a few days ago, that this town were determined to follow their example*, and I therefore kept all my people and boats on board. This morning Mr. Johnston went on shore, and they having obliged him, at the peril of his life, to resign, and he has accordingly done it. This is all I can relate of the matters going on at present. Their resentment is still subsisting to me or any of the officers they can lay hold of, but I shall act with all the caution in my power, and continue to execute my duty to the utmost of my abilities. I shall immediately transmit an account to Lord Colville of this affair, for however surprising it may appear to their Lordships that an English man-of-war should be unsafe in a British colony, it is true. By the enclosed state and condition of the 'Cygnet,' their Lordships will see in what a weak state the ship is in from desertion, and they openly boast the 'man-of-war' can do very little, and 'we don't care for her.' I take the liberty to enclose a Gazette Extraordinary, printed at Providence, in this colony. The transactions in this town are not carried on in any kind of secresy, but openly de-

[redacted] will not suffer any stamp man (as they term it), [redacted]ion from England. As the ship by which I send [redacted]tly, I hope their Lordships will excuse this hurried [redacted] what I have set forth are most certainly true.—

"CHARLES LESLIE.

[redacted]ince writing the above, I am informed they still [redacted] life of Mr. Robinson, who will remain with me till [redacted]d an opportunity to go to Boston to the surveyor-[redacted]he aforementioned unfortunate gentlemen, Dr. Moffat [redacted]oward, are come on board to save their lives, and [redacted]ng immediately for England in this ship, therefore I [redacted] to their care. The governor all this time is out of [redacted]t is verily believed, on purpose, as he was privy to [redacted]s, I am told.

[redacted]other officers of the Customs are come off to Mr. Robin-[redacted]it is agreed by their account that as the Custom House [redacted]be carried on, they have shut it up, therefore, till they [redacted]om the governor (who is still absent), to whom they have wrote for protection in the execution of their office. As a further account of what has happened since writing the above to their Lordships, I have enclosed a copy of my letter to Lord Colville, have also wrote to Captain Kennedy at New York, acquainting him of the state of affairs here. It is necessary to observe that Mr. Johnston's house was equally threatened, but belongs to a gentleman of influence in the town, who saved it with difficulty, but the greatest part of his furniture was destroyed.

"*Friday night, August* 30, 1765. "C. LESLIE.

"*Saturday morning.*

"There is no governor yet, or government, notwithstanding these affairs have been going on now four days."

P.S. to the letter to Lord Colville :—

"A Dissenter, one Dr. STYLES, who preaches at one of their meetings, has been very active in this affair, insomuch that when Mr. Johnston had wrote his resignation and it was brought to the people to be read, he took the paper in his hand, and harangued the mob. 'Why, this paper is nothing; it will not do. By all that he says here, he may resume his office again when he

pleases. This is no attestation to it;' and was [redacted] flaming the people. Those were his words, wl[redacted] gentlemen of the town, whose name is Brenton, cl[redacted] asking him how he could behave so unbecomin[redacted] when he stopped—at least, for that time, in public[redacted] I hear speak of it seem to lay the whole blame on[redacted] terians, and they exactly follow the example set at[redacted] have kept a correspondence with that place.

(Enclosed No. 27 d.)
Vox Populi, Vox Dei,
A Providence Gazette Extraordinary,
Saturday, August 24, 1765.
"Where the Spirit of the Lord," there i[redacted]
Liberty.—Paul.

"It is an uncontroverted principle of the British c[redacted] that no member can be legally taxed without his own[redacted] in person or by proxy. Yet the Parliament of Great[redacted] have undertaken to tax us without any representation [redacted] august assembly, where these dominions are not, and from the legal nature of government never can be, represented.

"If the Stamp Act should be put in execution in these colonies, adieu liberty and every privilege which our brave ancestors, when driven from the mother country, sought and found, and, till of late, fully enjoyed in America.

"We are amused with the National Debt, and told what burdens be on the people of Britain, and that we ought to ease them. If any burdens be on them, we were not accessory to putting them on. They may impute their load of debt to their own extravagance and ambition. We in America, who have supported ourselves above a century, are no more bound in conscience to pay one farthing in discharging the National Debt than we are to contribute towards lessening the National Debt of Japan.

"A meeting was held in Providence, August 13, 1765, to put resolutions condemnatory of the Act.

"At New Haven, Jared Ingersol roughly handled the newly-appointed official.

"The Stampman said, 'But had you not rather those duties should be collected by your brethren than by foreigners?' 'No,

vile miscreant! indeed we had not. That same rapacious and base spirit which prompted you to undertake the ignominious task, will urge you on to every cruel and oppressive measure. You will serve to put us continually in mind of our abject condition; a foreigner we could more cheerfully endure, because he might be supposed not to feel our distresses; but for one of our fellow slaves, who equally shares in our pains, to rise up and beg the favour of inflicting them is intolerable.

"Boston, August 19.—Early on Wednesday morning last, a stampman was hung in effigy.

"A very dangerous book is now printing in New London, called the S..... A..... The public are advertised of the destructive tendency of its principles. It it hoped the PULPIT will take the contents thereof into consideration."

Nova Scotia raised no objection to the measure. The governor reports, November 1, 1765 :—

"I think it necessary to inform your lordships that the Act for laying on the stamp duties has taken place here without any opposition or obstruction. I have heard that some public marks of discontent were shown at a place called Liverpool, in this province, which is formed entirely of New England people, however without any violence or outrage."

Nova Scotia contented.

His Majesty's Council of the Province of Nova Scotia at their session in general assembly, on Saturday, October 25, 1766, entered the following minute on the journals :—

"In duty and gratitude to the King and Parliament for the Acts passed in the last session so indulgent to the circumstances, and beneficial to the interests of America, we are bound not only to the observance of a respectful conduct and behaviour, but also every measure which can perpetuate to the favour of a sovereign so graciously intent on the happiness of his people, and of the mother country so generous and beneficient. And it is to be hoped that our conduct, at all times steadfastly loyal, will not fail to gain us the invaluable favour of the royal approbation."

Opposition in England to the measures of Government became so general and so determined, that the ministers resigned, and under a new administration the Stamp Act was repealed.

July 24, 1766, was appointed in Massachusetts as a day of thanksgiving. Dr. CHAUNCY, in his sermon on the occasion, said :—

Thanksgiving for the Repeal of the Stamp Act.

"This news is yet further welcome to us, as it has made way for the return of our love, in all its genuine exercises, towards those on the other side of the Atlantic, who, in common with ourselves, profess subjection to the same most gracious sovereign, and pray for the peace of Great Britain, and that they might prosper that love her, and adopting those words of the devout Psalmist, 'Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces;' for our brethren's sake we will say, 'peace be within thee.'"

This feeling of kindred sympathy, however, was soon lost. Party changes in Parliament led to the renewal of the attempt to tax commerce.

Renewal of Taxes on Commerce.

The Act of June 29, 1767, imposing duties to be paid by the colonies on paper, tea, and other articles, incited general indignation, and led the Provinces in America to combine for mutual defence.

Four thousand British troops were sent in 1768 to aid in collection of the duties; but the Custom-house officers fled to the castle for safety, and the collector's boat was dragged through the town and burnt on the common. The house of representatives demanded of Governor Barnard to remove the military guard appointed at the very door of the State House.

Held in this manner at bay by the exasperated citizens, the Governor demanded fresh powers. In a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, November 14, 1768, he says, "The council, who are themselves the creatures of the people, will never join with the governor in censuring the overflowings of liberty." "*It is necessary that the King should have the Council Chamber in his own hands.*" General Gage, the Commander-in-Chief, was of the same mind. "The constitution of this province," he wrote, October 31, 1768, "leans so much to the side of democracy that the Governor has not power to remedy the disorders which happen in it."

Indignation of Boston Citizens.

On July 15, 1769, the Governor prorogued the Boston Assembly to January 10, and sailed, August 1, for England, leaving the government in the hands of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson. On March 5, 1770, the troops came into collision with the citizens. The people thronged to Fanueil Hall again, to demand the removal of the troops, and prorogued the Court, to meet at Cambridge instead of Boston, March 15.*

Return of the Governor to England.

Private letters indicate the state of feeling amongst the citizens. Henry Pelham, writing to his brother ("Boston, Tuesday Evening, May 1, 1770"), says:—

"I send you a sketch of the proceedings of our patriotic

* In commemoration of the event, an annual oration was given at the Old South Chapel on March 5, on the evil of standing armies, and other topics. Otis Warren and Lowel were among the first orators on these occasions.

meddlers, who have resolved to return to England £30,000 sterling worth of goods, according to agreement in the *Whisperer*, No. 11, and the remonstrance of the city of London to his Majesty, by which you will conclude that they are in the utmost confusion in Old as well as New England. What will be the final result of these altercations, time only can discover. This much seems to be certain, that if there is not a change of measures, and that very soon, the British dominions will be plunged into one of the most dreadful of all temporal evils—into all the horrors of a civil war." *

Letter of Henry Pelham.

Resistance to the arbitrary proceedings of the Governor was not confined to the frenzied mob. From the pulpit, forcible expression was given to the general sentiments of the people.

Samuel Cooke, pastor of the Second Church in Cambridge, in his election sermon, preached in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Council, and the House of Representatives, May 30, 1770, said:—

"Rulers are appointed guardians of the Constitution in their respective stations, and must confine themselves within the limits by which their authority is circumscribed. A free state will no longer continue so than while the Constitution is maintained entire in all its branches and connections.

Samuel Cooke's Election Sermon.

"Military aid has ever been deemed dangerous to a free civil state, and often has been used as an effectual engine to subvert it. Those who, in the camp and in the field of battle, are our glory and defence, from the experience of other nations, will be thought, in time of peace, a very improper safeguard to a Constitution which has liberty, British liberty, for its basis. When a people are in subjection to those who are detached from their fellow-citizens—under distinct laws and rules, supported in idleness and luxury, armed with the terror of death, under the most

* S. P. Intercepted Letters.

absolute command, ready and obliged to execute the most daring orders—what must, what has been the consequence? '*Inter arma silent leges.*'

"*Justice also requires of rulers in their legislative capacity, that they attend to the operation of their own acts, and repeal whatever laws, upon an impartial review, they find to be inconsistent with the laws of God, the rights of men, and the general benefit of society.* This the community hath a right to expect. And they must have mistaken apprehensions of true dignity who imagine they can acquire or support it by persisting in wrong measures, and thereby counteracting *the sole end of government. It belongs to the all-seeing God alone absolutely to be of one mind. It is the glory of man, in whatever station, to perceive and correct his mistakes.*

"We submitted to the form of government established under our present charter, trusting, under God, in the wisdom and paternal tenderness of our gracious sovereign, that in all appointments reserved to the Crown, a sacred regard would be maintained to the rights of British subjects, and that the royal ear would always be open to every reasonable request and complaint. It is far from my intention to determine whether there has been just reason for uneasiness or complaint on this account. But, with all submission, I presume the present occasion will permit me to say that the importance of his Majesty's Council to this people appears in a more conspicuous light since the endeavours which have been used to render this invaluable branch of our Constitution wholly dependent upon this chair. Should this ever be the case, this day of the gladness of our hearts will be turned into the deepest sorrow.

"Through the good hand of our God upon us, we have for a few years past been delivered from the merciless sword of the wilderness, and enjoyed peace in our borders; and there is in the close of our short summer the appearance of plenty in our dwellings; but from the length of our winters, our plenty is consumed, and the one half of our necessary labour is spent in dispersing to our flocks and herds the ingatherings of the foregoing season; and it is known to every person of common observation, that few, very few, except in the mercantile way, from one generation to another, acquire more than a necessary subsistence, and sufficient to discharge the expenses of Government and the

support of the gospel, yet content and disposed to lead peaceable lives. From misinformations only, we would conclude, recent disgusts have arisen. They need not be mentioned, they are too well known; their voice is gone out through all the earth, and their sound to the end of the world. The enemies of Great Britain hold us in derision while her cities and colonies are thus perplexed. *America now pleads her right to her possessions, which she cannot resign while she apprehends she has truth and justice on her side.*

"Americans esteem it their greatest infelicity that, through necessity, they are thus led to plead with their native state—the land of their forefathers' nativity—whose interest has always been dear to them, and whose wealth they have increased by their removal more than their own. They have assisted in fighting her battles, and greatly enlarged her empire, and, God helping, will yet extend it through the boundless desert, until it reach from sea to sea. *They glory in the British Constitution, and are abhorrent, to a man, of the most distant thought of withdrawing their allegiance from their gracious sovereign, and being an independent state.* And though, with unwearied toil, the colonists can now subsist upon the labours of their own hands, which they must be driven to when deprived of the means of purchase, yet they are fully sensible of the mutual benefits of an equitable commerce with the parent country, and cheerfully submit to regulations of trade productive of the common interest. These their claims the Americans consider not as novel, or wantonly made, but founded in nature, in compact, in right as men and British subjects, the same which their forefathers, the first occupants, made and asserted as the terms of their removal with their effects into this wilderness, and with which the glory and interest of their King and all his dominions are connected. May these alarming disputes be brought to a just and speedy issue, and peace and harmony be restored.

"But while, in imitation of our pious forefathers, we are aiming at the security of our liberties, we should all be concerned to express by our conduct their piety and virtue, and in a day of darkness and general distress, carefully avoid everything offensive to God and injurious to men. It belongs not only to rulers, but subjects also; to set the Lord always before their face, and act in His fear. While under Government we claim a right to be

treated as men, we must act in character by yielding that subjection which becometh us as men. *Let every attempt to secure our liberties be conducted with a manly fortitude, but with that respectful decency which reason approves, and which alone gives weight to the most salutary measures.* Let nothing divert us from the paths of truth and peace, which are the ways of God, and then we may be sure that He will be with us, as He was with our fathers, and never leave nor forsake us."

Amidst these sharp contentions, Whitefield paid his last visit to New England. Hopkins welcomed him on August 3 as a guest at the Old Newport parsonage. At five o'clock on the afternoon of August 4, he preached to a very crowded audience at Mr. Hopkins's Meeting House, from Ps. li. 11—"Take not Thy Holy Spirit from me." A young Jewess heard him, "and greatly admired his preaching the gospel of Christ." On the next morning, the Sabbath, he preached for Dr. Stiles, from Job xxii. 21—"Acquaint now thyself with Him, and be at peace." At six o'clock in the afternoon, he preached from 1 Cor. iii. 11, in the fields adjoining Mr. Hopkins's Meeting House, to a thousand or fifteen hundred hearers. While preaching, he stood on a table, which is still preserved. On August 7, he preached at five o'clock p.m., from Zech. ix. 12, at Mr. Thurston's Baptist Meeting House, to an audience of thirteen hundred within the walls, and four or five hundred without. After preaching, he dined at Major Otis's, with Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Thurston, and Dr. Stiles. At six o'clock on the next morning, he preached from Gen. i. 2, to eleven hundred hearers, in Mr. Hopkins's Meeting House. After service, he dined with Messrs. Hopkins, Thurston, Stiles, and Rusmeyer, the Moravian

Whitefield at Newport.

pastor in Newport, at the house of Mr. John Manton, a Quaker.* These particulars, gleaned from the "Diary of Ezra Stiles," seem almost out of place in the narrative; but the interruption is transient, and we return to the political fray.

To induce the colonists to yield the principle of Parliamentary taxation, opportunity was taken to send a supply of tea from the accumulated stores of the East Company to the American ports, remitting the ordinary charges, and fixing a small duty, so that the people might purchase the commodity at the cheapest rate. But they were not to be deceived by the manœuvre. When the ships arrived at Boston, the inhabitants resolved to resist the landing of the tea. The captains were advised by them to return to England, but the Governor refused a pass to the ships. Having waited at a public meeting (Dec. 16, 1773) several hours to receive his answer, the people, incensed by his perverseness, at the signal from a person dressed as a Mohawk Indian, rushed down to the quays. Seventeen men, disguised as Mohawks, boarded the tea-ships, and in about two hours broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and tossed their contents to the waves, and then retired peaceably to their homes.

Chests of Tea thrown into Boston Harbour.

The letters of Benjamin Franklin to Thomas Cushing at this juncture are highly characteristic. He speaks of the Secretary of the Board of Trade as "proud, supercilious, and extremely conceited (moderate as they are) of his political knowledge and abilities."

Letters of Benjamin Franklin.

* Memoir of Hopkins, by Professor Park.

"This man's mandates," he adds, "have been treated with disrespect in America. His letters have been criticised, his measures censured and despised, which has produced in him a kind of settled malice against the colonies, particularly ours, that would break out with greater violence if cooler heads did not set bounds to it.

"All views or expectations of drawing any considerable revenue to this country from the colonies are, I believe, generally given over, and it seems probable that nothing of that kind will ever again be attempted. But as foreign courts appear to have taken great pleasure in the prospect of our disunion, it seems now to be thought necessary, for supporting the national weight and the influence of our Court abroad, that there should be an appearance, as if all was pacified in America; and, as I said before, I think the general wish is that it may be really so. But then there is an apprehension lest a sudden *yielding to all our claims should be deemed the effect of weakness, render the British Court contemptible in the eyes of foreigners, make* US *more presumptuous, and promote more extravagant demands such as could never be granted, and thence still greater danger of a fatal rupture.* I am thus particular that you may judge whether it will not be prudent in us to indulge the mother country in this concern for her own honour, so far as may be consistent with the preservation of our essential rights, especially as that honour may in some cases be of importance to the general welfare; and in this view, *whether it will not be better gradually to wear off the assumed authority of Parliament over America, which we have in so many instances given countenance to with our indiscreet acknowledgment of in public acts, than by a general open denial and resistance to it, bring on prematurely a contest to which, if we are not found equal, that authority will in the event be more strongly established; and if we should prove superior, yet by the division the general strength of the British nation must be greatly diminished.* I do not venture to advise in the case, because I see in this seemingly prudent course some danger of diminishing attention to our rights, instead of a persevering endeavour to recover and establish them; but I rely a good deal on the growing knowledge of them among the Americans, and the daily increasing strength and importance of that country to this, which must give such weight in time to our just claims,

as no selfish spirit on the part of the empire will be able to resist. In the meantime, while we are declining the usurped authority of *Parliament*, *I wish to see a steady, dutiful attachment to the King and his family maintained among us*, and that, however we may be induced, for peace' sake, or from a sense of our inability to submit at present, in some instances, to the exercise of that unjust authority, we shall continue from time to time to assert our rights in occasional sober resolves and other public acts, never yielding them up, and avoiding even the slightest expression confirmatory of the claim that has been set up against them.

"*I was glad to see that attention in the general court to an improvement in the militia.*

"I have lately been among the clothing towns in Yorkshire, and by conversing with the manufacturers there, am more and more convinced of the natural impossibility there is, that considering our increase in America, England should be able much longer to supply us with clothing. Necessity therefore, as well as prudence, will soon induce us to seek resources in our industry."

"LONDON, *January* 13, 1772.

"I am now returned again to London from a journey of some months in Ireland and Scotland. Being *desirous of seeing the principal patriots in Ireland, I stayed till the opening of their Parliament. I found them disposed to be friends of America, in which disposition I endeavoured to confirm them, with the expectation that our growing weight might in time be thrown into their scales, and by joining our interest with theirs, might be obtained for them as well as for us, a more equitable treatment from this nation.* There are many brave spirits among them. The gentry are a very sensible, polite, and friendly people." *

Measures were taken everywhere to prepare for the coming contest. A committee of correspondence, consisting of distinguished men in the province, set forth an agreement, called "a solemn league and covenant," copies of which were sent in all directions, and were

Preparations for the coming conflict.

* S. P. Col.

numerously signed. "We subscribers to this league determined to suspend *all* intercourse with Great Britain, until their rights should be restored."

By the General Court of Massachusetts, it was resolved that a congress of the colonies was necessary. They also enrolled a body of men to be prepared for any emergency, "to march at a minute's notice," who were therefore called "minute men." Five general officers were appointed to command them. Committees of safety were appointed generally by the towns to act in conjunction with the central committee, and measures were taken to collect military stores, to be deposited at Concord and Worcester.

Meetings were held in the towns, at which resolutions of sympathy with the Boston traders were passed, and the determination expressed in particular to prevent the sale of tea.

At Sandwich, Barnstable County, at a meeting, May 18, 1773, it was voted by the town "that our representative is instructed to endeavour to have an Act passed by the Court, to prevent the importation of slaves into this country, and that all children that shall be born of such Africans as are now slaves among us shall, after such Act, be free at twenty-one years of age."*

The people responded to the call for the support of the provincial congress, and the maintenance of order. Fifteen hundred people met on the first Tuesday of September, 1774, at the front of the court at Barnstaple, and adopted a code of regulations to the following effect:—

* Freeman's Hist. Cape Cod, vol. i. p. 115.

"Resolved, that we will avoid all kinds of intemperance by strong liquor, and no otherwise frequent the taverns than for necessary entertainment and refreshment—that we will not swear profanely, or abuse our superiors, equals, or inferiors, by any ill or opprobrious language; that we will not invade the property of any, etc.

"That Messrs. Aaron, Barlow, etc., be a committee to hear and determine all offences against morality, decency, and good manners, that shall be complained of, with power to call before them, examine, acquit, or punish, according to the nature and circumstances of the offence.

"Resolved, that we will, during the time of our said enterprise, aid, protect, and support our said committee in the full and free discharge of their duty and office, and use our most careful endeavours for the punishment of all offenders.

"And, forasmuch as these our public transactions are of a public nature, and, as we apprehend, laudable; and as we have no private interest to serve, or anything in view but the good of our country and its common cause;

"Therefore, voted that these resolves be read once every day, at some convenient time and place, during our transitory state and temporary fellowship."*

Tyranny of the majority.

There was a strange admixture of elements in the warfare on both sides—loyalty and the love of peace, with intolerance, pride and oppression, arrayed against patriotism, the love of freedom, concern for the interests of religion, combined with the most brutal excess. Here is the evidence:—

Vigilance Committees.

"Commissioners were appointed to ferret out the disaffected among the people, and bring them to a renouncement, in writing, of their Toryism; and it was ordered that if any should refuse, they be brought before the body of the people assembled. "The result was, all signed 'recantations,' though some did it very reluctantly."

* Hist. of Cape Cod, vol. i. p. 431.

"Jesse Dunbar having bought some fat cattle of a Mandamus counsellor (a loyalist) in 1774, drove them to Plymouth for sale. The Whigs soon learned with whom he had presumed to deal, and after he had slaughtered, skinned, and hung up one of his beasts, commenced punishing him for the offence. *His tormentors put the dead ox in a cart, and fixed Dunbar inside the carcase, carted him four miles, and required him to pay one dollar for the ride. He was then delivered over to a Kingston mob, who carted him four other miles, and exacted another dollar. A Duxbury mob then took him, and after beating him in the face with the creature's tripes, and, endeavouring to cover his person with it, carried him to Counsellor Thomas's house, and compelled him to pay a further sum of money. Flinging his beef into the road, they now left him to recover as he could.*"*

"In April, 1775, a meeting of all capable of bearing arms in the two towns of Brunswick and Harpswell, was summoned to be held at the meeting-house, a mile south of where Bowdoin Cottage now stands, to inquire into the state of the towns for defence. After the business had been transacted, Mr. Eaton, who was present, and had been active in earnest conversation with individuals during the progress of the meeting, was requested to ascend the pulpit and address the people. Several hundreds were gathered, amongst whom were not a few lukewarm ones, and some who were even opposed to revolutionary measures. He yielded to the summons, and made an eloquent appeal to their patriotism against British oppression. His speech was so effective in exciting the spirit and temper of the people, that in the frenzied excitement of their passions, several under the lead of the chairman of the meeting, a man of overbearing uncompromising character, seized one who was the most prominent and out-spoken of the opposers, and who held a commission under the King, attempted to compel him to renounce King and Parliament, and, *when he could not be intimidated by threats of violence, even proceeded to bury him alive.* A few of the more considerate, by a resolute interposition, rescued the victim of their fury, just as they had nearly effected their object. Soon after the burning of Falmouth, now Portland, August, 1775, a recruiting officer went to Harpswell to raise volunteers. Unsuccessful in his efforts, one Sabbath morning he met Mr. Eaton

* Hist. of Duxbury, p. 140. Freeman's Cape Cod, No. 3, p. 426.

on his way to the meeting-house, laid the case before him, and urged him to speak to the people on the subject. 'Sir,' said the pastor, 'it is my communion Sabbath, and I must not introduce secular subjects during the day. I will think of the matter and see what I can do. Perhaps I will invite the people to assemble in front of the meeting-house, at the going down of the sun.' This he did. After service he went home and to his study, and opened his Bible to see what he could find adapted to the case. His eyes fell on this passage—Jeremiah xlviii. 10, 'Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword.' At sundown the people gathered, and with these words as a text, Mr. Eaton addressed them from the horse-block (now standing). That night forty volunteered for the service required."*

Franklin reports the effect of the Boston proceedings:—

"LONDON, *September* 15, 1774.

"I rejoice that the whole continent have so justly, wisely, and unanimously taken up our cause as their own. This is an unexpected blow to the ministry, who rely'd on our being neglected by every other colony. This they depended on as another circumstance that must force our immediate submission, of which they were likewise perfectly sure. They are now a little disconcerted, but I hear yet from that quarter no talk of retreating or changing of measures. The language of those about the Court rather is, that *the King must now go on whatever may be the consequence.* On the other hand, our friends are increasing and endeavouring to *unite.* I have been taking pains among them to show the mischief that must arise to the whole from a dismembering of the empire in Britain. The violent destruction of the tea, seems to have united all parties here against our province, so that the Bill was brought into Parliament for shutting up Boston as a port, till satisfaction is made, meets with no opposition; an alteration in our Charter relating to the choice of the council is talked of, but it is not certain that it will be proposed at present. I cannot but hope that the affair of the tea will have been considered in the assembly before this time, and satisfaction proposed if not

Franklin's report of the effect produced in London.

* Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit. Trinity Congregational, vol. i. p. 615.

made; for such a step will remove much of the prejudice now entertained against us, and put us again on a fair footing, in contending for our old privileges as occasion may require. I am not well enough to bustle or to write much, and can only add my best wishes for the prosperity of my country.—With great respect and esteem, I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient, humble servant, "B. FRANKLIN.

"Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq."

Whitefield, passing on to the last stage of his marvellous career, glanced at the sad political condition of the people around him. Writing from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 23, 1770, he says:—

"By this time I thought to be moving southward, but never was greater importunity used to detain me longer in these northern parts. Poor New England is much to be pitied, Boston people most of all. How falsely misrepresented. What a mercy that our Christian *Charter* cannot be dissolved. Blessed be God for an unchangeable Jesus! You will see by the many invitations, what a door is opened for preaching the everlasting gospel. I was so ill on Friday that I could not preach, though thousands were waiting to hear. Well, the day of release will shortly come,* but it does not seem yet; for, by riding sixty miles I am better, and hope to preach here to-morrow. I trust my blessed Master will accept these poor efforts to serve Him. Oh, for a warm heart! Oh, to stand fast in the faith, to quit ourselves like men, and be strong!" Sympathy of Whitefield.

Resistance between the people and the Home Government now entered into a more obstinate phase. At the last meeting held before the destruction of the tea, Josiah Quincy urged the people to consider the gravity of the crisis.

"It is not," he said, "the spirit that vapours within those walls that must stand us in stead. The exertions of this day will

* Seven days after (on September 30) Whitefield died, after preaching at Newburyport.

call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannahs will terminate the trials of this day, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy and insatiable revenge, which actuate our enemies, public and private, abroad and in our bosom, to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest conflicts; to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations, and popular vapour will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue. Let us look to the end. Let us weigh and consider before we advance to those measures, which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle that this country ever saw."

Resistance more obstinate.

With fatal determination the British Parliament adopted an extreme course. On March 7, 1774, a message from the throne was sent down to both Houses of Parliament, inviting the co-operation of the Legislature in measures to put an immediate stop to the disorders in North America, in particular to compel the town of Boston to reimburse the East India Company for the tea destroyed, and to deprive their port of its privileges, and remove the Custom House, until there should be some atonement for the offence. In introducing the Bill, Lord North said, "We must punish, control, or yield to them." This enactment, passed without protest, was followed by an act of far more serious consequence. It went to the entire subversion of the Constitution of Massachusetts. The Charter was annulled; the Council, hitherto chosen by the House of Representatives, was in future to be appointed by the King, with power to nominate all officers and magistrates.

Town meetings in future could only be held by the consent of the governor. The Bill passed on May 2, the ayes being 239, the noes 64. A third measure of coercion was proposed, transferring the trial of persons who might be accused of offences in the enforcement of these obnoxious laws from the provincial courts to the tribunals in England. The last two bills called forth strenuous opposition and the earnest protest of eleven peers in the former, and of eight peers in the latter.

"Your scheme," said Edmund Burke, "yields no revenue; it yields nothing but discontent, disorder, and disobedience; and such is the state of America, that *after wading up to your eyes in blood, you only end just where you begin;* that is, to tax where no revenue is to be found; to ——, my voice fails me—my inclination indeed carries me no farther; all is confusion beyond it."

Governor Hutchinson withdrew, and on his return to England received an address, expressing approbation of his public conduct, from the Episcopal Clergy. General Gage arrived at Boston, May 13, 1774, as Commander-in-chief of the King's Forces, and as Governor of Massachusetts under the new regime.

WILLIAM GORDON, pastor of the third Church in Roxbury, in a letter to a private friend, describes the situation:—

Letter of Gordon.

"MY DEAR MADAM,—Having a safe and speedy opportunity of conveying a few lines in reply to your favour of May, I embrace it with pleasure. I was in hopes that many reports from Great Britain were only intended, as you express it, to intimidate; but events have proved the contrary. The measures of administration discover a determined resolution to force the Americans into an unlimited subjection. I encourage myself in the expectation that liberty will

triumph, though the inhabitants of the continent may have various hardships to struggle with for a season. The Bostonians are amazingly patient, and will hold out for months, if not years, should it be necessary, now that the other colonies have shown themselves ready to co-operate with them against ministerial tyranny. Some of the officers this week got heated with liquor, and behaved in a most indecent, scandalous, and rude manner; but they are not a little mortified at the rebuff they met with, and their having to answer for it before the civil magistrate. Indeed, should the Charter be altered before the trial, they will go near to escape, as the parties in that case will not prosecute. We wonder that we do not hear from England, and at times are ready to flatter ourselves that possibly Providence has interposed and warded off the intended blow designed to be struck on August 1. The death of the French king may possibly prove as favourable for Massachusetts and America as the death of Queen Anne for the Dissenters. The mention of death reminds me of the alteration that has happened in our family. Mrs. Sybilla Field, the seedsman (who married Mr. Gordon's brother) died the 8th of May. She has left three daughters, one about a year old. Thus, by the loss of one relation after another, our connections with the mother country are breaking. However, may our attachment to heaven be thereby increased, and it is well. The letter received at the time we heard the above news brought us no other material information. You may be assured that Lord North being spoken to by a gentleman, who hinted at the colonies taking the alarm, refused to admit the supposition; but being urged to admit the case as possible, and as a speculation, and then asked what if it should be so, replied to this purpose, that he should wish the Boston Port Bill had been damned, which shows that he dreaded a union of the colonies, though he had no apprehension of it. I trust that the Lord will after awhile bring good out of this evil. Mrs. Gordon joins in respects to self and Mr. and Mrs. Williams, children, and their friends. We should rejoice to have a visit from you. Is it not possible for you thus to oblige your sincere friend,

"Boston, July 30, 1774. "WILLIAM GORDON."*

"To Mrs. Smith, at Ezekiel Williams's, Esq.,
by favour of the Rev. Mr. Eliot."

* Dr. Raffles' MSS.

There were no signs of conciliation. The opposition in Parliament protested vehemently against the measures of Lord North, but they were divided in aim, and beyond the production of splendid passages of rhetorical declamation, they offered no effectual resistance. In the meanwhile, the American patriots were drawn into closer combination; active preparations were made by the governor and by Congress (general and provincial) for military conflict.

In a private letter we have an account of the commencement of hostilities :—

"BOSTON, *May* 16, 1775.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—Before you receive this you will doubtless have had alarming reports of a late most unhappy event which has taken place here. I have hitherto declined giving you any account of the state of politics since you left us, thinking it a theme which could afford you no amusement. I now reluctantly find myself obliged to give you a detail of one of the most extraordinary and unhappy transactions which can possibly disgrace the records of mankind. Alas, my dear brother! where shall I find words sufficiently expressive of the distractions and distresses of this once-flourishing and happy people? The disorders of which we were lately such anxious spectators have produced those effects which every dispassionate mind foresaw, and every humane and feeling heart wished to avoid. My hand trembles while I inform you that *the sword of civil war is now unsheathed.* For some months past, the people of this Province, impelled by the most surprising enthusiasm which ever seized the mind of man, have been industriously making every preparation for carrying on a war, and had formed some considerable magazines. Gen. Gage, to embarrass them and retard their plans, ordered about 600 men to embark from the bottom of the common, which they did, and landed at Copley's Farm about eleven o'clock in the evening of the 18th of April, and immediately marched to Concord, eighteen miles from town, where they destroyed a magazine of provisions and military stores. By daybreak the

"The Sword of Civil War unsheathed."

country was all in motion, alarm guns having been fired, and expresses sent to every town. About ten o'clock, the General, having received advice that the troops were attacked as they were going to Concord, ordered out a reinforcement of four regiments, under the command of Earl Percy, with two field-pieces, the whole, with the first party, making 1,800 men. This reinforcement fortunately joined the others just in time to prevent their being entirely cut to pieces, they not having two rounds left. By this time a most prodigious number of people were assembled under arms, who lined the woods and houses quite from Concord to Charleston. An obstinate and general battle ensued, and an incessant fire was supported on both sides for seven hours, till sunset, during which time the regulars made a retreat which would have done honour to the bravest and best-disciplined troops that ever Europe bred. The fatigue and conduct of this little army is not to be paralleled in history. They marched that day not less than fifty miles; were constantly under arms, part of them, at least, from ten o'clock at night till an hour after sunset the next evening—the whole of the time without any refreshment; attacked by an enemy they could not see, for they skulked behind trees, stone walls, etc.; and surrounded by not less than 10,000 men, who assailed them with fresh men. In short, considering the circumstances, it was almost a miracle that they were not entirely destroyed.

"The king's troops had fifty-seven killed, above 106 wounded, among them two officers, who are since dead, and several missing. The rebels' loss is not ascertained, as there has been scarce any communication between town and country since. They acknowledge they had forty of their people killed, but this must fall vastly short of the true number. Dr. Spring, of Watertown, says he saw between seventy and eighty. The officers in general agree they could not lose less than 150 or 200, among whom are three of the captains.

"Thus I give you the particulars of this most shocking affair, and must now describe the state of the town. It is entirely invested by an army of about 8,000 provincials, which prevents all supply and communication from the county. The General, in fortifying the town in all parts, has built a number of batteries at the neck at the bottom of the common and the beach to New Boston; on Fox Hill, Beacon Hill, and all along from your land

entirely to Mr. Wm. Vassall's; on Fort Hill and Cope's Hill, at Boston Point—so that the threatened assault upon the town now gives us very little disturbance. The General has entirely disarmed the inhabitants, and has permitted numbers to move out with their effects. We have been obliged to live entirely upon salt produce and what store we have in the house, and I think we are very fortunate. Foreseeing a political storm, we had been some time collecting provisions of all sorts, and had just furnished sufficient to last our family six months. Mr. Clark has done the same.

"It is inconceivable the distress and ruin this unnatural dispute has caused to this town and its inhabitants. Almost every shop and store is shut; no business of any kind going on. You will wish to know how it is with me. I can only say that I am, with the multitude, rendered very unhappy. The little I had collected entirely lost; the clothes upon my back, and a few dollars, are now the only property which I have the least command of. What is due to me I can't get, and have now an hundred guineas' worth of business stock which will never afford me a hundred farthings. I can't but think myself very unfortunate thus to have so much of the best part of my life—to have my business, upon which my happiness greatly depends, so abruptly cut short; all my bright prospects annihilated; the little property I had acquired rendered useless; myself doomed either to stay at home and starve, or leave my country and friends; forced to give up those flattering expectations of domestic felicity which I once fondly hoped to realize—to seek that bread among strangers which I am thus cruelly deprived of at home. This I long foresaw would be the case. The expectation of this distressing scene was the cause of that illness which sent me to Philadelphia last fall. When I think of my present situation, it requires all my philosophy to keep up my spirits under this accumulated load of uneasiness. I can't help relating two circumstances which, amidst all my distress, affords me real pleasure, and have tended greatly to relieve my anxiety. It has fully taught me that present disappointment may be productive of future good, and that we are indispensably obliged, after we have conscientiously done what appears to us our duty, to leave the issue to that Almighty Being whose fiat created and whose providence governs the world; and whether adversity depress

or prosperity cheer us, we are equally bound humbly to adore His wisdom and patiently submit to His all-righteous dispensation.

"We find it disagreeable living entirely upon salt meat. It is especially so to my honoured mother, whose ill state of health renders her less able to bear it. My brother Jack has been near a year past making the tour of France and Italy. *My sister Copley is just embarking with her little family for London*, where she expects soon to meet him. She is the bearer of this to England."*

Different accounts have been given of the battle of Concord and Lexington, to which this report of a non-combatant refers, representing the heroic conduct of the provincials, but our object is not to give a military history so much as to notice the condition of all parties. The pulpit orators of the time refer to the fratricidal struggle in another tone:—

Pulpit Oration.

"The alarm," Langdon said, "was sudden, but in a very short time spread far and wide. The nearest neighbours in haste ran together to assist their brethren and save their country. Not more than three or four hundred met in season, and attacked and repulsed the enemies of liberty, who retreated with great precipitation. But by the help of a strong reinforcement, notwithstanding a close pursuit and continual loss on their side, they acted the part of robbers and savages by burning, plundering, and damaging every house in their way to the utmost of their power, murdering the unarmed and helpless, and not regarding the weaknesses of the tender sex, whilst they had secured themselves beyond the reach of our terrifying arms.

"That ever-memorable day, the nineteenth of April, is the date of an unhappy war openly begun by the ministers of the King of Great Britain against his good subjects in this colony, and implicitly against all the other colonies. But for what? Because they have made a noble stand for their natural and constitutional rights, in opposition to the machinations of wicked men who are betraying their royal master, establishing Popery

* Intercepted Letters, S.P.

in the British dominions, and aiming to enslave and ruin the whole nation, that they may enrich themselves and their vile dependents with the public treasures and the spoils of America.

"We must keep our eyes fixed on the supreme government of the Eternal King, as directing all events, setting up or pulling down the kings of the earth at His pleasure, suffering the best forms of human government to degenerate and go to ruin by corruption, or restoring the decayed constitution of kingdoms and states by reviving public virtue and religion, and granting the interposition of His Providence. Let us consider that for the sins of a people God may suffer the best government to be corrupted, or entirely dissolved, and that nothing but a general reformation can give good ground to hope that the public happiness will be restored.

"Consider the true cause of the present remarkable troubles which are come upon Great Britain and these colonies, and the only effectual remedy.

"We have rebelled against God. We have lost the true spirit of Christianity, though we retain the outward profession and form of it. We have neglected and set light by the glorious gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and His commands and institutions. The worship of many is but mere compliment to the Deity, while their hearts are far from Him. *By many the gospel is corrupted into a superficial system of moral philosophy, little better than ancient Platonism; and after all the pretended refinements of moderns in the theory of Christianity, very little of the pure practice of it is to be found among those who once stood foremost in the profession of the gospel.*

"The general prevalence of vice has changed the whole face of things in the British government

"But, alas! have not the sins of America, and of New England in particular, had a hand in bringing down upon us the righteous judgment of heaven? Wherefore is all this evil come upon us? Is it not because we have forsaken the Lord? Can we say we are innocent of crimes against God? No, surely. It becomes us to humble ourselves under His mighty hand, that He may exalt us in due time. However unjustly and cruelly we have been treated by man, we certainly deserve at the hand of God all the calamities in which we are now involved. Have we not lost much of that spirit of genuine Christianity which so re-

markably appeared in our ancestors, for which God distinguished them with the signal favours of Providence when they fled from tyranny and persecution into this western desert? Have we not departed from their virtue? Though I hope and am confident that as much true religion, agreeable to the purity and simplicity of the gospel, remains among us as among any people in the world, yet in the midst of the present great apostasy of the nations professing Christianity, have not we likewise been guilty of departing from the living God? Have we not made light of the gospel of salvation, and too much affected the cold, formal, fashionable religion of countries grown old in vice and overspread with infidelity? Do not our follies and iniquities testify against us? Have we not, especially in our seaports, gone much too far into the pride and luxuries of life? Is it not a fact, open to common observation, that profaneness and intemperance, unchastity, the love of pleasure, fraud, avarice, and other vices are increasing among us from year to year?"*

* Sermon preached before the Honourable Congress of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, etc., 31st day of May, 1775, by Samuel Langdon, D.D., President of Harvard College in Cambridge.

CHAPTER XIV.

BRADBURY, the indomitable opponent of the Jacobites in the reign of Anne, and the last survivor of the energetic band who united with him in the defence of the gospel against its Arian opponents, preached his last sermon, August 12, 1759, from Micah v. 5, and died, "rejoicing in hope," at Warwick Court, Sept. 9, 1759, aged eighty-two.

Death of Bradbury.

On the death of Doddridge, JOB ORTON became chief adviser to the Church at Castle Hill and to the academy, which was removed from Northampton to Daventry in 1761. To CALEB ASHWORTH, the newly-appointed tutor, Orton suggested various emendations on the plans of Doddridge.

Job Orton.

"I really think," he said, "the students lived too well at Northampton." "I hope," he added, "I need not caution you against that error in the good Doctor in saying true things to and of almost everybody." "When Dr. Doddridge expounded in the morning, it was seldom less than an hour, which is quite too much." "I hope you will never be the slave of any persons, either Independents or Presbyterians, orthodox or otherwise. *Set out upon a generous plan, and be steady.*" "Pecuniary penalties are very proper, but of late years they answered no end, because the students never paid them, but they were put down to their

Advice to Caleb Ashworth.

account, which was no punishment to them. Insist upon their paying every week. Especially warn the students against metaphysical and philosophical prayers, but *let not your animadversions be severe, as the good Doctor's often were, when he thought they were not evangelical, which intimidated and discouraged many of his pupils. Errors that will naturally mend by years and experience should be gently treated.*"

William Hextal.

Having settled the plan of the academy, Orton next pressed the claims of William Hextal on the attention of the Church at Castle Hill as the successor of Doddridge in the pastoral charge. "A few persons," he said, "made some objections, but they were such as I imagine they would readily give up for the sake of the peace of the Church." Dr. Ashworth, in a note to Mrs. Doddridge, dated Daventry, Feb. 20, 1762, refers with some solicitude to the state of matters.

"Everything you say about Mr. H. astonishes me. I only wish, as you do, that nothing may be said about it at present; though, on second thoughts, I know not what to wish or say. I will not cease to pray that God may over-rule all for the comfort of the Society and His glory. This is all I can do."

Much to the satisfaction of Orton, Hextal was elected. "This is an encouragement," he writes, Aug. 18, 1762, "not to be weary in well-doing, for I really never undertook anything of the kind with less hope of success." *

Trying Position of Ashworth.

The position of Dr. Ashworth was extremely trying. By the failure of Rivington, her bookseller, Mrs. Doddridge sustained heavy loss, and in the care and perplexity occasioned by this distressing circumstance, the young tutor rendered all the help in his power, but

* Mr. J. Wilson's MSS.

the strain upon him in the academy was too severe.

"I never wanted to see you," he writes to Mrs. Doddridge, "so much as at present, but Mr. Tayler, though an excellent youth, and a charming assistant, leaves me a great deal of additional work, and some of it what I am as ignorant of as my pupils. I have two classes in an important and difficult part of their course—one on the Trinity, the other on the Atonement. The loss of my time by illness throws the senior classes backward, who must finish by the vacation, and many of my people are ill with colds, and require all the remains of my time I can get."

In another letter, dated Daventry, July 10, 1765, he writes :—

"I thank God I am wonderfully recovered. I ride out two or three times a day. My strength every day returns sensibly, yet I am weak and soon weary. I find my understanding and memory as weak as my bodily health. A little reading or thinking discomposes me. I bless God that where I had most apprehensions, my mind was very composed. I hope I have committed myself to an Almighty Saviour, according to the directions and encouragements of the glorious gospel, and there I fix my trust. How glorious is the gospel scheme, which can enable a poor, vile sinner, conscious of unnumbered instances of aggravated guilt, to entertain hope! Yet though, through divine goodness, I was not distressed in the view of dying, I find, as I return to the world, my connections with it are renewed. I look on my wife and children with great endearment, and feel a pleasure on finding myself still among them. My friends here and the town in general have carried it with great respect. I wish I may live for the glory of God and the good of the world. It will then be a pleasure to live." *

Joseph Priestley was admitted at Daventry as the first student for the ministry, though he had not become a member of a church, not being prepared

* Mr. Joshua Wilson's MSS.

either to give a relation of personal Christian experience, or to make a profession of faith.

Joseph Priestley.

"Three years," he says, "viz., from September, 1752 to 1755, I spent at Daventry, with that peculiar satisfaction with which young persons of generous minds usually go through a course of liberal study, in the society of others engaged in the same pursuit, and free from the cares and anxieties which seldom fail to lay hold on them when they come out into the world. In my time, the academy was in a state peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth, *as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance*, such as liberty and necessity, the sleep of the soul, and all the articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy; in consequence of which, all these topics were the subject of continual discussion. Our tutors also were of different opinions; Dr. Ashworth, taking the orthodox side of every question, and Mr. Clark, the sub-tutor, that of heresy, though always with the greatest modesty.

"Both of our tutors being young, at least as tutors, and some of the senior students excelling more than they could pretend to do in several branches of study, they indulged us in the greatest freedom, so that our lectures had often the air of friendly conversations on the subjects to which they related. We were permitted to ask whatever questions, and to make whatever remarks we pleased, and we did it with the greatest, but without any offensive freedom.

"In this situation, I saw reason to embrace what is generally called the *heterodox side of almost every question*. But notwithstanding this, and though Dr. Ashworth was earnestly desirous to make me as orthodox as possible, yet, as my behaviour was unexceptionable, and as I generally took his part in some little things by which he often drew upon himself the ill will of many of the students, I was upon the whole a favourite with him.

"Notwithstanding the great freedom of our speculations and debates, the extreme of heresy among us was Arianism; and all of us, I believe, left the academy with a belief, more or less qualified, of the doctrine of atonement.

"In the course of our academical studies, no provision was then made for teaching the learned languages. Our course of

lectures were only defective in containing *no lectures on the Scriptures, or on ecclesiastical history, and by the students in general, commentators in general, and ecclesiastical history, also were held in contempt.*"

Priestley tells us that he was invited at Needham Market to a small congregation, about a hundred people, under a Mr. Meadows, who was superannuated.

"They had been without a minister the preceding year, on account of the smallness of the salary, but *there being some respectable and agreeable families* among them, *I flattered* myself that I should be *useful and happy* in the place, and therefore accepted the unanimous invitation to be assistant to Mr. Meadows, with a view to succeed him when he died. He was a man of some fortune.

"This congregation had been used to receive assistance from both the Presbyterian and Independent funds; but upon my telling them that *I did not choose to have anything to do with the Independents*, and asking them whether they were able to make up the salary they promised me (which was forty pounds per annum) without any aid from the latter fund, they assured me they could. I soon, however, found that they deceived themselves; for the most that I ever received from them was in the proportion of about thirty pounds per annum, when the expense of my board exceeded twenty pounds.

"Notwithstanding this, everything else for the first half year appeared very promising, and I was happy in the success of my schemes for promoting the interest of religion in the place. I catechised the children, though there were not many, using Dr. Watts' Catechism; and I opened my lectures on the theory of religion from the 'Institutes,' which I had composed at the academy, admitting all persons to attend them without distinction of sex or age; but in this I soon found that I had acted imprudently. A minister in that neighbourhood had been obliged to leave his place on account of Arianism; and though nothing had been said to me on the subject, and from the people *so readily consenting to give up the Independent fund*, I thought they could not have much *bigotry* among them, I found that when I came to treat of the unity of God, merely as an article of religion, several of my audience were attentive to nothing but the soundness of my faith in the doctrine of the Trinity.

"Also, though I had made it a rule to myself to *introduce nothing that could lead to controversy in the pulpit; yet making no secret of my real opinions in conversation*, it was soon found that I was an Arian. *From the time of this discovery my hearers fell off apace*, especially as the old minister took a decided part against me. The principal families, however, still continued with me; but notwithstanding this, my salary fell short of thirty pounds per annum. There were several vacancies in congregations in that neighbourhood, where my sentiments would have been no objection to me, but I was never thought of.

"My studies were chiefly theological. Having left the academy, with a qualified belief in the doctrine of Atonement, I was desirous of getting some more definite ideas on the subject, and with this view set myself to peruse the whole of the Old and New Testament.

"Seeing so much reason to be *dissatisfied with the Apostle Paul as a reasoner*, I read Dr. Taylor's Paraphrase on the Romans, but it gave me no sort of satisfaction. I therefore wrote some remarks on it. I showed this treatise to some of my younger friends, and also to Dr. Kippis; and he advised me to publish it under *the character of an unbeliever, in order to draw the more attention to it.*"

Dissatisfied with the Apostle Paul.

Pecuniary necessity compelled Priestley to remove to Nantwich, in Cheshire, and to become a schoolmaster, for the improvement of his ministerial income.

The chapel at Needham Market soon after was closed, and left in a state of decay for thirty years.

The "Rational" Dissenters on the extinction of an academy at Kendal, on the death of its founder in 1752, were desirous of forming an institution on their own principles. John Seddon, a minister at Warrington, encouraged by Nathaniel Neal and others, after strenuous effort, continued for five years, obtained a fund for this purpose, amounting to the sum of £469. The first

Warrington Academy.

general meeting of the Institution was held in the beginning of 1757. JOHN TAYLOR was appointed Divinity Tutor with a staff of professors in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and "Belles Lettres." To aid the congregations who found it difficult to conduct public worship, Seddon provided a service book for their use. Taylor, who, notwithstanding his wide divergence from the faith of the Puritans, retained something of their fervour, strenuously opposed the innovation.

"Rational" Liturgy.

"Perhaps," he said, "by proper management, it may be *insinuated* by degrees into Dissenting congregations. This, doubtless, will be attempted by all the arts of address and persuasion; and of this, my countrymen, you ought to be well aware. For consider what will be the consequence. The same spirit which has taken it unto one assembly, will be for thrusting it into others.

"Religious knowledge is in a progressive state, and has been so at least ever since the Reformation. It is not therefore possible that the wisest men in our day should form a Liturgy absolutely and immutably perfect, which shall never want any amendments or alterations; because, as in process of time new evidence arises, religious sentiments ought to vary.

"What is to be done in this case? I had it from a principal hand in the affair, 'that *it was proposed to have a meeting of ministers every seventh year, to review and adjust the orthodoxy of the new Liturgy*,' and to reform any faults therein, that might from time to time appear. This would do, once for all, in the hands of persons inspired and infallible, but as things now are, it will be directly to set up an ecclesiastical jurisdiction among you over understanding and conscience lodged in the hands of feeble men.

"The principles and worship of Dissenters are not formed upon such slight foundation as the unlearned and thoughtless may imagine. They were thoroughly considered and judiciously reduced to the standard of Scripture and the writings of antiquity, by a great number of men of learning and integrity; I

mean the Bartholomew Divines, or the ministers ejected in the year 1662.

"They had the best education England could afford; most of them were excellent scholars, judicious divines, pious, faithful, and laborious ministers; of great zeal for God and religion; undaunted and courageous in their Master's work; keeping close to their people in the worst of times; diligent in their studies, solid, affectionate, powerful, lively, awakening preachers, aiming at the advancement of real vital religion in the hearts and lives of men, which it cannot be denied flourished greatly wherever they could influence. Particularly, they were men of great devotion and eminent abilities in prayer, uttered as God enabled them from the abundance of their hearts and affections; men of divine eloquence in pleading at the throne of grace, raising and melting the affections of their hearers, and being happily instrumental in transfusing into their souls the same spirit and heavenly gift. And this was the ground of all their other qualifications; they were excellent men, because excellent, instant, and fervent in prayer.

"Such were the Fathers, the first formers of the Dissenting interest. And you, here, in Lancashire, had a large share of these burning and shining lights. Those who knew them not might despise them; but your forefathers, wiser and less prejudiced, esteemed them highly in love for their works' sake. You were once happy in your *Newcomes*, your *Jollies*, your *Heywoods*, your *Finches*, your *Angiers*, your *Harrisons*, *Pendleburys*, *Cromptans*, *Mathers* and many others, who left all to follow Christ; but Providence cared for them, and they had great comfort in their ministerial services. The presence and blessing of God appeared in their assemblies, and attended their labours. How many were converted and built up in godliness and sobriety by their prayers, pains, doctrine, and conversation? How many days on particular occasions, were set apart and spent in warm addresses to the throne of grace, and how much to the comfort of those who joined in them.

"But now, alas, we are pursuing measures which have a manifest tendency to extinguish the light which they kindled, to damp the spirit which they enlivened, and to dissipate and to dissolve the societies which they raised and formed." *

* Taylor's Scripture Account of Prayer.

These societies were already in a state of rapid disintegration. Though the higher interests of the Churches were strangely neglected, the cause of religious freedom was zealously maintained and considerably advanced at this time by the success of a suit at law of the Dissenting Deputies with the Corporation of the City of London. It had long been the practice with the City to elect wealthy Nonconformist citizens to the office of Sheriff who were sure to decline the sacramental test, and then to inflict "a fine of four hundred pounds and twenty marks upon every person who, being nominated by the Lord Mayor, should decline standing the election at the Common Hall; and six hundred pounds upon every one who, being elected by the Common Hall, should refuse to serve the office." By the operation of this ingenious bye-law of their own making, the Corporation gained above fifteen thousand pounds. In 1754 three Dissenters, Messrs. Sheafe, Streatfield, and Evans were elected to this office, and failing to serve, they were sued, in separate actions, for the amount of the fines. Mr. Streatfield was found to be out of the jurisdiction; but the litigation was carried on against Messrs. Sheafe and Evans for eight years, and only terminated when the last-mentioned defendant was at the point of death. The decision of Lord Mansfield for the first time gave a legal status to Dissent.

Suit of the Dissenting Deputies in the case of the Sheriffs of London.

In the course of an elaborate judgment, his Lordship said :—

"The Toleration Act renders that which was illegal before now legal; the Dissenters' way of worship is permitted and

allowed by the Act; it is not only rendered innocent, but lawful; it is *established;* it is put under the protection, and is not merely under the connivance of the law. In case those who are appointed by law to register Dissenting places of worship refuse on any pretence to do it, we must upon application send down a mandamus to compel them to the discharge of their duty.

"Now, my Lords, there cannot be a plainer position than that the law protects nothing in that very respect in which it is in the eye of the law at the same time a crime. Dissenters, my Lords, within the description of the Toleration Act, *are restored to a legal consideration and capacity, and a hundred consequences will follow which are not mentioned in the Act.* For instance, previous to the Toleration Act it was unlawful to devise any legacy for the support of Dissenting congregations, or for the benefit of Dissenting ministers, for the law knew no such assemblies and no such persons, and such a devise was absolutely void, being left to what the law called superstitious purposes. But will it be said in any court in England that such a devise is not a good and valid one now? And yet there is nothing said of this in the Toleration Act. By that Act, my Lords, the Dissenters are freed not only from the pains and penalties of the laws therein particularly specified, but from all ecclesiastical censures, and from all penalties and punishments whatsoever upon account of their Nonconformity, which is allowed and protected by this Act, and is therefore, in the eye of the law, no longer a crime. And, my Lords, this bye-law by which the Dissenters are to be reduced to this wretched dilemma is a bye-law of the City—a local Corporation contrary to an Act of Parliament which is the law of the land—a modern bye-law, of very modern date, made long since the Corporation Act, long since the Toleration Act, in the face of them, and in direct opposition to them, for they knew these laws were in being. It was made in some year of the reign of the late King, I forget which; but, my Lords, it was made *about the time of the building of the Mansion House.* Now, my Lords, if it could be supposed the City have a power of making such a bye-law, they have it in their power to make every Dissenter pay a fine of six hundred pounds, or any sum they please, for it amounts to that.

"The professed design of making this bye-law was to get fit and able persons to serve the office; and the plaintiff sets forth

in his declaration that if the Dissenters are excluded, they shall want fit and able persons to serve the office. But, my Lords, if I were to deliver my own suspicion, it would be *that they do not so much wish for their services as their fines.*

"My Lords, Dissenters have been appointed to this office, one who was blind, another who was bedridden, not, I suppose, on account of their being fit and able to serve the office. No, they were disabled both by nature and by law. My Lords, we had a case lately in the courts below of a person chosen Mayor of a Corporation while he was beyond the seas with his Majesty's troops in America, and they knew him to be so. Did they want him to serve the office? No, it was impossible; but they had a mind to continue the former mayor a year longer, and to have a pretence for setting aside him who was now chosen on all future occasions, as having been elected before. And, my Lords, in the case before your Lordships, the defendant was by law incapable at the time of his pretended election; and it is my firm opinion that he was chosen because he was incapable. If he had been capable, he had not been chosen, for they did not want him to serve the office; they chose him that he might fall under the penalty of their bye-law, made to serve a particular purpose, in opposition to which, and to avoid the fine thereby imposed, he hath pleaded a legal disability grounded on two Acts of Parliament; and as I am of opinion that *his plea is good*, I conclude with moving your Lordships that *the judgment be affirmed.*"

The judgment was immediately affirmed *nemine contradicente;* and entered on the journals in the following words:—

"Mercurii, 4th of February, 1767.—It is ordered and adjudged, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that the judgment given by the Commissioners' Delegates appointed to hear the errors in a judgment given in the Sheriffs' Court, London, and affirmed by the Court of Hustings, reversing the judgment of the said Sheriffs' Court and Court of Hustings, be and the same is hereby affirmed, and that the record be remitted." *

* Dr. Furneaux, for taking down the judgment of Lord Mansfield in full, was presented by the Deputies with a pipe of wine.

To return to the academy at Warrington. Priestley, who, while at Nantwich, had visited London, and made the acquaintance of Dr. Price, Dr. Watson, the physician, and Dr. Franklin, was led to attend to the subject of experimental philosophy, being furnished by Franklin with books necessary for the purpose. The fame of his progress in natural science attracting the attention of the constituents of the academy, he was invited to become one of the professors, and, though afflicted with an incurable impediment in his speech, he was appointed the Teacher of Elocution.

Priestley at Warrington.

"In the whole of my being at Warrington," he says, "I was singularly happy in the society of my fellow-students (tutors), and of Mr. Seddon, minister of the place. We were all Arians, and the only subject of much consequence on which we differed was respecting the Atonement, concerning which Dr. Aikin held some obscure notions. Accordingly, this was the topic of our friendly conversations."

Discipline was maintained in the academy during the time in which Priestley was tutor, but gradually the institution deteriorated. Dr. Enfield, one of his successors, tells us "an idle waste of time, a coarse and vulgar familiarity, a disposition towards riot and mischief, intemperance, in some instances gaming, profaneness, and licentious manners, found their way into the seminary."

Some of the parents indulged the curious notion that study was ungentlemanly. "I. Wilding" writes to Seddon from Derby, Jan. 17, '66:—

"Sir,—I took the opportunity of returning by Master Compton the MSS. you lent me. Along with them, I have sent half-a-dozen of my own. But I don't know whether you will

think proper to make any use of those I send you. However, I determined to send them, if for no other reason, that I might at least with a better grace be entitled to some of yours; for you must give me leave to tell you that *I find more satisfaction in delivering yours* (as well likewise as I know *they please our congregation better*) than any I can pretend to make of myself. I shall, therefore, thank you for as many of your MSS. as you choose to spare me. Letter of Wilding.

"I have the pleasure to inform you that Master Compton expresses perfect satisfaction with his situation at Warrington. He is well pleased with Dr. Priestley's family, and with the treatment he receives at the academy. He will succeed to a very plentiful fortune. He seems to be a youth of ingenuous disposition, and from the improvement at Warrington will, I hope, enter into life with just and *liberal notions of things*, and support his character with dignity and reputation. *There is some foolish opinion taken up by our fashionable folks here, and which is impossible to drive out of their heads—that study is not necessary for a gentleman.* This is perpetually buzz'd into his head at home, and *whenever he takes a book to read, he is called away by his fond mamma*, for fear of hurting his health, or, as the phrase is, spoiling his eyes. I wish, therefore, his situation may continue to be *agreeable and entertaining to him, for it is on this circumstance that the time of his stay at Warrington will entirely depend.* But I promise myself a good deal from the goodness of his disposition." *

At the retirement of Orton from the co-pastorate of the Church at Shrewsbury, Benjamin Stapp, one of the students at Warrington, was invited to become assistant to Mr. Fownes, who still remained. Orton inclined to support the candidature of Robert Gentleman. The majority of the Church was in his favour; but the major part of the trustees, with a section of the congregation, were resolved to elect Mr. Stapp. These contentions Benjamin Stapp.

* Seddon Papers.

troubled Orton exceedingly. In a letter to his wife, dated Salop, Oct. 8, 1766, he writes:—

"My neglects and failings in my ministry humble and shame me, especially as I see so bad a spirit prevailing among my people. I am ashamed to see anyone who hath read the Memoirs, as methinks they secretly say, 'Strange that the author who knew his subject so well should not have been more zealous and patient!' These thoughts often occur to my mind, especially this day, when it is just twenty years since I entered the ministry. May God pity and forgive me!"

Troubles at Shrewsbury.

To Mrs. Doddridge he writes (Salop, Oct. 8, 1766):—

"The distractions in the congregation hurt me. Here is like to be a separation. These things hurt me not a little. My God is humbling me, and I desire to submit to His will under every disappointment and affliction. But my faith is weak, my strength small, and even my hope of His final acceptance wavering. I much desire and need the prayers of my friends, that God would support me, and lift upon me the light of His countenance, or enable me, when I walk in darkness, to stay upon Him. I see so many neglects and defects, so much pollution and corruption, in what I have been, done, and am, that I am often ready to meditate terror, but I desire to live and die at the foot of the Cross, for I have no other refuge."*

The majority of the Church withdrew, forming themselves into a distinct society, and erected the chapel at Swan Hill. On a stone tablet in front of the building is the following inscription: "This building was erected in the year 1767 for the public worship of God, in *defence of the rights of majorities in Protestant congregations to choose their own ministers.*"

The spirit of the movement in favour of the

* Mr. Joshua Wilson's MSS.

Warrington candidate is indicated in the letters of Cheney Hart to Seddon:—

"SALOP, *March* 2, 1767.

"The seceders, bigoted and narrow-minded with their desertion, have caused the death of Mr. Stapp" (from fever).

"SALOP, *March* 7, 1767.

"If I said in my last I should probably leave the society, 'tis what I am still determined upon if we cannot meet with another more likely to do us honour than any one the seceders are like to consent to, headed as they are by (Orton) their spiritual doctor at Kidderminster. But if I go I shall not go alone, but take with me the most, if not all, the *principal supporters* of the society, as it was before or was like to have; yet we will never abandon the cause of truth and liberty. The dictator at present remains inflexible, for any other person to be chosen here than *Gentleman*, a boy whom three years ago we all saw an apprentice beyond a counter in town, but possest of a spirit of *Methodism* and pride to be the mouth of a worshipping society cloaked under the cant term of desire of saving souls. He got released from his indentures, and was sent to Daintree Academy, though he could not then read his grammar; and in two years he had the assurance to set up for a divinity quack, and thought himself worthy to preach. By the twang of words and bandying about a few gospel phrases he pleases the vulgar and illiterate, while the sensible and unprejudiced are aware of his emptiness, and entirely disapprove both of his matter and manner. Yet this is the man our bigots have modestly offered to impose upon us; for him they secede still from us and from all their engagements to Mr. Fownes, and are attempting to erect a new tabernacle here for their part of a society, in the whole not too numerous to fill the old place. They threaten us with law for the settled estates and funds of the society, which must entirely belong to us, as settled on our specific place; and we are the majority of *trustees* and *subscribers* in possession of the whole. Cheney Hart.

"That Mr. Orton has acted so unwarrantable a part, and herein proves himself an enemy to that good cause of which before we esteemed him a zealous friend, I attribute wholly to the disorders

of his body, which have unhinged his mind and his retirement to Kidderminster, continues his passions and *increases his attachment to the narrow prejudices in religion he has indulged too long.* I have not room to enlarge, but I shall be very glad to hear from you what you find is doing in London towards assisting these seceders, who are *without money* there, or else they cannot go on.

"Believe me to be, with great esteem, dear sir, your very obedient servant and assured friend,

"CHENEY HART.

"To the Rev. Mr. Seddon, of Warrington, at Mr. Hoskins', Somerset House, Strand, London." *

It is very clear, from the tone of this communication, that churches holding the faith of the gospel could not look to the Warrington Academy for "pastors and teachers." The difficulty of obtaining the means of Christian instruction and of Church extension increased with every new instance of defection. For the most part, those who retained their attachment to the Evangelical system were in humble circumstances. They had to bear on every side the contempt of the proud. The wits of the age found in their simple manners and rudeness of speech their favourite subject of ridicule. Their strong convictions were attributed to mere obstinacy and perverseness. Their professions of attachment to the cause of Christ were regarded simply as cant, and their zeal for the truth as wild enthusiasm.

Yet, when so "forsaken and hated," and suffering every kind of opposition and discouragement, they "kept the faith," and continued "stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers." Evangelical teachers were supplied unexpectedly. "Streams" began to

* Seddon Papers.

flow "in the desert"; "the parched ground became a pool." We have an instance of this in the origination of the Academy at Heckmondwike, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

James Scott and the Academy at Heckmondwike.

JAMES SCOTT, the first tutor of this institution, was a native of Berwickshire, born in 1710, and educated at the University of Edinburgh. After spending some years as a private tutor, he resolved to devote himself to the work of the Christian ministry. Learning the spiritual destitution of the Nonconformist churches in England, he determined, in 1739, to enter on a pedestrian tour southward in quest of a suitable sphere of pastoral labour. Pursuing his journey with great economy and self-denial, he made his way to Stainton, near Preston, in Lancashire, and was invited by the Church in that place to accept their oversight. He occupied the pulpit two years, and then removed to Horton, in Craven, where he was ordained on May 20, 1741. After receiving various invitations to other places, which he declined, he was led, in 1751, to remove to Tockholes, and from thence he went to Heckmondwike in 1754.

There he met EDWARD HITCHIN, the minister of White Row, the largest meeting-house in London, who was on a visit to his friends in Yorkshire. Conferring together on the pressing wants of the Churches, they were mutually impressed with the conviction that a vigorous effort should be made to meet the emergency. On his return to the Metropolis, Hitchin submitted the matter to his ministerial brethren, and, as the result of their serious

consultations, the "Northern Education Society was formed, May 24, 1756, for the purpose of "dispelling the cloud of Socinian darkness then spreading over the northern counties of England, and by which many congregations might be blessed with godly preachers, sound in the faith and exemplary in their lives." To accomplish this purpose, it was resolved to set up and maintain an academy in the north of England. Dr. Guyse was appointed chairman; J. Webbe, Esq., treasurer; and Rev. E. Hitchin, B.D., secretary.

Northern Education Society.

It was high time that such a step should be taken, for, with the exception of the Church under the care of JOHN PYE, of the Nether Chapel, Sheffield, and of John Edwards, of Leeds, all the congregations in the large towns of the county had suffered an eclipse of faith.

TIMOTHY PRIESTLEY (the brother of Dr. Joseph Priestley) and TIMOTHY WALDEGRAVE were the first students in the new academy. Priestley was invited to become pastor of the Church at Cannon Street, Manchester. Afterwards he accepted the pastoral charge at Jewin Street, London. Waldegrave began his ministry at Tockholes, in Lancashire, and subsequently removed to Bury St. Edmunds. Richard Plumbe received in 1757, settled at Nottingham, and Abram Allott, who became pastor of the Church at Forton, Lancaster.

Gradually the churches in the North of England were strengthened by the sympathy and co-operation of the ministers trained at Heckmondwike. We have an example of this in the case of the Church at Cockermouth.

In a serious crisis for a long time the members had to act alone, without help or encouragement from without. After the death of their pastor, THOMAS JOLLIE, Arianism was introduced, and the friends of evangelical truth withdrew, and built another place of worship, known as the High Meeting. The following entries occur in the Church record :—

Church at Cockermouth.

"November 20, 1765. The new meeting-house was opened, and a sermon preached by one Mr. J. Kettleby, minister at Tottlebank, Lancashire, from Isaiah xxvi. 23.

"April 5, 1767. Mr. Selby Ord has been with us a whole year; but not being ordained, we could not have the seals of the covenant administered to us, though we applied to those ministers who *professed to be orthodox; they refused to give us any assistance, unless we would apply to those ministers whose principles we opposed,* which we looked upon as *giving up the cause we were contending for, and sneakingly to betray the truth of the Gospel into the hands of the opposition.* We then made application to the Rev. Mr. James Tetley, of Ravenstonedale, who is not in connection with the Cumberland provincial, who indulged us with the favour to come and preach to us, and administered both ordinances, the Lord's Supper, and baptized children, which our orthodox had denied us.

"June 18. Rev. Mr. Selby Ord was ordained pastor at Cockermouth. A numerous congregation was present. The persons assisting in the solemnity of the day were, Rev. Mr. *Waldegrave*, and Rev. Mr. *Allott*, both from Lancashire. Rev. Mr. Fisher preached on this occasion from 1 Cor. i. 21, Mr. Waldegrave gave exhortation, Mr. Allott took his confession or examined."

Efforts were made in many places to form churches in towns and villages where, from the influence of Arianism, congregations had been dispersed, and in some instances the simplest measures

for the purpose employed by individual workers were crowned with success.

JOHN GLOVER, a retired gentleman in delicate health, felt a deep interest in Mattishall, Suffolk, in which a church formerly existing had become extinct, the meeting-house sold, and a legacy of £40 a year forfeited by the Mortmain Act.*

"I was desired," he says, "to lend some books, then in my hands, to some persons in a dark part of the country, who complained that they were destitute of all means of instruction in the things of God. I did so, and also wrote a letter to them, pointing out plainly God's way of salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ, and desired them to meet together once a week to read, sing, and pray, that hereby they might edify one another. This letter was thought an odd, strange thing. It was read by several, and amongst others a youth, to whose soul the Lord applied it to open the eyes of his mind to see the way of salvation by grace. Several had a curiosity to see the writer of this letter, and therefore came to visit me. I persuaded them to form themselves into a praying society, and to read plain useful books; and I promised, if the Lord should enable me, that I would come amongst them and stay some weeks to assist and direct them. But I was then so low, weak, and helpless, that I had no strength to stir, except a little in my own house, which extreme weakness continued many months. However, in the summer following, the Lord enabled me to go amongst them, and stay some time, and form them into a society, somewhat on Dr. *Woodward's* model, in his '*Rise and Progress of Religious Societies.*'

"On July 4, 1767," he continues, "we began, it being on the Sabbath evening. Had any one suggested to me what would be the consequences of my going, I should have been affrighted and deterred from it, but the Lord led me as it were by the hand of His providence, and supported me by His grace. I had never attempted to pray but with a *few* friends, but now I attempted to pray before *many* people, most of whom were strangers. I

* Harmer's MSS.

began with prayer for the Lord's blessing. The novelty of this proceeding, excited the curiosity of some, and provoked the malice of others, till the villages around were alarmed, and people came many miles to see and hear these strange things."

Mr. Glover was enabled to persevere. He stayed the whole time he had proposed, and every Sabbath the number of the people increased, and sinners were converted. He tells us that in the winter of 1760 he went some miles farther into the country, where another and more promising cause sprung up.

Eventually JOHN CARTER, one of the members of this "praying Society," was sent to Heckmondwike to be educated for the ministry, and a Congregational Church was formed at Mattishall, of which he was elected the first pastor.

GEORGE LAMBERT entered the Academy at Heckmondwike in 1765. He was born at Chelsea in 1742. In youth he suffered many trials, and was exposed to much temptation. His interest in Evangelical truth being awakened by reading *Hervey*'s *Dialogues*, he began to attend ministrations in unison with his views of the gospel, and on his removal to Yorkshire cherished an earnest desire to devote himself to the ministerial work.

"My mind," he says, "was particularly inclined to the Dissenters, and from the Scriptures I was led to approve of the method of those called Independent." His home associations were unfavourable. "The gentleman under whose care I was fixed by my parents," he writes, "was a Deist. We had many disputes. But at last he attempted my life, protesting he would have my blood. But the

Lord enabled me to get away from him." A friend introduced him to Mr. Scott, from whom he received much encouragement, but before any further step was taken, he went up to London to obtain the consent of his parents, which was given, though with some reluctance. Dr. Conder, tutor of Homerton College, desired him to enter that institution, but he preferred the Yorkshire Academy. In 1768 he was invited to preach to a small congregation at Hull, and in the following year a new chapel was opened in Blanket Row. The following letter from Lambert to his tutor, gives us a picture of his early pastoral life :—

"HULL, *May* 23, 1769.

"DEAR AND REV. SIR,—It may be thought a breach of duty from a son to his father to be silent so long, after he has received so many favours from him; but I have been so much engaged with making sermons, visiting my flock, etc., that I have little spare time. I have reason to hope that the Divine presence has been with me, thereby enabling me to swim against a stream of opposition which we have to encounter. The *method we take to silence reports is to be silent ourselves;* and by this our opponents grow weary in holding the sword perpetually, while it strikes but the air. I beg to be kept from indolence in my studies, and from trifling in my visiting, whereby the people are attentive to the word, and refreshing to me when I get to see them. The people of Hull have been reported as great drinkers; from those I know, I hope they are, but it is of the cup of salvation; for liquor has never been pressed upon me since I have been with them. In short, dear sir, I am very agreeably settled, and find pleasure in my work; for I hope my people tow me from my study to the pulpit by their prayers, as the sailors do their ships into the harbour by their ropes. The Lord hath done great things for us, not only in raising a building, but in quashing the inventions of men; thereby proving that His fingers are potent, and drawing a people to hear, evidencing that His grace is sufficient. Methinks

I have seen more of the stability of divine counsels and the frailty of human inventions since at Hull than ever I did before.

"Last Lord's-day evening there was Church connection formed in the most solemn manner I ever saw a work gone about. God has cast up another hill in the wilderness, and I hope it rests upon the basis of that rock which He has laid in Zion. I trust, sir, you will, by your prayers, call down the heavenly showers upon it, that the flowers may grow and thrive." *

JOHN NEWTON in the earlier part of his Christian career was intimately associated with the Dissenters.

"My mother," he says "(as I have heard from many) was a pious, experienced Christian. She was a Dissenter, in communion with the Church of the late Dr. Jennings. I was her only child, and almost her whole employment was the care of my education." John Newton.

After many strange occupations, and a course of "horrid impiety and profaneness" as a slave-dealer, Newton experienced a saving change, and on leaving a seafaring life came to reside with his friend in London and Chatham. In 1755 he became intimately acquainted with Samuel Brewer, minister of the Stepney Meeting. "From him," he tells us, "I received many helps, both in public and in private, for he was pleased to favour me with his friendship from the first. Of all my friends I *am most deeply indebted to him.*"

A sermon that he heard in Chatham from James Webb, pastor of the Church at Fetter Lane, impressed him with a sense of his duty to speak to others, of that which he had experience of the truth.

He was deeply interested in the preaching of Dr. Guyse, who continued to occupy the pulpit after he

* Coster's *Pastor and People.*

had "been deprived of the use of his eyes." On June 7, 1755, he heard Whitefield for the first time.

Whitefield at the Tabernacle.

"*Sunday.*—Rose at four o'clock. After private prayer, etc., went to the Tabernacle, was admitted upon producing the ticket, and here indeed I had a blessing. There were about a thousand or more people, of different persuasions, but all agreed in the great essentials of the gospel, and in mutual charity worshipping the Lord with one heart and soul. Never before had I such an idea and foretaste of the business of heaven. Mr. Whitefield made use of the office of the Church of England, interposing exhortations, encouragement, etc., occasionally all along. And it seemed as though that composure, that elevation, and that assurance of faith, which shone in his frame and discourses, were in some measure diffused over the whole assembly. He made many little intervals for singing hymns—I believe nearly twenty times in all. We were about three hours in the ordinance. At the end I went away rejoicing."

Having obtained a situation as tide surveyor, Newton removed to Liverpool, and sought opportunities for closer conversation with Whitefield. Emboldened by his kindness, he wrote freely to the great evangelist on the religious condition of Liverpool:—

Letter of Newton to Whitefield.

"The low estate of the gospel in this very populous town has, I doubt not, excited your wonder and compassion. Here are more than forty thousand people, who in matters of religion hardly know their right hand from their left—people that are destroyed for lack of knowledge, or by unskilful, corrupt teachers. Here the tenets of the Arians and Socinians are not only held, but propagated with the most pernicious address; the satisfaction and divinity of the blessed Jesus slighted and degraded, even by those who call themselves His ministers. Here is such a departure from God as is indeed grievous to behold. Profaneness and insensibility seem to divide all between them, and a flow of outward prosperity has blinded all ranks, orders, and degrees. Are

these not strong motives to engage such ministers as have the cause of God and the good of souls at heart (and who take a peculiar pleasure to own their Master's Name where it is least held in esteem) to Liverpool?

"It is with great pleasure I hear of revival going on in so many parts of the kingdom; and, as an inhabitant of this town, I am grieved to think that we should be as yet excluded from a share in it. It is true, we have the truth preached in the Baptist meetings; but I believe you know the particular disadvantages they are both under, so that, though they are useful to their own people (I trust, through grace, to me also), yet they seem not calculated for general usefulness."

In 1758, Newton visited Scott at Millbridge, Clackheaton, and his friend Edwards, minister at Leeds, who offered him his pulpit in White Chapel for the trial of his gifts. Prior to the service, the thoughtful minister suggested that if he wished to retire for quiet meditation, a private room was left for his use; but, delighted with the company invited to meet him, and indulging free conversation to the last moment, Newton, confident in his readiness for the pulpit, declined the accommodation, and for his temerity suffered the penalty of a humiliating failure before the assembled congregation. After prayer, he read his text, which was, "I have set the Lord always before me: because He is at my right hand, I shall not be moved." The preacher began fluently, but in a few minutes he lost all recollection of his plan, was confused, stopped, and desired Edwards to come up and finish the service. Edwards urged him to proceed, but Newton left the pulpit, which Edwards ascended, and concluded with an address to the audience on the Spirit's agency to help our infirmities. In a letter to Mr. Barlass, Newton relates the incident:—

"My first essay as a preacher was in a Dissenting Meeting

House at Leeds, 1758, six years before I entered the Establishment. I attempted it wholly extempore. But I thought my general and particular heads very methodically arranged in my mind. I opened my discourse with a passable exordium, and was *beginning to think I should do pretty well;* but before I had spoken ten minutes, I was stopped like Hannibal upon the Alps. My ideas forsook me; darkness and confusion filled up their place. I stood on a precipice, and could not advance a step forward. I stared at the people, and they at me. But I remained as silent as Friar Bacon's head; not a word more could I speak, but was forced to come down *re infecta*, and leave the people, some weeping, and some smiling. For *two years afterwards, I could not look at the place without the heart-ache*, and as it were, saying to myself, '*Hic Troja stetit!*' I then began to compose, and my next essay (in another place) was with a written sermon. I did not feel much trepidation, having my discourse in my pocket, and not doubting I was able to read it; and I read it sure enough. But being near-sighted, and rather ashamed to hold up my notes to view, I held my head close down to the cushion; and when I began I durst not take my eyes off for a moment, being impressed with a fear that I should not readily fix it again upon the right part of the page. Thus I hardly saw anybody in the place during the whole time, and I looked much more like a dull school-boy poring over his lesson than a preacher of the gospel; but I did not stop till I came to the end. I was not much less disconcerted this time than the former. What was to be done next? I had tried the two extremes to little purpose, and there seemed to me to be no medium between them. I looked sorrowfully at my sermon-book, and said, '*Nec te cum, nec sine te!*' However, notwithstanding all my disappointments and discouragements, the Lord was pleased at length to admit me into His vineyard, and to open my mouth."

In reference to his unpleasant experience in the pulpit, he says:—

"It is not easy or possible to describe the storm of temptation and distress I went through next day. On Thursday, two days afterwards, visited Mr. Crook. Had long converse with him, which revived my desire towards ordination in the Church of England, and likewise softened many of my objections which I deemed insurmountable.

"*November* 8.—Began to read Hooker's *Polity*, where I *hope* I may find my scruples more fully resolved. I greatly fear my own spirit leading me to choose that which seems easiest, though perhaps it only seems."

The mind of Mr. Newton was strongly inclined in the clerical direction. He waited on the Bishop of Chester, who received him with great civility, but said he could do him no service.

"Since my design of Episcopal ordination," says Newton, "has taken place, I have thought it proper to attend steadily at the Established Church. I meet with little or nothing in the preaching that has a tendency to quicken my faith or grace."

In February, 1759, he applied to the Archbishop of York, "but," he says, "his grace thought it best for me to remain in my present situation."

In May, 1759, Newton wrote to Lord Dartmouth to help his case with the bishops, but with no immediate result. He resolved in August "to appeal to my Lord of Canterbury, and to leave the issue with the Lord," but nothing came of it. His anxiety interrupted his studies, and the "gift of utterance" was still very imperfect. Baffled so often by the prelates, he was willing to preach now for the Dissenters.

Mr. Brewer recommended him to a congregation at Warwick. He went there with Mrs. Newton, and greatly enjoyed the interval of comparative rest. He was accustomed to meditate in Lord Dormer's park, and being less agitated in the pulpit, he found that the "Lord opened his mouth." The people invited him to become their pastor, but his friends were opposed. "Polly" still inclined to the Establishment. On returning to Liverpool, he preached in his house,

Newton at Warwick.

and thought that he might gather a congregation. "I believe," he says, "no argument but hers could have restrained me, for almost two years, from taking a rash step, of which I should have perhaps soon repented, and which would have led me *far wide of the honour* and comfort I have since been favoured with." He was asked, in August, 1762, to assist the forsaken flock at Bolton, and on the week previously he seems, after all, to have determined to "take up the cross," and wrote to this effect to Mr. Warhurst.

Letter to Warhurst.

"DEAR BROTHER,—Mr. Rothwell called at my house yesterday, but I was from home. I have long been indebted a visit to Bolton, and likewise desirous of the sight of Mr. Warhurst, since I cannot get a letter from him. I now propose to spend the next Sabbath at Bolton, if the Lord please, and to call on you at Manchester on Monday, unless I should (which I question) find it convenient to stretch forward into Yorkshire, in which case I shall not be with you till the end of the week.

"But as Mr. Burgess informed me in his last, that Mr. Waldegrave's ordination is to be some time in this month, I wrote to beg that if it should be fixed for next week, you would inform me by to-morrow or Thursday's post, that when I am at Bolton I may turn my horse's head to Tockholes at once, and perhaps Mr. Burgess's notice might come on Saturday, when I am not in Liverpool to receive it.

"I should be glad of an opportunity to see Mr. Scott (of Heckmondwike), either at Tockholes, or at his own house, *to let him know that I am disposed to accept a call within his connection, and under the sanction of his judgment and recommendation, if any favourable opportunity should offer, and he thinks proper to encourage me.* I begin to be weary of standing all the day idle, and there seems not the least probability of beginning anything at Liverpool; the Lord hath made me willing, nay, desirous, to set about it. I would prefer it to anything else. I have made all the overtures towards it that the situation of things will bear,

but it will not do. There is not a person (one woman excepted) who is willing to concur in the necessary preliminaries.

"If I should not have opportunity of meeting with Mr. Scott, I take the liberty to desire you to acquaint him with my case, and to tell him, so far as I know my own heart, I *have quite done with the Established Church*, not out of anger or despair, but from a conviction that the Lord has been wise and good in disappointing my views in that quarter; and I believe, if the admission I once so earnestly sought was now freely offered, I could hardly, if at all, accept it.

"If I come to Manchester on Monday, I hope to stay two days; but I am deeply engaged to lodge with Mr. Philips, as they were so kind as to abide with us and make the first advances towards an acquaintance.

"I hope your soul prospers; that the Lord comforts, refreshes, and strengthens you in your inner man and your outward labours. I hope the house which you have built to His name is filled with His glory. Happy they that know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; but happy above all others are those who receive appointment and power to proclaim this grace to poor sinners, and who find the Lord confirming their word with signs following. To be thus engaged among a few faithful, lively people, to dispose all my faculties, studies, and time to His service, is the one thing that I continually desire of the Lord, and which I think I could, without hesitation, prefer to the honours and possessions of a lord or a prince.

"I believe you pray for me, dear sir; continue so to do. Entreat the Lord to empty me of self, to fill me with grace, to make me humble, obedient, watchful, and spiritual in all things, to nourish me daily with the bread and water of life, to favour me with those transforming manifestations of His love which the world knows nothing of, and then let Him do with me as seemeth good in His sight; and to this purpose my poor petitions shall not be wanting for you.

"Give my love to Mr. and Mrs. Clegg and their family. May the love of God our Saviour be with you, and with your affectionate "JOHN NEWTON.*

"To the Rev. Mr. Warhurst, at Mr. Clegg's, Manchester."

* Dr. Raffles' MSS.

Distinct proposals eventually were made to Newton for "taking orders in the Church." In view of this, he writes:—

"I do approve of parish order where practicable. I approve of the Liturgy as to the *sum and substance*, the only difficulty is to subscribe *ex animo* that there is not a line contrary to the Word of God. I think, indeed, that there are not many; but I observe a few expressions in the Burial and Baptismal Offices, and in the Catechism, which I cannot fully approve. But I can assent to the whole in such manner as is *due to any writings of human authority*, which are not pretended to be written by infallible inspiration."

Lord Dartmouth, on February 26, 1764, gave Newton the presentation of Olney. On Sunday he was admitted to deacons' orders at Buckden. On Wednesday, June 13, he went to Buckden to receive priests' orders, and was favourably received by the bishop. He says:—

Presentation to Olney.

"Found eleven candidates for deacons' orders, and five for priests', besides myself. But, alas! few, if any, of them seemed impressed with a serious sense of what they are about to undertake.

"Sunday, 17th.—This day ordained priest by the Bishop of Lincoln. My affairs went on very smoothly. I was *slightly examined by the chaplain*, and exhibited a Latin thesis. Much of my time at Buckden passed indifferently, being *unavoidably connected with company* which I should not have chosen. When afternoon service was over, the Bishop sent for me to drink tea with him, and dismissed me very kindly."

Uncomfortable as Newton was in the clerical company in the bishop's palace, he tried to persuade himself that this was the door to the sheep-fold. No doubt he was glad to come out into the fresh air.

CHAPTER XV.

At the crisis which led to the separation of England and America, politicians and sceptical philosophers advanced to the front, and the counsels of earnest and thoughtful Christian men were seldom heard in the growing tumult of passion. It is not an easy task from the conflicting records to give a fair representation of the internecine conflict justly designated by Franklin as "abominable." One of the clearest and most dispassionate statements of the serious grievance of the Americans, we find in an address of Dr. Zubly to Lord Dartmouth, prefixed to a sermon on American affairs, entitled the *Law of Liberty*, preached at the opening of the Provincial Congress of Georgia, September 3, 1775. In his sermon Zubly says :— Address of Dr. Zubly.

"Such always hath been and such is the attachment of America to the illustrious House of Hanover, that *I need not put you in mind of our duty to the King as supreme*. By our law the King can do no wrong; but of his present Majesty, who is universally known to be adorned with many social virtues, may we not justly conclude that he would not do any wrong even if he could?

"Never let us lose out of sight that our interest lies in a perpetual connection with our mother country, notwithstanding the present unwise and harsh measures, *there are thousands in Great Britain that think with us, and wish well to the American cause*

and make it their own. Let us convince our enemies that the struggles of America have not their rise in a desire of independency, but from a warm regard of our common constitution, that we esteem the name of Britons, as being the same with free men; *let every step we take afford proof how greatly we esteem our mother country*, and that, to the wish of a perpetual connection, we prefer the only consideration, that we may be virtuous and free.

"Let me entreat you, gentlemen, think coolly and act deliberately. Rash counsels are seldom good ones; *ministerial rashness and American rashness* can only be productive of untoward compounds. Inconsiderate measures, framed on the other side of the Atlantic are the cause of all our mischiefs; and it is not in the least probable that inconsiderate measures in America can be productive of any good. Let nothing be done through strife and vainglory; let no private resentment nor party zeal disgrace your honest warmth for your country's welfare; measures determined on by integrity and prudence are most likely to be carried into execution by steadiness and moderation. Let neither the frowns of tyranny nor the pleasure of popularity sway you from what you clearly apprehend just and right, and to be your duty. Consider how much lies at stake; how greatly your religion, your liberty, your property, your posterity is interested. Endeavour to act like freemen, like loyal subjects, like real Christians, and you will so speak and so act as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty. Act conscientiously, and with a view to God, then commit your ways to Him; leave the event with God, and you will have great reason to hope that the event will be just, honourable, and happy."

Zubly made a direct appeal to Lord Dartmouth.

"My Lord,—Your Lordship's appointment to be Secretary of State for the American department by numbers that respected your Lordship's religious character, was looked upon as a very providential and happy event Your patronizing religious undertakings, confirmed the general opinion; and we were happy in the expectations of your Lordship's conscientious regard to justice and equity, as well as to the civil and religious liberties of this great

Appeal to Lord Dartmouth.

continent; we expected the cause of liberty and religion would meet with the strongest support under your administration, and in your Lordship would ever find a constant and successful advocate with your Royal Master. Unhappily during your administration, measures have been pursued very contrary to American hopes, and we easily conceive your Lordship may think it not less strange that many friends of religion in America should be so uneasy under laws which had your Lordship's concurrence and approbation.

"It is to the man and to the Christian I wish to be permitted to address myself; your Lordship ranks among the highest subjects, and has a large share in all public measures; but anxiety for what may distress, and zeal for the welfare of the empire, can be no crime even in the meanest; and when a house is once in flames, every man is inexcusable, or must at least be so in his own breast, that does not contribute whatever he may think in his power to their being extinguished. The effects of the present measures are visible, and it requires no sagacity to foresee what may be the consequence should they be continued. Your Lordship may do much towards restoring and perpetuating the tranquillity of a great empire; persons of my station have nothing to offer but hints and wishes; should these be beneath your notice, or stand in need of forgiveness, my sincere wish to contribute anything towards a just, happy, and perpetual connection between a parent state and an infant country, growing apace to the most astonishing importance, must be my only apology. *Pulchrum est bene facere republicæ, sed et bene dicere non est absurdum.*

"The question, my Lord, which now agitates Great Britain and America, and in which your Lordship has taken such an active part, is, whether the Parliament of Great Britain has a right to lay taxes on the Americans, who are not and cannot there be represented; and *whether the Parliament has a right to bind the Americans in all cases whatsoever?* Whatever may be said, or whatever the good people in Great Britain may believe, *this is the whole subject of the dispute.* All the severities hitherto exercised upon the Americans, professedly have no other view than to enforce such a dependence, and *nothing less than a claim destructive of all natural and national liberty, could possibly have united all America in a general opposition,* or have aroused them

to join all like one man in their common defence. Let a declaratory bill be passed 'that any law and usage to the contrary notwithstanding, America is entitled to all the common rights of mankind, and all the blessings of the British constitution, that the sword shall never be drawn to abridge, but to confirm the birth-right,' and the storm instantly becomes a calm, and every American thinks himself happy to contribute to the necessities, defence, and glory of Great Britain to the utmost of his strength and power. To 'bind them in all cases whatsoever, my Lord, the Americans look upon this as the language of despotism in its utmost perfection. What can, say they, an emperor of Morocco pretend more of his slaves than to bind them in all cases whatsoever? Were it meant to make the Americans hewers of wood and drawers of water, were it meant to oblige them to make bricks without straw, were it meant to deprive them of the enjoyment of their religion, and to establish a hierarchy over them similar to that of the Church of Rome in Canada, it would, say they, be no more than a natural consequence of the right of binding them (unseen, unheard, unrepresented) in all cases whatsoever.

"My Lord, the Americans are no idiots, and they appear determined not to be slaves. Oppression will make wise men mad, but oppressors in the end frequently find that they were not wise men; there may be *resources even in despair* sufficient to render any set of men strong enough not to be bound in all cases whatsoever.

"Grievous is the thought, my Lord, that a nobleman of your Lordship's character should be so zealous to make war, and to imbrue his hands in the blood of millions of your fellow-subjects and fellow-Christians. Pray, my Lord, is it possible that those, who at three thousand miles' distance can be bound in all cases, may be said to have any liberty at all? Is it nothing in your Lordship's eyes to deprive so considerable a part of the globe of breathing a free air, or to subjugate numbers and generations to slavery and despotism? Can your Lordship think on these things without horror, or hope they must be productive of anything but detestation and disappointment? Your Lordship believes a Supreme Ruler of the earth, and that the small and great must stand before Him at last; would your Lordship be willing at the general meeting of mankind, to take a place among

those who destroyed or enslaved empires; or risk your future state on the merit of having, at the expense of British blood and treasure, taken away the property, the life, and liberty of the largest part of the British empire? Can your Lordship think those that fear the Lord will not cry to Him against their oppressors? And will not the Father of mankind hear the cry of the oppressed? or would you be willing that their cries and tears should rise against you as a forward instrument of their oppression?

"Destroying the Americans will not cure them, nor will any acts that condemn to starve or be miserable, have any tendency to persuade them that these acts were made by their friends.

"Review, my Lord, the effects of the present measures (at Lexington, Boston, Charlestown, Bunker's Hill, and the New England fishery); the past and present will inform your Lordship of what may be to come.

"Proposals publicly made by ministerial writers relative to *American domestics* (to *emancipate the slaves*) laid the southern provinces under a necessity of arming themselves; a proposal to put it in the power of domestics to cut the throats of their masters, can only serve to cover the proposers and abettors with everlasting infamy. In times of public confusion men of all parties are sometimes carried further than they intended at first setting out. History and the knowledge of human nature should inform your Lordship, how much it is against all sound policy to secure or strive for punctilios at an infinite risk.

"To restore peace and harmony, nothing is more necessary than to secure to America the known blessings of the constitution. This may be done in a moment, and without any disgrace or risk. Let the Americans enjoy, as hitherto, the privilege to give and grant by their own representatives, and they will give and grant liberally; but their liberty, they will never part with, but with their lives; the day that restores them liberty, restores everything to their former channel; to enforce the contrary claim, ages may be insufficient, and every day increases the danger of a mother's being dashed to pieces on her own children."

The only response, we fear, given to this clear and impressive statement, was that conveyed in the official documents, justifying, under all the circum-

stances, the policy of Great Britain. At an earlier date (June 3, 1774), Lord Dartmouth had written to General Gage in these terms :—

Dartmouth's Instruction to Gage.

"The constitutional authority of Great Britain over its colonies must be vindicated, and its laws obeyed throughout the whole empire. Not only its dignity and reputation, but its power—nay, its very existence—depends upon the present moment, for should those ideas of independence, which some dangerous and ill-designing persons here are artfully endeavouring to instil into the minds of the King's American subjects, once take root, that relation between the kingdom and its colonies, which is the bond of peace and power, will soon cease to exist, and *destruction* must follow *disunion*." *

Lord Dartmouth, unequal to the work required, soon relinquished his office.

The British Government received other communications from America, written widely different from that of Zubly. A copy of a New York journal was forwarded to the Secretary of State, containing an article on the proceedings in Massachusetts Bay, in which the writer says :—

Northern Settlers Misrepresented.

"Without attempting a full delineation of the character of the *northern settlers*, I have only to observe that the same refractory spirit which has recently produced such alarming consequences was too discernible at a very early period of the settlement. On their arrival they propagated the same religious tenets which they had adopted in Great Britain. They had a cordial attachment to republican principles, and never could brook that necessary sub-

* The King writes to Lord North :—"Lord Dartmouth brought me Mr. Hutchinson (the fugitive Governor of Boston). I desired him he would introduce him in my closet. He owns *the Boston Port Bill was the only wise and effectual method* that could have been suggested for bringing them to a speedy submission, and that *the change in the legislature* will be a means of establishing some government in that province, which till now has been one of anarchy."

ordination and essential distinction of rank which is the grand cement of civil government. Enamoured with the enthusiasm of their ancestors, they still discover a steadfast resolution to preserve it in full bloom, and to transmit it unsullied to posterity. The country swarmed with bigoted religionists of various sects, and the clergy—adepts in the mysteries of theology, and seldom idle on the appearance of civil commotions—insisted on preserving a certain sanctity of manners, accompanied with such a grave, solemn, and *singular tone of voice*, that it is not wonderful that the weak and credulous should have been duped by such specious and plausible artifices. Superstition and folly stalked forth hand-in-hand, and constantly supplied that quarter of the New World with various species of enormous absurdities. Many poor wretches were tried for witchcraft, whose simplicity of manners might at least have secured them from any suspicion of Satanical connections. Under this parade of singularity and pious disguise have these *holy sinners and thorough-paced hypocrites* been imposing upon mankind from their emigration to the present day. Warped by political prejudice, they are entirely inattentive to their own interests. Enthusiasts in the extreme, they seldom argue with calmness and temper; and when addressed with that unsuspicious frankness and candour which redounds so highly to the honour of Britons, they are too apt to reply with duplicity and design. This disposition has proved fatal, and from this fertile source of hypocrisy may be traced all the evils which have befallen them. It is not denied that there are many respectable exceptions, but when I assert that the colony has been considered before in the same point of view, I only deliver the sentiments of many gentlemen of candour, good sense, and experience, who have been long conversant with the affairs of the continent. The *southern colonies*, originally more loyal, were less anxious about theological tenets, strictly *attached, perhaps, to no religion at all.* The whole of the colonies, however, were for a series of years sensible of the importance of the mother country, and professed their loyalty in very pointed terms. *Indeed, all might yet have been still and calm, had not the invincible phrenzy of the Massachusetts Bay involved them in all the horrors of a civil war.*"

To their own injury, and the protracted misery

of the country, the representatives of the Anglican party failed egregiously to comprehend the character and genius of the Americans, and adding to their voluntary ignorance the blindness of prejudice, they misled the sovereign and his ministerial advisers. But with their old antagonists, the leaders of the New England Theocracy, they gradually receded from public view. The revolutionary movement was inaugurated by men who had no real sympathy with either party. Thomas Paine, who left his country after defrauding the revenue, suddenly became the most prominent man in America, and, for a time, the most influential. He gave distinct articulation, in a pamphlet, entitled, "Common Sense," to the sentiment long slumbering in the minds of many, that the time was come for the American provinces to go alone. The occasion to strike the blow for separation was given in the cession of Canada by the French. Vergennes said to Lord Stourmont, British Ambassador at Paris: "England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection; she will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her, and they will end by striking off all dependence." * Paine thoroughly understood the temper of the people. His object in "Common Sense" was to assert their right and duty to *declare their independence*, and to form a constitution on purely democratic principles. Though a coarse, profane, and bitter reviler of Christianity, to

Thomas Paine.

"Common Sense."

* S. P. France, No. 19, Separate, Oct. 31, 1773.

impress the minds of religious people, he conjured them not to imitate the folly and guilt of the Jews in desiring a king, nor on that account to incur the divine displeasure. George III. he spoke of as the "royal brute" of Britain. Paine made it clear to the popular mind that the slow process of seeking redress by constitutional means was perfectly useless, and that the shortest course to freedom was by the way of blood. He declared that England had no constitution. This stirring appeal was reprinted in every province of America, and to mark their sense of the service rendered by the author, the Legislature of Pennsylvania, at a subsequent period, voted him five hundred pounds. Paine would hear of no mediation.

"Men of passive tempers," he said, "look somewhat lightly over the offences of Britain, and, still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, 'Come, come, we shall be friends again for all this.' But examine the passions and feelings of mankind, bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature, and then tell me whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully serve a power that hath carried fire and sword into your land? If you cannot do all these, then you are only deceiving yourselves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon your posterity.

Paine opposed to Mediation.

"To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded through a thousand pores instruct us to detest, is madness and folly."

Franklin, who in London had discussed the American question with great moderation, and who entreated his friends to consider the peculiarly difficult position of the King, now adopted the strain of his rival for popular power.

Change in Franklin.

The first step taken in order to a successful

resistance to Great Britain was the invasion of Canada.

The military operations of the Americans in their provinces however, were not well conducted.

"The affections of the Canadians, Ramsay, the American historian, tells us, were alienated. They had many and well founded complaints against the American soldiers. Unrestrained by the terror of civil law, and refusing obedience to a military code, the hope of impunity, and the love of plunder, led many of the invading army to practices not less disgraceful to themselves than injurious to the cause in which they had taken arms. Not only the common soldiers, but the officers of the American army deviated in their intercourse with the Canadians, from the maxims of sound policy. Several of them having been lately taken from obscure life were giddy with their exaltation. Far from home they were unawed by those checks which commonly restrain the ferocity of man."

Invasion of Canada.

Quebec was invested by the American forces, and summoned by General Montgomery to surrender. In the despatches of the Governor we have an account of the raising of the siege.

Siege of Quebec.

"QUEBEC, *February* 12, 1776.

"On the 7th a woman stole into town with letters addressed to the principal merchants, advising them to an immediate submission, and promising great indulgence in case of their compliance. Enclosed was a letter to me in very extraordinary language, and a summons to deliver the town. The messenger was sent to prison for a few days, and drummed out."

"To General Carleton.

"HOLLAND HOUSE, *December* 6.

"SIR,—Notwithstanding the personal treatment I have received at your hands, and notwithstanding your cruelty to the unhappy prisoners you have taken, the feelings of humanity induce me to have recourse to this expedient to save you from

the destruction which hangs over you. Give me leave, sir, to assure you I am well acquainted with your situation. A great extent of works, in their nature incapable of defence, manned with a motley crew of sailors, the greatest part our friends, of citizens who wish to see us within their walls, and a few of the worst troops who ever styled themselves soldiers. The impossibility of relief, and the certain prospect of wanting every necessary of life, should your opponents confine their operations to a simple blockade, point out the absurdity of resistance—such is your situation. I am at the head of troops accustomed to success, confident of the righteousness of the cause they are engaged in, inured to danger and fatigue, and so highly incensed at your inhumanity, illiberal abuse, and the ungenerous means employed to prejudice them in the minds of the Canadians; that it is with difficulty I restrain them till my batteries are ready, from assaulting your works, which would afford them the fair opportunity of an ample vengeance and just retaliation; firing upon a flag of truce, hitherto unprecedented even among savages, prevents my taking the ordinary mode of communicating my sentiments. However I will, at any rate, acquit my conscience. Should you persist in an unwarrantable defence, the consequences be on your own head!

"Beware of destroying stores of any kind, public or private, as you have done at Montreal and in the river; if you do, *by heavens there will be no mercy shown.*

"Signed, RICHARD MONTGOMERY,
"Brigadier-General Continental Army."*

The following is the letter to some of the English merchants, a translation of which in French was likewise addressed to some French merchants, and sent in by the same old woman on December 7, 1775:—

"The unhappy necessity which subsists of dislodging the ministerial troops, obliges me to carry on hostilities against your city, which they now occupy. 'Tis with the utmost compunction I find myself reduced to measures which may overwhelm you with distress—the city in flames at this severe season, a general

* S. P. Canada.

attack on wretched works, defended by a more wretched garrison. The confusion, carnage, and plunder which must be the consequence of such an attack, fill me with horror. Let me entreat you to use your endeavours to procure my peaceable admission. You cannot surely believe the ungenerous falsehoods propagated to our disadvantage by ministerial hirelings, the continental arms have never been sullied by any act of inhumanity or violence. We came with the professed intention of eradicating tyranny, and giving liberty and security to this oppressed province, private property having ever by us been deemed sacred.

"I have enclosed you my letter to General Carleton, because he has industriously avoided giving you any information which might tend to show you your true interest. If he persists, and you permit him, to involve you in that ruin, which, perhaps, he courts to hide his shame, I have not the reproach to make my own conscience that I have not warned you of your danger.

"(Signed) RICHARD MONTGOMERY,
"Brigadier-General Continental Army.
"Holland House, December 6."

"HEAD QUARTERS, HOLLAND HOUSE, NEAR QUEBEC,
December 15, 1775.
"Parole, Connecticut.
"Countersign, Adams.

"The General having in vain offered the most favourable terms of accommodation to the Governor, and having taken every possible step to prevail on the inhabitants to desist from seconding him in his wild scheme of defiance, nothing remains but to pursue vigorous measures for the speedy reduction of *the only hold possessed by the Ministerial troops in this province.* The troops, flushed with continual success, confident of the justice of their cause, and relying on that Providence which has uniformly protected them, will advance with alacrity to the attack of works incapable of being defended by the wretched garrison posted behind them, consisting of sailors unacquainted with the use of arms, of citizens incapable of the soldier's duty, and a few miserable emigrants. *The troops shall have the effects of the Governor, garrison, and of such as have been acting in misleading the inhabitants and distressing the friends of liberty, to be equally divided among them, and to have the one-hundredth share out of the*

whole, which shall be at the disposal of the General, and given to such soldiers as distinguish themselves by their activity and bravery, and sold at publick auction. The whole to be conducted as soon as the city is in our hands, and the inhabitants disarmed.

"A guard to mount this evening at four o'clock, to be paraded at Colonel Nicholson's quarters, consisting of two captains, three subs., four sergeants, four corporals, and one hundred men.

"Colonel Arnold's party is to give one captain, one sub., two sergeants, two corporals, and sixty men. Colonel Nicholson's party is to give one captain, one sub., two sergeants, two corporals, and forty men. Field-officer for to-day, Major Bigelow.

"The guards, both of Colonel Arnold's and in the suburbs at St. Roch, and the guards at the battery, are to observe each other in case of an attack, that they may be enabled to succour each other, and to give timely notice to the rest of the troops. The field-officers of the whole army to attend, at seven o'clock this evening, the General at head-quarters.

"(Signed) FORD WEISENFELS,
"Major of Brigade."*

Montgomery fell in the assault, and the American General who assumed the command gave the signal for retreat. Governor Carleton writes to Lord George Germain, Secretary of State :— Retreat of the Americans.

"QUEBEC, *May* 14, 1776.

"After the town had been closely invested by the rebels for five months, and had defeated all their attempts, the surprise frigate 'Isis' and sloop 'Martin' came into the Bason the 6th instant.

"As soon as that part of the 29th they had on board, with their Marines, in all about two hundred, were landed, they, with the greatest part of the garrison, by this time much improved and in high spirits, marched out of the ports of St. Louis and St. John's to see what those mighty boasters were about. They were found very busy in their preparations for a retreat. A few shots being exchanged, the line marched forward, and the plains were soon cleared of those plunderers. All their artillery, military stores, scaling-ladders, petards, etc., were abandoned."

* S. P. Canada.

Franklin stood out in the river with "Madame Walker and a Jesuit," waiting the result of the siege, and on the retreat of the American troops prudently retired.*

The day after their defeat, the main body of the Americans began their retreat from Canada, burning in their way every fort through which they passed. On the 10th of May, General Carleton issued a proclamation, inviting all rebels abandoned in the woods to come in, and promised them protection.

The citizens of Montreal presented the following address to General Carleton :—

"To his Excellency Guy Carleton.

"We, his Majesty's faithful subjects of the city of Montreal, most respectfully congratulate your Excellency on the victory which, with a handful of his Majesty's troops and seamen, aided by the brave and loyal citizens of Quebec, you have so gloriously obtained over the rebellious invaders of this province. How pleasing to your Excellency, how happy for us, to see you thus victorious, and now at the head of an army arduous to distinguish themselves, not less by their humanity than by their valour.

Address of the Citizens of Montreal.

"Before rebellion (the sources of crime and misery) made us feel its fatal effects, we were fully convinced that our happiness entirely depended on our deference to the authority of our King in Parliament, and we needed not the scourge of invading tyrants to persuade us that the welfare of a nation is inseparably connected with loyalty and attachment to the Sovereign.

"To relate the acts of injustice and cruelty committed under

* "Intelligence received from Montreal at Quebec, the 14th of May.

"Monsieur Franklin est reparti le 11 à 8 heures du matin avec Madame Walker et Madame Price dans un bateau."

"*24th May*, 1776.—Les troupes du Congrès sont frappées d'une terreur panique et dans la plus grande confusion à Montreal, ils ont trois goelettes devant la ville à bord des qu'elles ils ont mis le 11 Mai trois cent quarts de Farine qu'ils ont pres à un negociant de cette ville. M. Franklin un des Deputés du Congrès arrive depuis peu, est parti le 11 à 8 heures du matin quelqu'uns proposent d'accompagner Messieurs Chace et Carrolet le Jesuite, etc."

the sacred name of liberty would be changing our congratulations and joy into lamentations and complaints. Happy in our deliverance, and in the prospect of again flourishing under your Excellency's administration, we ardently pray the Divine Providence to prosper his Majesty's arms under your command, and to make you the happy instrument for restoring peace and tranquillity between Great Britain and her distracted colonies.

"We humbly pray your Excellency to make known to our most gracious Monarch the satisfaction we feel on being restored to peace and good government, and to assure the best of Kings of our unshaken fidelity to his royal person, his family, and his government."*

Ramsay gives the following account of the proceedings. A letter was addressed by them to the Canadians, July 24, 1776, in which they observed:—

"Such is the lot of human nature, that the best of causes are subject to vicissitudes; but generous souls, enlightened and warmed with the fire of liberty, become more resolute as difficulties increase. They stated to them 'that eight battalions were raising to proceed to their province, and that if more force was necessary it should be sent.' They requested them to seize with eagerness the favourable opportunity then offered to co-operate in the present glorious enterprise, and they advised them to re-establish associations in their different parishes to elect deputies for forming a provincial assembly, and for representing them in Congress. The cause of the Americans had received such powerful aid from their many patriotic publications in their gazettes, and *from the fervent exhortations of popular preachers, connecting the cause of liberty with the animating principles of religion*, that it was determined to employ these two powerful instruments of revolution, printing and preaching, to operate on the minds of the Canadians. A complete apparatus for printing, together with a printer and a clergyman, were therefore sent into Canada.

Address of the Congress to the Canadians.

"Congress also appointed Dr. Franklin, Mr. Chase, and Mr. Carrol—the two first of whom were members of their body, and the last a respectable gentleman of the Roman Catholic persuasion—to proceed with the view of gaining over the people of

* S. P. Canada.

that colony to the cause of America, and authorize them to promise, on behalf of the united colonies, that Canada should be received into their association on equal terms, and also that the inhabitants thereof should enjoy the free exercise of their religion." *

Treaty with France, Spain, and Holland.

The Mission of Franklin to Canada proved a failure, but he succeeded in the negotiation with France, Spain, and Holland for a treaty with the United States to punish and humble Great Britain. In a combination of difficulty and peril so serious, George III. had need for the exercise of the soundest judgment in the choice of his ministerial advisers; the most careful examination of evidence as to the facts of the case of the American colonies; and statesmen of all parties were under the most sacred obligation to forego minor discussions, and to render their united help in the attempt to solve the difficulty, and to lay the foundation of solid peace and amity in the recognition of the rights of the people, and in measures for facilitating the commercial prosperity of the rising provinces in the New World.

The reverse of all this happened. The King listened only to the partial representations of mortified governors and defeated generals, and to the appeals of the Loyalists, who reiterated their assurances that nothing was wanting to the subjugation of the rebels but reinforcements to the army. Ministers were chosen for the administration of affairs, virtually on condition of subserviency to the personal views of the Sovereign. Their measures changed in accordance with the royal wishes, or

* Ramsay, vol. i. 266.

they withdrew from proved incapacity, or in disgust with the manner in which their proposals were thwarted at the most critical junctures.

It is beyond our main object to enter into the details of the American war. We can only glance at the points indicative of the spirit and aim of the parties engaged in the momentous contest. GEORGE WASHINGTON was pre-eminently conspicuous for his moderation, courage, and fortitude. He of all the military commanders or statesmen of America appears throughout to have been most influenced by a regard for the principles and duties of the Christian religion. The spirit in which he entered upon the arduous services is strikingly manifest in a letter to his wife, dated June 18, 1775:— George Washington.

"MY DEAREST,—I am now set down to write to you on a subject which fills me with inexpressible concern, and this concern is greatly aggravated and increased when I reflect upon the uneasiness I know it will give you. It has been determined in Congress that the whole army raised for the defence of the American cause shall be put under my care, and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take upon me the command of it.

"You may believe me, my dear Patsy, when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavour in my power to avoid it—not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose. You might, I suppose did, perceive, from the tenor of my letters, that I was apprehensive I could

not avoid this appointment, as I did not pretend to intimate when I should return. That was the case. It was utterly out of my power to refuse this appointment, without exposing my character to such censures as would have reflected dishonour upon myself and given pain to my friends. This, I am sure, could not, and ought not, to be pleasing to you, and must have lessened me considerably in my own esteem. I shall rely, therefore, confidently on that Providence which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting but that I shall return safe to you in the Fall. I shall feel no pain from the toil or the danger of the campaign; my unhappiness will flow from the uneasiness I know you will feel from being left alone. I therefore beg that you will summon your whole fortitude, and pass your time as agreeably as possible. Nothing will give me so much sincere satisfaction as to hear this, and to hear it from your own pen. My earnest and ardent desire is, that you would pursue any plan that is most likely to produce content and a tolerable degree of tranquillity; as it must add greatly to my uneasy feelings to hear that you are dissatisfied or complaining at what I really could not avoid.

"As life is always uncertain, and common prudence dictates to every man the necessity of settling his temporal concerns while it is in his power, and while the mind is calm and undisturbed, I have since I came to this place (for I had not time to do it before I left home), got Colonel Pendleton to draft a will for me, by the directions I gave him, which will I now enclose. The provision made for you in case of my death will, I hope, be agreeable.

"I shall add nothing more, as I have several letters to write, but to desire that you will remember me to your friends, and to assure you that I am, with the most unfeigned regard, my dear Patsy, your affectionate "G. W.

"To Martha Washington. "*June* 18, 1775."

The sobriety that characterizes the correspondence of Washington is in marked contrast with the bombastic rant of many of his compatriots.

Franklin changed his tone according to circumstances. Dr. Priestly and Dr. Price advocated the

claims of America with great force and earnestness, and up to a certain point Franklin recognized their services with cordiality and gratitude, but as the cause of independence advanced they were left by him in the shade undistinguished from the mass of the British nation, with whom the contention was waged.

The friends of freedom in England made strenuous efforts to secure the rights of the injured colonies. The following letter, addressed to the Mayor of Nottingham, may be taken in illustration—

"LONDON, *August* 29, 1775.

"SIR,—The present awful and calamitous situation of Great Britain and its colonies cannot but alarm and grieve every true friend to liberty and his country, who considers the ruinous consequences inevitable to the most essential interests of the nation, its commerce and freedom in the alienation, perhaps the total loss of America.

English sympathy with America.

"While the present arbitrary ministers have, in too many instances, openly violated and endeavoured to subvert our excellent Constitution, recognized and established at the late glorious Revolution, and to the consequent accession of the illustrious House of Brunswick to the throne of these realms, many sincere friends to liberty, conformable to ancient usage, have associated in the support and maintenance of the principles confirmed at those two great and important periods, and to defeat the designs of men, who seem determined to destroy all those excellent effects.

"This association, formed for the honour of the King, the preservation of religion, the revival of trade, the glory and happiness of the whole empire, we trust will meet with your approbation, and that you will use your best endeavour to promote this great and necessary work, by recommending and instituting associations on the same excellent principles in your county and neighbourhood.

"And as nothing can more contribute to our good designs than mutual fidelity, unanimity, and resolution, together with a

reciprocal communication between us, we have for this purpose appointed a Committee of Correspondence, who will pay due attention to such intelligence of your progress in this business as you shall think proper to transmit.—Signed by order of the Committee, "THOMAS JOEL, Secretary.

"Direct to Thomas Hurst, Esq., Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, London." *

When advanced to a certain stage, the contest in the mind of Franklin was no longer one for the rights of America, or for the "rights of man alone," but for the supremacy of the United States and the reduction of Great Britain to a state of comparative and helpless isolation. He sketched the following outline of his ideas on the subject in his propositions for peace.

Struggle for Ascendency.

"There shall be a perpetual peace between Great Britain and the United States of America on the following conditions:—

"Great Britain shall *renounce and disclaim all pretence of right and authority to govern in any of the United States of America.*

Franklin's terms of peace.

"To prevent those occasions of misunderstanding which are apt to arise, where the territories of different powers border on each other, through the bad conduct of frontier inhabitants on both sides, *Britain shall cede to the United States the provinces or colonies of Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, East and West Florida, and the Bahama Islands, with all their adjoining and immediate territories now claimed by her.*

"In return for this cession, the United States shall pay to Great Britain the sum of sterling.

"And shall, moreover, grant a free trade to all British subjects throughout the United States and the ceded colonies, and shall guarantee to Great Britain the possession of her islands in the West Indies." †

* S. P. Dom. Entry Bk., vol. xxiv., p. 395.

† Franklin's Works, vol. ii., p. 43.

Paine wanted no overtures for peace. The propositions, therefore, were laid aside for the famous "Declaration of Independence" framed by Thomas Jefferson. The first thought was to lay the indictment in the preamble against the people of Great Britain represented in Parliament, it being perfectly understood that all the acts of the Government had been sanctioned by the Legislature; but to render the "royal brute" more odious to the citizens of America, all the offences committed by the civil and military authorities were charged upon the King personally.

Declration of Independence.

From that time concession on either side became next to impossible. None of the English statesmen who had pronounced their splendid orations in Parliament—Burke, Chatham, or Fox—were prepared for a dismemberment of the Empire. The King, in a letter to Lord North, said:—

Concession impracticable.

"KEW, 11th, 1779, 25 pt. 10 A.M.

"I should think it the greatest instance among the many that I have met with of ingratitude and injustice, if it could be supposed that any man in my dominions more ardently desired the restoration of peace and solid happiness in every part of this empire than I do. There is no personal sacrifice I could not readily yield for so desirable an object; but at the same time no inclination to get out of the present difficulties, which certainly keep my mind very far from a state of ease, can incline me to enter into what I look upon as the destruction of the empire. I have heard Lord North frequently drop the hint that the advantages to be gained by this contest could never repay the expense. I own that; let any war be ever so successful, if persons will set down and weigh the expenses, they will find, as in the last, that it has

Letter of George III. to Lord North.

impoverished the state, enriched individuals, and, perhaps, raised the name only of the conquerors; but this is only weighing such events in the scale of a tradesman behind his counter. It is necessary for those in the station it has pleased Divine Providence to place me to weigh whether expenses, though very great, are not sometimes necessary to prevent what might be more ruinous to a country than the loss of money. The present contest with America, I cannot help seeing, is the most serious in which any country was ever engaged. It contains such a train of consequences that they must be examined to feel its real weight. Whether the laying a tax was deserving of all the evils that have arisen from it, I should suppose no man could allege that without being thought more fit for Bedlam than sent in the Senate; but step by step the demands of America have risen—independence is their object. That certainly is one which every man not willing to sacrifice every object to a momentary and inglorious peace must concur with me in thinking that this country can never submit to. Should America succeed in that, the West Indies must follow them; not independence, but must, for its own interests, be dependent on North America. Ireland would soon follow the same plan, and be a separate state; then this island would be reduced to itself, and soon would be a poor island indeed, for, reduced in her trade, merchants would retire with their wealth to climates more to their advantage, and shoals of manufacturers would leave this country for the new empire. These self-evident consequences are not worse than what can arise should the Almighty permit every event to turn out to our disadvantage; consequently the country has but one sensible, one great line to follow—the being ever ready to make peace when to be obtained without submitting to terms that in their consequences must *annihilate the empire*, and with firmness to make every effort to deserve success." *

The defeat of the Americans on the principles on which the contest was begun would have involved despotism the most crushing, and subjugation to a foreign yoke in Church and State incompatible with security and peace, or the fellowship and co-opera-

* Donne's Correspondence of George III. with Lord North, vol. ii., p. 253, Letter 570.

tion of the two great Protestant nations for the welfare of mankind.

The strife was conducted with deplorable excesses, and heroic as were the achievements of the "sons of liberty," the warfare was envenomed by the spirit of men who were strangers to the principles and to the charity of the gospel of Christ. Contest embittered.

Loud complaints were made of the wanton cruelty of the English commander, and at the same time letters were continually sent to the Secretaries of State by the Loyalists, narrating the wrongs suffered by them by the tyranny of the American Republicans. All who refused to take the oath of submission to Congress were banished, their property was confiscated, and they were forbidden to return without the licence of the State, on pain of death, without benefit of the clergy. Mutual Complaints.

The excitement of the people was exceeded by that of their ministers; not a few left the pulpit for the battle-field, not, it is said, from mere ebullition of feeling or at the dictate of politicians, but as the result of discussions carried on for some years by the leading minds. Dr. Dwight's discourse on the "right of resistance" had a powerful effect. Prayer in the congregation sometimes took the form of imprecation.

"When the whole country," Hollister* says, "was in a state of alarm at the intelligence that Lord Cornwallis, with a large fleet and armament, was approaching the American coast, Colonel Tallmadge happened to pass through Lichfield with a regiment of cavalry. While there he attended public worship

* Hist. of Connecticut, vol. ii. pp. 390, 391.

with his troops on Sunday, at the old meeting-house that stood on the village green. The occasion was deeply interesting and exciting. The Rev. Judah Champion, then the settled minister of the place, a man of great eloquence and of a high order of intellectual endowment, in view of the alarming crisis, thus invoked the sanction of Heaven:—

Champion's Prayer.

"'O Lord! we view with terror the approach of the enemies of Thy holy religion. Wilt Thou send storm and tempest to toss them upon the sea and to overwhelm them upon the mighty deep, or to scatter them to the uttermost parts of the earth. But, peradventure, should any escape Thy vengeance, collect them together again, O Lord, as in the hollow of Thy hand, and let the lightnings play upon them! We beseech Thee, moreover, that Thou do gird up the loins of these Thy servants who are going forth to fight Thy battles. Make them strong men, that 'one shall chase a thousand, and two shall put ten thousand to flight.' Hold before them the shield with which Thou wast wont, in the old time, to protect Thy chosen people. Give them swift feet that they pursue their enemies, and swords terrible as that of Thy destroying angel, that they may cleave them down when they have overtaken them. Preserve these servants of Thine, Almighty God, and bring them once more to their homes and friends, if Thou canst do it consistently with Thine high purposes. If, on the other hand, Thou hast decreed that they shall die in battle, let Thy Spirit be present with them and breathe upon them, that they may go up as a sweet sacrifice into the courts of Thy temple, where are habitations prepared for them from the foundations of the world.'"

During the war the colleges were virtually broken up, the tutors and students being dispersed or engaged in military service. Professor Elizur Goodrich says:—

Adventure of Dr. Daggett.

"Everything was thrown into confusion by rumours of a meditated attack on New Haven by the British under General Tryon. It soon came. On the evening of July 4, 1779, a force of twenty-five hundred men landed in the south part of West Haven. College was, of course, broken up, and the students, with many of the inhabitants, pre-

pared to flee on the morrow into the neighbouring country. To give more time for preparation, and especially for the removal of goods, a volunteer company of about a hundred youngmen was formed, not with the expectation of making any serious stand against such a force, but simply of retarding or diverting its march. In common with others of the students, I was one of the number; and I well remember the surprise we felt the next morning, July 5th, as we were marching over West Bridge towards the enemy, to see Dr. Daggett (the Principal of Yale College) riding furiously by us on his old black mare, with his long fowling-piece in his hand ready for action. We knew the old gentleman had studied the matter thoroughly, and satisfied his own mind as to the right and propriety of fighting it out; but we were not quite prepared to see him come forth in so gallant a style to carry his principles into practice. Giving him a hearty cheer as he passed, we turned down towards West Haven at the foot of the Milford Hills, while he ascended a little to the west, and took his station in a copse of wood, where he seemed to be reconnoitring the enemy, like one who was determined to 'bide his time.' As we passed on towards the south, we met an advanced guard of the British, and taking our stand at a line of fence, we fired upon them several times, and then chased them the length of three or four fields as they retreated, until we suddenly found ourselves involved with the main body, and in danger of being surrounded. It was now our turn to run, and we did for our lives. Passing by Dr. Daggett in his station, on the hill, we retreated rapidly across West Bridge, which was instantly taken down by persons who stood ready for the purpose, to prevent the enemy from entering the town by that road. In the meantime, Dr. Daggett, as we heard the story afterwards, stood his ground manfully, whilst the British columns advanced along the foot of the hill, determined to have the battle to himself as we had left him in the lurch, and using his fowling-piece now and then to excellent effect, as occasion offered, under the cover of the bushes. But this could not last long. A detachment was sent up the hill-side to look into the matter, and the commanding officer coming suddenly, to his great surprise, on a single individual in a black coat blazing away in this style, cries out, 'What are you doing there, you old fool, firing on his Majesty's troops?' 'Exercising the rights of war,' says the old

gentleman. The very audacity of the reply and the mixture of drollery it contains, seemed to amuse the officer. 'If I let you go this time, you rascal,' says he, 'will you fire again on the troops of his Majesty?' 'Nothing more likely,' said the old gentleman in his dry way. This was too much for flesh and blood to bear, and it was a wonder they did not put a bullet through him on the spot. However, they dragged him down to the head of the column, and as they were necessitated by the destruction of West Bridge to turn their course two miles farther north to the next bridge above, they placed him at their head, and compelled him to lead the way. I had gone into the meadows, in the meantime, on the opposite side of the river, half-a-mile distant, and kept pace with the march as they advanced towards the north. It was, I think, the hottest day I ever knew. The stoutest men were almost melted with the heat. In this way they drove the old gentleman before them at mid-day under the burning sun, round through Westville, about five miles into the town, pricking him forward with their bayonets until his strength failed, and when he was ready to sink to the ground from utter exhaustion. Thus they marched him into New Haven, shooting down one and another of the unoffending inhabitants as they passed through the streets, and keeping him in utter uncertainty whether they had not been reserving him for the same fate. When they reached the green, he was recognized by one of the very few Tories in the place who had come forward to welcome the troops, and at his request was finally dismissed." *

Amidst the perils and distractions of the war, there was neither time nor inclination on the part of the people to attend to other questions. Ecclesiastical affairs were left generally in abeyance, but in the line of conduct pursued by Samuel Hopkins there was a notable exception. He was not satisfied to remain silent on the question of slavery.

The words in the preamble of the Declaration of Independence—"We hold these truths to be self-

* Professor Fisher's Hist. of Church at Yale College.

evident, that *all men* are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," remarkable for their vigour and completeness—may be regarded as still more wonderful as framed by a slaveholder, and unanimously adopted by a Congress of delegates who regarded the attempt to emancipate their slaves as the foulest crime. The unanimity of their vote would be inexplicable but for the plastic nature of men prepared in such circumstances for mutual accommodation, convenient silence or pleasant acquiescence in what, strictly considered, might be deemed inconsistent. For the sake of personal influence on the attainment of some grand object, such easy compliance is sufficiently common not to excite surprise, especially in men who seek popularity and power. Hopkins was not a man of this felicitous temperament, but held his principles as firmly when he stood alone as if he had been chosen first President of the United States.

The Declaration of Independence and Slavery.

"God has raised up men," he said, "to deprive us of liberty, and the evil we are threatened with is slavery. This with our vigorous attempts to avoid it, is the ground of all our distresses, and the general voice is, 'We will die in the attempt, rather than submit to slavery.' *But we are at the same time making slaves of many thousands of our brethren, who have as good a right to liberty as ourselves, and to whom it is as sweet as it is to us, and the contrary as dreadful!* Are we holding them in the most abject, miserable state of slavery, without the least compassionate feeling towards them or their posterity, utterly refusing to take off the oppressive galling yoke? *Oh the shocking, the intolerable inconsistence.* And in these circumstances the crime of persisting in it becomes unspeakably greater and more provoking in God's sight, so that

Protest of Hopkins.

all the former unrighteousness and cruelty exercised in this practice is innocence compared with the awful guilt that is now contracted."

Slaves were landed at the wharves near the meeting-house and parsonage of Hopkins. His Church members, his nearest neighbours, nearly all the respectable families of the town, were owners, and many of the most successful merchants on the island were importers of slaves. They imported not for New England alone, but for the South.

Hopkins was poor, and the peculiarities of his system of Divinity rendered him an object of dislike to many, but cowardly "dumb" he would not remain with the neglected and oppressed negroes around him.

"The present situation of our public affairs and our struggles for liberty," he said again, "and the abundant conversation this occasions in all companies, while the poor negroes look on and hear what an aversion we have to slavery, and how much liberty is prized, they often hearing it declared publicly and in private, as the voice of all, that slavery is more to be dreaded than death, and we are resolved to live free or die, etc.; this, I say, necessarily leads them to attend to their own wretched situation more than otherwise they could. They see themselves deprived of all liberty and property, and their children after them, to the latest posterity, subject to the will of those who appear to have no feeling for their misery, and are guilty of many instances of hard-heartedness and cruelty towards them, while they think themselves very kind; and therefore to make the least complaint would be deemed the height of arrogance and abuse; and often if they have a comparatively good master now, with constant dread they see a young one growing up, who bids fair to rule over them or their children with rigour.

"They see the slavery the Americans dread as worse than death is *lighter than a feather compared to their heavy doom, and may be called liberty and happiness when contrasted with the most abject*

slavery and unutterable wretchedness to which they are subjected; and in this dark and dreadful situation they look round and find no help, no pity, no hope! And when they observe all this cry and struggle for ourselves and children, and see themselves and their children wholly overlooked by us, and behold *the sons of liberty, oppressing and tyrannizing over many thousands of poor blacks, who have as good a claim to liberty as themselves, they are shocked with the glaring inconsistencies,* and wonder they themselves do not see it. You must not, therefore, lay it to the few who are pleading the cause of these friendless, distressed poor, that they are more uneasy than they used to be in a sense of their wretched state, and from a desire of liberty; there is a more mighty and irresistible cause than this—viz., all that passes before them in our public struggle for liberty."

The ordinary operations of the Churches in New England in this time of peril and conflict were carried on with extreme difficulty. For a long time before the war the erection of the meeting-house in a new plantation was often deferred for several years. Building was a tedious process.

Erection of Meeting-houses.

"Perhaps the first appropriation raised and covered the frame within which the congregation worshipped for the season (time), sitting on carpenters' benches, and hearing the gospel from a rough-board pulpit. Then came the glazing—at least, the lower part of the house, the gallery windows being boarded up. In due time as the people felt able, the building was glazed throughout and plastered, and the pulpit put in, with its magnificent sounding board hung over the minister's head, to the terror of weak nerves and the never-tiring gaze of children. Pew-building was undertaken variously. Sometimes it was included in the common charge, and the pews were usually sold to the highest bidders; sometimes the floor was 'lotted out'—that is, the aisles and location of each pew-lot was chalked on the floor, and a committee appointed to decide who should have the liberty to build for his family a pew on lot No. 1, who on lot No. 2, etc. Sometimes the meeting-house was

ten, twenty, and even twenty-five years from its foundation to its finish." *

Samuel Phillips and his arrears of salary.

The salaries of ministers were suffered to fall into arrears, but the account of the accumulating deficiency appears to have been carefully kept, with a view to the legal enforcement of the claim at the first suitable opportunity. We have a curious example of ministerial reckoning in the case of Samuel Phillips, pastor of the church at Andover, a man of remarkable exactness. His discourses, as preached to his people year after year, were carefully numbered and filed away in successive volumes, and his handwriting, even to the latest stroke of his pen, singularly neat and legible. His visits to the people were made in the same methodical manner. He went on horseback, with "Madam" on a "pillion" behind him.

"In passing from the parsonage to the meeting-house for Divine worship on the Sabbath," we are told, "flanked by his black body servant on the left, and by Madam and her servant and the children on the right, his movements were precise and stately, as became his ideal of the ministerial office; and when he entered the sanctuary, it was in meet reverence for the man of God, as well as in compliance with the old custom of the day, that the whole congregation rose and stood before him until he had seated himself in the pulpit."

It was not to be supposed that a man of so much order would neglect to keep a correct account of the payments of his stipend. Notwithstanding their profound reverence for the venerable man, the church officials fell into the habit of bringing the

* Clark's Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts.

salary "short," and this for several years in succession. It is true that eventually their conduct in this respect improved, and they presented an amount beyond the stipulated requirement. Nevertheless, the old arrears were not met, and the venerable minister was concerned that the account should be properly squared. His proposals are contained in the following letter:—

"To the inhabitants of ye South Parish, in Andover, assembled, this 8th day of June, 1762.

"BELOVED BRETHREN,—With respect to ye business which I perceive you are now met together upon, I shall say the parish can witness for me that in years past I sent in one memorial after another, frequently entreating that justice might be done with regard to my salary. But yet they went on to vote as they pleased, and so have brought themselves into difficulty, and I am exceeding sorry for your sakes, as well as for the damage which I have sustained thereby.

"And whereas, Brethren, you have, it seems, at your meeting in March last, without any motion from me, made choice of a committee to compute the arrears of my salary, and to make report of the same to you, which they have done at another meeting, you then proceed to choose another committee *to see on what terms I would settle with the parish.* And accordingly the gentlemen have been with me, and laid your account before me, by which it evidently appears that after the deduction is made of the sum which you have in late years overpaid my original salary, there remains due to me, viz., in old year the sum of £3954 3s. 9d.—2 q. I then inquired of the committee whether the said sum was to be looked upon as exclusive of interest; the answer was in the affirmative. I then inquired whether any objection had been made in their meeting against the whole or any part of the said computation; the answer given was, that they knew not of any.

"So then it appears, Brethren, from your own proceedings, that you do, in effect, acknowledge that the said sum is justly

and honestly my due, and I might reasonably expect that therefore you would willingly pay me the same.

"But, however, seeing you are pleased to inquire *on what terms I would settle with you?* I reply, that provided you have come to a peaceable settlement of the said principal, I consent, for peace' sake, to forego the interest of the said sum, which I compute, after your interest is taken out, to be £5300 (errors excepted). If you say you don't look on this as any favour, in answer to it, let me say I am much mistaken if in the civil law damages will not come into consideration, seeing I have not been wanting, in years past, to put the parish in mind of fulfilling their contract. But, however, I can't but think if you will, as it becomes Christians, reason calmly upon the matter, and without any bias upon your minds, you will then judge that the interest of the deficient parts of my salary is, in the Court of Conscience, or by the natural law of equity, my due, as well as the deficient parts themselves, because the parish in general, though often called upon, yet through their neglect has, as I conceive, had the improvement of so much of my property. You can't but know that it had been much better for me to have had my salary paid me from year to year, according to the honest and true intent of the contract, than to take it now with simple interest, because then I might have improved the interest as well as the principal.

"And now, brethren, as to the principal. If you will now vote to continue my *salary* at *seventy* pounds lawful money annually, during my continuance in the ministry among you, then I will abate on that consideration out of the said sum (how short soever my life may be (*seven hundred* pounds in Old Tenor. And as to my *firewood*, although I have all along looked upon it as properly belonging to the parish to provide the same, because I declared my expectation of and dependence upon it before my settlement, but was told that there was no need of having a meeting about it, for the people would bring it gratis; and I was not so critical in that day as to insist on a vote for it; but if you will now pass a vote to provide at the parsonage house a sufficiency of firewood annually during my continuance in the ministry among you, then, notwithstanding the aforesaid engagement, I will abate, on that consideration, the sum of *three hundred* pounds in Old Tenor.

"So, then, there will remain, if you now comply with the said

proposals, the sum of £2954 in O. T. And if you now vote me the said sum, or, in case of my decease, to be paid to my heirs, I will oblige myself and them to give you a full discharge at the payment of the same; and this will disable both me and them from demanding any more of said arrearages in time to come.

"I am not ignorant, Brethren, of the ability of the parish to pay their just debts; and therefore what I purpose to give as a free donation out of said principal, I think it most proper, and I hope you are of the same mind, that I give it to the poorer sort, viz., to offset the whole or some part of their share in the said arrears; but as for such who plead that they are not in debt on the account of the said arrears, if they have anything material to offer, I think it proper that they make application to the parish, and not to me.

"And finally, my dear Brethren, if after all that has been said you do rather incline to defer the said settlement, and shall choose to go on still in love, as you have done of late, viz., to allow me £70 lawful money and my firewood annually, I shall submit to your pleasure in that matter. And to conclude, study, I beseech you, the things which make for peace, and whereby one may edify another, which is the unfeigned desire of your friend and servant, "S. PHILLIPS.

"Andover, dated as above.

"P.S.—If you have any proposal to make consistent with honour and equity, I am willing to hear and consider it.—I remain, "S. P." *

The parish chose "to go on still in love, and to defer the said settlement," for after adjourning their meeting till the next spring, they simply chose a committee "to reckon up the overplus that hath been paid to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Phillips over and above his stated salary, and to take a receipt of him for the same." But justice came at last, though tardily indeed, for fifteen days before his death he dictates the following letter:—

* Mrs. H. B. Stowe's History of the Church at Andover.

"To the South Parish in Andover, convened this 21st day of May, Anno Dom. 1771.

"MY DEAR BRETHREN,—I am informed by your committee that you have this day voted to pay me the sum of four hundred and ten pounds seven shillings and tenpence two farthings, as in full the arrears of my salary due to me in the former years of my ministry among you. I thank you for this fresh instance of your regard to me; and as a token of my gratitude, I consent that the sum of one hundred pounds lawful money be abated of said sum, to be improved for such purposes as the parish shall please to direct. And now, heartily entreating your prayers for me, I remain, Brethren, your afflicted friend and servant,

"SAMUEL PHILLIPS."

To Samuel Phillips, the son of this worthy man, and the founder of the Academy at Andover, we must refer a little further on.

CHAPTER XVI.

NEWTON commenced his work at Olney under favourable circumstances, notwithstanding the coolness of his clerical brethren. His stipend as curate in charge was only small; but John Thornton, a wealthy merchant, after reading the "narrative" of his life sent him a handsome present, and on visiting him shortly after, left with him a sum of money to meet his own expenses, and for the relief of the poor. "Be hospitable," said the princely donor, "and keep an open house for such as are worthy of entertainment; help the poor and needy; I will statedly allow you two hundred pounds a year, and readily send whatever you have occasion to draw for more." *

Newton at Olney.

Amongst the Dissenters the new curate found hearty co-workers. The difficulty he felt in reading the Burial Service on some occasions, was obviated by the omission of the passages deemed inappropriate.

In the ordinary services of the Church he could not have found sufficient scope for his efforts to form and instruct a "Congregation of faithful men," but what was lacking in this respect he supplied in

* During his stay at Olney, Newton received from Mr. Thornton three thousand pounds.

meetings, held in a commodious building hired for the purpose, called the "Great House," containing a parlour that would conveniently accommodate one hundred and thirty people. WILLIAM COWPER was a near neighbour, and to facilitate his visits to the vicarage a private path across a croft was allowed for a small consideration. The curate and his friend, the Christian poet, conjointly wrote the Olney Hymns. At the opening service in the Great Hall, Newton wrote the 43rd Hymn of the Selection, beginning—"O Lord, our languid frames inspire," and Cowper the 44th Hymn—"Jesus, where'er Thy people meet." At the meetings none who engaged in prayer more interested the people than Cowper.

William Cowper.

Edwards of Leeds, Symonds of Bedford, William Bull of Newport Pagnell, and other Nonconformist ministers, were invited to preach in the Great House, and when on special occasions ministers came from a distance to the anniversary services in the meeting-houses, the service at the parish Church was given up that all the people might attend. Hall of Arnsby, Bradbury, and others, were invited to the vicarage, and Newton expresses the pleasure he had in their company. Of Bradbury he says: "*I liked his spirit well.*" In return for these Christian courtesies, the Dissenting ministers in the neighbouring towns attended the parish churches, where Newton was allowed to preach in them, and if the clergy refused their pulpits Newton conducted religious services in the private houses of his Dissenting friends, though at some hazard, for he was closely watched, and in the case of his friend David

Simpson, who was "forced" from Buckingham (for preaching the gospel) against the wishes of the poor people; he had warning not to venture too far in the infringement of the Canons. In reference to accusations made against him on a visit to Liverpool, he writes:—

"OLNEY, *June* 1, 1764.

"All that they could do was to invent a low falsehood, that after preaching in the Churches, I had gone and preached in the Baptists' and Methodists' meetings, a charge so foolish, groundless, and improbable that it obtained little belief."

In common with the rest of the Evangelical Clergy, known as the "Clapham Sect," Newton found it expedient to show that whatever kindness he manifested to Dissenters, he had no sympathy with Dissent. His position in the Establishment he regarded as incomparably superior to that of a Nonconformist.

He contended that he had more liberty:—

"By assenting to our Church ritual, I give up less of my private judgment for the sake of peace, than I should by espousing the rules and practices of any dissenting churches I am acquainted with. Having accepted a designation to the cure of souls, my public ministry is thereby confined to parish churches; and I cannot, consistently with what I conceive to be the import of my voluntary engagements, preach at random, and in all places without reserve. But this is no restraint upon my conscience. I approve of parochial order. I was not ordained to be an apostle or evangelist, to spread the gospel through the kingdom, but to take care of a particular flock committed to my care."

Though Newton had admired Whitefield, and

was so much indebted to his preaching, he often speaks slightingly of "evangelists."

"When the thought of the ministry first rose in my mind," he says, "I trembled at it; it seemed to be presumptuous and impossible. But the Lord has done it. *A little Dissenting congregation* in an obscure corner was the height of my first proposal; but He has placed me upon a hill, made me happy in my situation, and acceptable to many."

Gratitude for the Divine favour in Newton was eminently becoming, for he had been taken out of the "horrible pit" and the "miry clay;" but apart from the generous aid of Mr. Thornton, his position at Olney had nothing in it peculiarly attractive. His stipend was sixty pounds a year. The town consisted of a single street of ordinary dwellings, and the neighbourhood, he tells us, was "low and dirty." Visitation days were unsatisfactory, and the service "poor and uncomfortable;" the sermon in the "usual strain" unedifying, and the company uncongenial. Confirmations were no better. He went to Newport with fifty-five persons, in whom he had but a limited confidence, some of them "little sensible of the engagement they were to make," though he had "endeavoured to keep such away." He must sometimes have had only a hair's-breadth escape from the censure of his diocesan. "Dined with the bishop," he writes in his diary, "*and had some talk about our prayer-meetings, but, through the Lord's goodness, all ended well.*"

The doles Newton distributed amongst the poor had the effect, in many instances, in keeping them from the meeting-houses, but on that account they do not appear to have received much spiritual benefit.

When we look fairly into the records we find that the confidence of the Nonconformist parishioners gradually declined in the catholicity of the Evangelical curate. One of them says:—

"Mr. Newton's strain of preaching, indefatigable visiting, and *many little artifices among the poor* and the young people, seems to carry almost everything before him. His preaching and every-day walk correspond, and mark the sincere disciple of Jesus; *but his carriage to the Dissenters always reminds me of Escobar Tamburin*, or some other disciple of Ignatius Loyola." *

The most interesting incident in connection with Newton's ministry at Olney is that of the recovery of THOMAS SCOTT, the curate of Ravenstone and of Weston Underwood, from a labyrinth of error, an account of which is given in his *Force of Truth*. In other respects, the result of his labours, as we learn from Richard Cecil, his biographer, was on the whole disappointing.

Thomas Scott.

"While Mr. Newton continued faithfully discharging the duties of his station, and watching for the temporal and eternal welfare of his flock, a dreadful fire broke out at Olney, October, 1777. Mr. Newton took an active part in comforting and relieving the sufferers; he collected upwards of £200 for them, a considerable sum of money when the poverty and late calamity of the place are regarded. Such instances of benevolence toward the people, with the constant assistance he afforded to the poor by the help of Mr. Thornton, naturally led him to expect that he should have so much influence as to restrain from licentiousness on particular occasions; but, to use his own expression, he had 'lived to bury the old crop on which any dependence could be placed.' He preached a weekly lecture, which occurred that year on November 5, and, as he feared that the usual way of celebrating it at Olney might endanger his hearers in their

* Bristol Academy MSS.

attendance at the church, he exerted himself to preserve some degree of quiet on that evening. Instead, however, of hearkening to his entreaties, the looser sort exceeded their former extravagance, drunkenness, and rioting, and even obliging him to send out money to preserve his house from violence. This happened but a year before he finally left Olney. When he related this occurrence to me, he added that he believed he should never have left the place while he lived, had not so incorrigible a spirit prevailed in a parish he had long laboured to reform."

To justify his conformity to the Establishment, Newton wrote his *Apologia*, containing observations disparaging to Nonconformist churches and ministers, to which a reply was written by Dr. Mayo, entitled *An Apology and a Shield*.

Newton's Apologia.

Newton assigned as one of his principal reasons for giving preference to the Church of England, the *probability of greater usefulness*.

"I believe," he says, "you will allow that the general state of your" (Nonconformist) "Churches at present is not so lively and flourishing as it was in the days of the old Nonconformists. I believe the best of your people were long ago sensible of a decline, that they sincerely lamented it, and earnestly prayed for a revival. Their prayers were at length answered, but not in the way expected. A great and spreading revival of religion took place, but the instruments were not Dissenters. At the time when I was ordained there was a considerable number of regular parochial ministers who preached the doctrines of the Reformation. The number has been greatly increased since, and is still increasing. I could not but judge that the Lord's presence with His word in awakening sinners, and in applying it with power to the heart, was more *evident* and *striking* on this side than on yours; not because we are better than you, but because the work with us is *rather new*, whereas amongst you it is of *older date*. The history of the Church of God and of human nature in past ages teaches us to expect that revivals of religion will seldom stand long at their primitive height, but will gradually

subside and degenerate till things return, in a course of time, nearly to their former state, though a name, perhaps, first imposed as a stigma by the world, and a form which owed all its value to the Spirit that once enlivened it, may still remain.

"When I think of the abilities and characters of some Dissenting ministers, I cannot but ascribe the little visible success they meet with, in some measure to their unwillingness to acknowledge a work of God in which they themselves were not employed. Their exceptions were not wholly groundless; a lively zeal for the glory of God and the good of souls, in persons whose judgments were not fully ripened by observation and experience, did not secure them from incidental mistakes and blemishes. These were easily seen and eagerly noticed. A desire of being free from the least suspicion of giving countenance to the unguarded though well meant sallies of active spirits, seems to have led some of your ministers into a contrary extreme, and their public discourses, though solid and judicious compositions, lose that animation in delivery, which is in some degree necessary to engage attention, and to keep up an auditory. Thus, while preachers much inferior to them for learning and general knowledge in divinity have had crowded assemblies, the pleasure with which I have heard some of your most eminent ministers, has been often abated by observing that the number of the hearers has been much smaller than the number of pews in the place. I must therefore confess that one consideration which deterred me from joining the Dissenters was a fear lest the love of peace and a temper rather compliant, might insensibly betray me into an over-cautious spirit, damp my zeal, or divert it into a wrong channel, and thereby prevent the success of which I aimed. I rather chose to unite with those people whom I thought the most likely to maintain and encourage what little fervour I possessed; and where I saw the most evident tokens of a power from on high accompanying the public ministrations. And as I had my reasons likewise for not being an itinerant, a regular and stated charge in the Established Church engaged my preference."

Leaving the personal convictions and predilections of Newton out of consideration, we may with advantage notice the course of some of the

eminent ministers in the Establishment who contributed to the revival to which he refers.

Walker of Truro.

SAMUEL WALKER, of Truro, is worthy of special notice. In his own sphere he was a "burning and shining light." With Christian modesty, quite characteristic of this excellent man, he gives the following account of the "work of grace" in Truro and its vicinity, in reply to inquiries made to him by a Dissenting minister:—

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Your favour came yesterday to my hand, and I take this first opportunity of returning you my acknowledgments, for the part you take in my success. However weak the instrument, God has shown His power, and to Him all the glory is due. Though the work has, indeed, been considerable, yet I fancy the apprehensions of many hearty friends to the interests of practical Christianity, have greatly outshot the real state of it. Nothing is more common than to form too sanguine expectations from great appearances of awakening; which do, only in a few particulars, comparatively issue in conversion. I do not apprehend such mistaken representations are of any service to religion, but the contrary. Yet I have found it impossible to restrain, within due bounds, the warm tempers of many friends here, in the communications of our affairs. There have been great awakenings here and about us; nor is it easy to ascertain the number of such as have been brought under impressions. Indeed, an evident fear rests on the country around us, so that many care not to venture into this place. There is also a number of *professors* (I think I may say of *believers*) here, and in connection with us, in the neighbourhood, at places diversely distant from three to eleven miles from us, for there is an established work of more or less consequence in seven different towns and parishes. I have the comfort to say also it still goes forward, and that there have been more awakenings this last year than in any of the former. The helpers are few; yet we contrive to keep things afoot, in the most *inoffensive* manner we can, where ministers do not take us by the hand, endeavouring always to keep such a temper in the people as that

they shall readily submit to their proper ministers whenever they please.

"I shall gladly give you, dear sir, and many other friends who favour me with their correspondence, more circumstantial accounts, and such as, I know, would be agreeable to them. But, to say the truth, I have it not in my power; my engagements are so very many. You will, therefore, attribute the shortness of this epistle to absolute necessity, and not to that to which I am sure it is not owing—the want of cordial affection. I desire to love and rejoice over all that love Jesus. I can truly say, my delight is in the saints who are truly such, however they and I differ in lesser points. As a minister of the gospel of Christ, you have long had my poor prayers; and I hope you will often be upon my heart by name henceforward in my approaches to the throne of grace. There I desire to be remembered by you, as a poor, unprofitable, insufficient sinner, who is not worthy to be called an ambassador from Christ. Be assured I want everything you can ask for me.

"I am glad you are upon a visit to my respected friend, Dr. Guyse. Be pleased to remember me to him, in such a manner as will best testify the affection I bear him, and the obligations I owe him; and if you see his son, present my cordial and brotherly respect; as I will desire you, also, to do to dear Mr. Hervey, from whom I had once the honour of a letter, which, I think, lies by to this hour ungratefully unanswered.

"These are threatening days. Nothing can save us but a revival of the gospel. Let us be thankful for any hopeful appearances, and pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers.

"That the blessings of the Spirit may be on yourself and ministrations, to the increase of your joy, and fruitfulness, and glory, is the hearty prayer, dear sir, of your very unworthy brother in Christ, "SAMUEL WALKER.*

"Truro, May 12, 1757."

JOHN BERRIDGE, of Everton, differed in temperament from the gentle and earnest evangelist in Truro, but he was not the less esteemed. Eccentric in manner and in expression, but perfectly genuine,

* Gospel Magazine, 1770, p. 70.

and thoroughly alive to the sacred importance of his work. His conversion was remarkable, and his entire career one of singular interest, but we can only glance at some points. JOHN SUTCLIFFE, a Baptist minister at Olney, enjoyed his personal friendship, and received from him the following statement of the effect produced by his preaching when he had personally embraced the truths of the gospel:—

Berridge of Everton.

"Soon after I began to preach the gospel of Christ at Everton, the church was filled from the villages around us, and the neighbouring clergy felt themselves hurt at their churches being deserted. The squire of my own parish, too, was much offended. He did not like to see so many strangers, and be so incommoded. Between them both it was resolved, if possible, to turn me out of my living. For this purpose they complained of me to the Bishop of the diocese that I had preached out of my own parish. I was soon after sent for by the Bishop. I did not much like my errand, but I went.

"When I arrived, the Bishop accosted me in a very abrupt manner. 'Well, Berridge, they tell me you go about preaching out of your parish. Did I institute you to the livings of A——y, or E——n, or P——n?' 'No, my lord,' said I, 'neither do I claim any of these livings; the clergymen enjoy them undisturbed by me.' 'Well, but you go and preach there, which you have no right to do.' 'It is true, my lord, I was one day at E——n, and there were a few people assembled together, and I admonished them to repent of their sins, and to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of their souls; and I remember seeing five or six clergymen upon that day, my lord, all out of their parishes, upon E——n bowling-green.' 'Pooh!' said his lordship, 'I tell you, you have no right to preach out of your own parish; and if you do not desist from it, you will very likely be sent to Huntingdon gaol.' 'As to that, my lord, I have no greater liking to Huntingdon gaol than other people, but I had rather go thither with a good conscience than live at my liberty without one.' Here his lordship looked very hard at me, and

very gravely assured me that I was beside myself, and that in a few months I should either be better or worse. 'Then,' said I, 'my lord, you may make yourself quite happy in this business, for if I should be better, you suppose I shall desist from this practice of my own accord; and if worse, you need not send me to Huntingdon gaol, as I shall be provided with an accommodation in Bedlam.'

"His lordship now changed his mode of attack. Instead of threatening, he began to entreat. 'Berridge,' said he, 'you know I have been your friend, and I wish to be so still. I am continually teased with the complaints of the clergymen around you. Only assure me that you will keep to your own parish, you may do as you please there. I have but little time to live, do not bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.'

"At this instant two gentlemen were announced, who desired to speak with his lordship. 'Berridge,' said he, 'go to your inn, and come again at such an hour.' At the appointed time I returned. After dinner his lordship took me into the garden. 'Well, Berridge,' he said, 'have you considered of my request?' 'I have, my lord,' said I, 'and have been upon my knees concerning it.' 'Well, and will you promise me that you will preach no more out of your own parish?' 'It would afford me great pleasure,' said I, 'to comply with your lordship's request, if I could do it with a good conscience. I am satisfied the Lord has blessed my labours of this kind, and I dare not desist.' 'A good conscience!' said his lordship. 'Do you not know that it is contrary to the canons of the Church?' 'There is one canon, my lord,' I replied, 'which saith, Go and preach the gospel to every creature.' 'But why should you interfere with the charge of other men? One man cannot preach the gospel to all men.' 'If they would preach the gospel to themselves,' said I, 'there would be no need for our preaching it to their people; but as they do not, I cannot desist.'"

The Bishop was displeased, but, at the instance of Lord Chatham (the peer to whom the Bishop was indebted for his promotion), interposed in favour of Berridge, and he was left undisturbed.

In a letter to a clergyman, Berridge justified his course.

"If every parish church," he said, "were blessed with a gospel minister, there would be little need of itinerant preaching; but since these ministers are thinly scattered about the country, and *neighbouring pulpits are usually locked up against them*, it behoves them to take advantage of fields or barns to cast abroad the gospel seed. But all are not designed to be *rural deans*. How are we to judge who are? If you are enabled to preach without notes, feel an abiding desire to spread the gospel, meet with calls for this purpose, comply with the calls, find the Word sealed, and, if persecuted and threatened, have the Word given for support—where these concur (and these are just my own experience), I have no doubt but such a minister is designed for a *rural dean* or a *rambling bishop*.

"When you open your commission, begin with laying open the innumerable corruptions of the hearts of your audience. Moses will lend you a knife, which may often be whetted at his grindstone. Lay open the universal sinfulness of nature, the darkness of the mind, the frowardness of the will, the fretfulness of the temper, and the earthliness and sensuality of the affections. Speak of the evil of sin in its nature, its rebellion against God as our Sovereign, ingratitude to God as our Benefactor, and contempt both of His authority and love. Declare the evil of sin in its effects, bringing all our sickness, pains, and sorrows, all the evils we feel and all the evils we fear, all inundations and fires, and famines and pestilences, all brawls and quarrels, and fightings and wars, with death to close these present sorrows, and hell afterwards to receive all that die in sin.

"Lay open the spirituality of the law, and its extent, reaching to every thought, word, and action, and declaring every transgression, whether by omission or commission, deserving of death. Declare man's utter helplessness to change his nature or to make his peace. Pardon and holiness must come from the Saviour. Acquaint them with the searching eye of God, watching us continually, spying out every thought, word, and action, noting them down in the book of His remembrance, and bringing every secret thing into judgment, whether it be good or evil.

"When your hearers are deeply affected with these things,

which is seen by the hanging down of their heads, preach Christ. Lay open the Saviour's almighty power to soften the hard heart, and give it repentance to bring pardon to the broken heart—a spirit of prayer to the prayerless heart, holiness to the filthy heart, and faith to the unbelieving heart. Let them know that all the treasures of grace are lodged in Jesus Christ for the use of the poor needy sinner, and that He is full of love as well as of power, turns no beggar from His gate, but receives all comers kindly, loves to bless them, and bestows all His blessings to *the free.* Farmers and country people chop at that. Here you must wave the gospel flag and magnify the Saviour supremely. Speak it with a full mouth, *ore rotundo*, that His blood can wash away the foulest sins, and His grace subdue the stoutest corruptions. Exhort the people to seek His grace, to seek it directly, seek it diligently, seek it constantly, and acquaint them that all who thus seek shall assuredly find the salvation of God. Never preach in working hours; that would raise a clamour. When you preach at night, preach also in the morning; but be not longer than an hour in the whole morning service, and conclude before six. Morning preaching will show whether the evening preaching took effect by raising them up early to hear. Expect plain fare and plain lodging where you preach, yet better, perhaps, than your Master had. Suffer no treats to be made for you, but live as your host usually lives, else he may grow weary of entertaining you. And go not from house to house (Luke x. 7). If the clergy rail at you where you go, say not a word about it, good or bad (Matt. xv. 14). If you dare, be zealous for the Lord of Hosts. Expect persecution and threats, but heed them not. Bind the Lord's word to your heart; the promise is doubled for your encouragement (Jer. i. 19; xv. 20). The chief blocks in your way will be the *prudent Peters*, who will beg, entreat, and beseech you to avoid irregularity. Give them the same answer that Christ gave Peter (Matt. xvi. 23); they savour of the things which be of men. Heed them not. When you preach at night, go to bed as soon as possible, that the family be not kept up, and that you may rise early. When breakfast and morning prayer are over, go away directly, that the house may be at liberty. Don't dine where you preach, if you can avoid it; it will save expense, and please the people. If you would do work for the Lord, as you seem designed, you must venture for the Lord. The

Christian's motto is, Trust and go forward, though the sea is before you (Exod. xiv. 15). Do, then, as Paul did, give up thyself to the Lord, work, and confer not with flesh and blood, and the Lord be with thee.—Dear brother, yours affectionately,

"J. B."

Berridge acted on these rules with amazing perseverance and diligence. His itinerancy comprised the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Essex, Hertford, and Huntingdon; and in the course of a week he often preached from ten to twelve sermons, riding a hundred miles. Having a handsome property, he paid his own expenses; and often dining in cottages with the poor, he left half-a-crown for the homely provision.

WILLIAM GRIMSHAW was an indefatigable worker of the same order. Newton, who wrote his biography, says:—

Grimshaw of Haworth.

"The last time I was with him, as we were standing together upon a hill near Haworth, and surveying the romantic prospect around us, he expressed himself to the following purport, and I believe I retain his very words, for they made a deep impression upon me while he spoke: 'When I first came to this country, if I had gone half a day's journey on horseback towards the east, west, north, and south I could not meet with or hear of one truly serious person; and now, through the blessing of God upon the poor services of the most unworthy of his ministers, besides a considerable number whom I have seen and known to have departed this life like some one rejoicing in the Lord's salvation; and besides five dissenting churches or congregations of which the ministers, and nearly every one of the members, were first awakened under my ministry, I have still at my sacrament, according to the weather, from three hundred to five hundred communicants, of the far greater part of whom, so far as men, who cannot see the heart, and can therefore only determine by appearances, profession, and conduct, may judge, I can give almost as particular an

account as I can of myself. I know the state of their progress in religion. By my frequent visits and converse with them, I am acquainted with their several temptations, trials, and exercises, both spiritual and temporal, almost as intimately as if I had lived in their families.' A stranger who had stood upon the same spot, from which he could see little but barren mountains and moors, would scarcely think this declaration credible. But I knew the man well, and of all the men I ever knew, I can think of none who was less to be suspected of boasting than Mr. Grimshaw.

"I could not omit this recital, though it may seem to confirm an objection that is frequently made against those members of the Establishment whom the world is pleased to brand with the stigma of Methodism. It is said that we, especially if placed in the country, *whatever we profess or pretend to do, but in reality promote and extend the Dissenting interest;* that when a clergyman of this description dies, *unless he is succeeded by one of the same stamp, his people presently build a meeting-house, and wholly forsake their favourite church.* The truth is, when the minister preaches agreeably to the tenour of the Liturgy and Articles, which we consider as the standard and bulwark of the Establishment; and if his life and conversation be agreeable to the rules of the gospel, he seldom preaches in vain.

"Having, through the medium of a preached gospel, heard the voice of the Great and Good Shepherd, they care not any longer to hearken to the voice of a stranger; and if the successor of their beloved minister contradicts from the pulpit what they have been accustomed to hear from the desk, they are grieved and disconcerted. They now hunger and thirst for righteousness, and must have suitable food; and *if they cannot have it at church, they will often separate from it, and provide a pastor of their own which shall feed them with the truth,* for their attachment was rather to the *doctrines* than to the *walls of a church,* and leave it with regret. They do not forsake its principles, but only withdraw from those who have forsaken them. I do not see how this can be prevented, unless proper men be found or sought—men who love the truth, and who dare to preach it. And since ordination is now scarcely attainable but by those who bring a college testimonial, let us earnestly pray the Lord to pour down His Holy Spirit upon both our universities, that a

number and *succession* of such men may come forth to supply the places of those who are removed to a better world."

Movements of the Rational Dissenters.

The question as to the ultimate effect of the revival movement in the Church of England for the present, we defer to attend to the movements of the Rational Dissenters in a downward direction. Priestley on this subject is the most competent witness, and we may accept his testimony with unhesitating confidence.*

"It is too evident to be denied," he says, "that the societies of those who are called *Rational Dissenters*, whether they be properly *Unitarian, or not, do generally decline; many of them having become actually extinct, and others being in such a condition that they cannot be supported much longer.* This is more especially the case in London, and in the South of England; but, from the same causes, it may in time extend to the North.

Decline and extinction of Churches.

"It is rather unfortunate, that the principal members of most Unitarian societies, being persons of some reading, education, and taste, cannot bear with anything mean or low in the performances of their ministers. They must, therefore, have such as have had an expensive education, and these have generally no resource for a maintenance but from their salaries as ministers, which, I may say, *are nowhere adequate to their support, except where they continue single.* Consequently, whenever the funds of such societies are too small to enable them to keep such a minister, they are broken up and dispersed.

"For the same reason, no *new* societies of *Rational Dissenters* can be formed except in large towns, where a sufficient number (and among them some persons of opulence) adopt the same sentiments, and likewise agree in seeing sufficient reason for separating from the societies with which they have been connected. And many of these persons, considering all matters of speculation as only of secondary importance, and influenced too much by the force of habit and the influence of former connections, will bear a great deal before they can bring themselves to do this."

* Priestley's Works, vol. xx., p. 479, *et seq.*

Whilst many of the "Rational" societies were being reduced to the vanishing point, those who, by the help of an endowment or of persons of opulence, continued in existence, were unable to keep up their former organization.

Priestley was vehemently opposed to terms of communion having relation to the common principles, sympathies, and practical aims so distinctly set forth in the New Testament. He would have Rational societies to take no cognizance whatever of the religious experience or scriptural views of a candidate for Church fellowship, but to guard against the intrusion only of persons whose moral conduct would entail discredit on the association. He strongly deprecated the practice of Congregational and Independent Churches, who expected some evidence of spiritual renovation and the statement of a "reason of the hope within them."

"Men," he said, "who act upon this system will be liable to be imposed upon both by the visionary and the artful; in plainer terms, by the *fools* and the *knaves*.

"I do not scruple to declare, that, in my opinion, it is better to have no Church discipline at all, than that of the Independents.

"With the generality of those who are now called Presbyterians in England, the whole government of the society, with respect to morals, is in the hands of the minister. *There is no regular appointment of any officers.* If there be any, they are those who, by tacit consent, officiate as deacons only, and *barely carry about the bread and wine in the administration of the Lord's Supper.*

No Church discipline.

"So long has every appearance of a Church discipline been neglected in many of our societies, that nothing of the kind is expected of the minister, though he is the only person who has so much as any nominal authority in the place; and so far is it from being expected of him to visit his hearers, in order to

inquire into the state of their families, and to give them advice and admonition, as was the custom formerly, that I am informed there are societies among us, in which the ministers are *expressly forbidden to visit their hearers, except by particular invitation.* It is certain that the least hint of an admonition out of the pulpit would, in many places, give unpardonable offence; and these maxims, I am afraid, are gaining ground among us.

In short, a Dissenting minister among those who are usually called *Rational Dissenters,* begins now to be considered as a person who is paid by his hearers for haranguing them once a week; and the people attend in place of divine worship, if not from mere unthinking habit, with the same views with which they would attend the lectures of any other person from whom they expected instruction or entertainment. Many of them have hardly the idea of having anything *to do themselves,* or *with one another;* so that the performance of the minister being the only object of attention, if they dislike his sentiments or delivery, they make no difficulty of quitting the society, provided they can please themselves better elsewhere."

Position of Rational Minister.

To societies of this fickle spirit, preaching became an art of peculiar difficulty.

"If a minister," Priestley says, "happens not to have popular talents, he is overlooked and despised, whatever be his real worth or his abilities in other respects. He is then discouraged, the generous ardour of his mind is damped, and *he is often for ever lost to society.* On the other hand, the applause which rhetorical talents and the graces of a good delivery universally meet with, are apt to intoxicate the preacher. From thence it becomes his whole study to rise upon his hearers, and surprise them every time that he exhibits; till, at last, he is a mere stage-player. His gestures and figures of speech are no longer prompted by his real feelings, and the whole service is *a piece of artifice,* without the exercise of the pure devotion of the heart towards God, and without that simple and earnest desire to instruct and amend others, that ought solely to animate the breast of the preacher; so that whether the preacher acquit himself very ill, or, as is generally

Lost to Society.

esteemed, very well, the consequence is almost equally to be dreaded." *

Amongst the circumstances that contributed to "bring Church discipline into so low a state," Priestley mentions the "greater freedom of thinking that first began to take place among the ministers, and is now generally diffused through the people."

"For some time, however," he adds, "the bulk of the people, and especially the Church officers, who were generally the more serious and jealous of their ministers, continuing *strongly attached to the opinions in which they had been educated, the ministers found themselves greatly incommoded by them;* the Church officers often making parties in the congregation in opposition to the minister, and controlling him in his favourite measures and conduct. In this disagreeable situation, the ministers purposely neglected to fill up vacancies in Church offices, and were, in general, *heartily glad when they became entirely extinct.*

Practical Effect of Freethinking.

"For the same reason that ministers promoted the abolition of Church offices, they *discontinued*, in many places, as far as was in their power, *all private meetings for religious exercises*, and even the catechising of children; in short, everything but the more conspicuous duties of their office. *Entertaining sentiments in religion different from those of their people, and such as their people would not have borne with, they endeavoured to keep them as much as possible out of view;* and finding themselves more particularly incommoded and embarrassed with the extra duties of their office, they laid hold of every opportunity of abolishing them." †

Priestley adds, significantly :—

"I would subjoin a word of advice to the *ministry*. Refrain from giving in to the levities of the age in which we live. Let it be manifest that you are no lovers of what is called pleasure, *or given to dissipation*. This caution is strongly enforced by a regard to your particular situation, as persons who pretend to *think* more freely than

Advice to Ministers.

* Works, vol. xxi., pp. 415, 416. † Ibid., pp. 410, 411.

others. You are not unacquainted that the popular cry against you is that you *act* more freely, too—are *less scrupulous with respect to propriety, decency, and moral strictness of behaviour; and the suspicion is not altogether without foundation.*

"Let us, my brethren, be upon our guard against the licentiousness of reformation. Let us not be precipitate. Caution the laity. *Many of them laugh at the strict observance of the Sabbath, and regularity in the times of public and private devotion, as superstitious, and not necessarily connected with moral conduct. They sneer at the doctrines of a Trinity in Unity, original sin, predestination, and atonement, because, at first view, they are mysterious and unintelligible; but, from the same superficial turn of mind, they neglect the Lord's Supper, discard family prayer, never catechise their children, and are apt to neglect devotion in all its forms.*

"*Too many of these modern freethinkers, having indulged themselves, without reserve, in laughing at everything they cannot comprehend,* take it into their heads to be offended at the *Jewish religion;* they make no scruple to ridicule the divine mission and miracles of Moses; and after this it will not be wondered at that they often reject the Christian revelation also. To trace this fatal *unthinking* progress a little further still, they will pretend to expect a future state of rewards and punishments, from the principles of the light of nature; but *when once they have advanced thus far in infidelity, they are generally soon content to rank themselves with the beasts that perish. To keep the thoughtless and half-thinking laity in a proper medium, must be owned to be of great importance, and a matter of great difficulty.* Let not even the study of speculative theology prevent your applying yourself chiefly to the advancement of virtue among your hearers. Endeavour to be cheerful, polite, and *free from affectation.*"

Priestley suggested remedies in accordance with his views—mainly that societies should be formed without ministers, to avoid the expense of providing for them; and to help the laymen disposed to try this experiment, he prepared a series of ceremonial forms. The declining state of the Unitarian Societies did not disconcert their philosophical adviser.

"It is possible that some of these who are called *Rational Dissenters* may be discouraged by the smallness of their party, and the seemingly declining state of the interest. But this is an objection that will hardly bear to be avowed, and can only have weight with *weak minds*.

"As to the number of Dissenters in England, it must be considered that, notwithstanding the seeming declension of what we call the rational part of the Dissenters, there is, perhaps, rather an increase than a decrease upon the whole. *Those who are called Independents retain all the zeal of the old Puritans*, and though several of their societies are become daily what we call more free in their sentiments, they receive daily recruits from the Methodists; *and many very numerous societies of Independents have been formed entirely out of that body*. Even these new Dissenters will, by degrees, necessarily come to think freely, and supply the places of those rational but lukewarm Dissenters who are daily absorbed either in the Church or in irreligion; and thus may the circulation, at least, be kept up."

Rationalists contrasted with Independents.

In the course of his lucubrations, Priestley urged attention to the Dissenting interest as that of truth, religion, and liberty.

Dr. ENFIELD did not approve of this view of the matter. The time, he thought, was gone by for speaking of Dissenters in such terms.

"If it be allowed," he said, "that the Church of England holds the most important truths of religion,* in common with the Dissenters; that the duties of devotion are performed with as much regularity, and, for aught that appears to the contrary, with as much sincerity, among the former as the latter; and that the present members of the Church of England do allow, and many of them vindicate their brethren in their natural right of free inquiry and of separation; if these things be acknowledged, which cannot, I think, be denied without manifest partiality and bigotry, it is arro-

Enfield on Church and Dissent.

* Remarks on some late Publications relating to the Dissenters.

gance in Dissenters to appropriate to themselves the cause of truth, religion, and liberty.

"This is a cause which is common to us all, by whatever denomination we are distinguished, both as Christians and as men.

"Are not many of those things which," he says, "stand in need of an apology in the Church of England, to be found in an equal degree among many of the Dissenters? For I do not perceive that the author confines his remark to those of them who are called rational. Do not by far the greater number of them receive and zealously defend the doctrine of original sin, predestination, Trinity in Unity, satisfaction by vicarious punishment, etc., etc.? Is not the method of praying, from immediate conception, or from accidental memory, generally in use among them, liable to very obvious and considerable objections? Is there not in many of their churches a kind of ecclesiastical jurisdiction established, by which those who join themselves to their communion are obliged to give an account of their faith and their religious experiences, and to submit to Church censure? Are not their ministers generally required, at their ordination, to deliver a confession of their faith, and such a confession as shall nearly coincide with the system of belief adopted by the societies with which they are connected? Is not this custom still retained, in reality, at least, if not in name, among most of those who are, by way of distinction, styled the Rational Dissenters?

"Are not the doctrines received by many of the more rigid Dissenters, who choose to style themselves Independents, the manner in which they conduct the several parts of worship, and the severe Church discipline which they observe, at least as exceptionable as anything in the doctrine, the worship, or even the hierarchy of the Church of England?

"If a change in the constitution and worship of the Church of England be desirable (as I fancy most of its own members, as well as the whole body of the Dissenters, will allow), it is not, I apprehend, to be accomplished by inveighing against Establishments in general; for, after all that has hitherto been advanced to the contrary, *they appear to me very beneficial to society, and highly expedient*, in order to preserve a due regard to the duties of public worship among mankind. Now, is it likely that the desired effect should be produced, or any other good end what-

ever answered, by pronouncing harsh censures upon the constitution or worship of the Church of England, by treating it with ridicule or contempt, or even by enumerating, time after time, those improprieties and defects which are already sufficiently known and generally acknowledged.

"Nothing is so likely to hasten this long-wished-for event as an unrestrained and friendly intercourse between persons of all denominations. This will gradually remove that groundless partiality which every man is ready to entertain for his own religious sect, will promote a spirit of free inquiry, will lead persons of every denomination to see the defects which are common to all, and to consider the distinctions which subsist between them as matters of trifling importance, and thus may *prepare the way for the establishment of some general form of religion, in which by far the greater part of the community will, without scruple, unite.*

"In like manner, with regard to the propagation of religious knowledge in general, I am of opinion that direct and open attacks on the errors and prejudices of mankind are likely to be of very little advantage. In all attempts of this kind, we meet with two great—I had almost said insuperable—difficulties.

"In the first place, we are far from being absolutely certain that what we apprehend to be truth is so in reality. There is so much difficulty in taking a full and complete view of a subject, and in ascertaining the connection between the several steps of an argument, and consequently *so much fallacy in human reasoning*, that (excepting only with regard to self-evident and primary truths, which the mind receives as soon as they are proposed) we must, after all our speculations, remain in some degree of doubt and uncertainty; and we may truly say with an ancient writer,* 'There is no desire more natural than that of knowing truth. We have recourse to every method we can think of for that purpose, but all is vain: for truth is a thing not to be attained. It is a thing that cannot be seized or handled, and much less can it be possessed by the mind of man. It dwells in the bosom of God. Man understands nothing aright; always attentive to appearances, which are as favourable to falsehood as to truth. We are born to seek truth: to possess it belongs to a higher power.'

"A man who, from his own experience, feels the force of

* Charron de la Sagesse. Amsterd. Edit., p. 112.

these sentiments, will have little zeal for establishing any particular system of opinions on subjects which have long been debated, and concerning which it is very probable that mankind will ever be agreed.

"*To place before them the series of arguments on which our opinions are founded, is to call them to a kind of intellectual exercise to which they are unaccustomed, and to assign them a task which they have not leisure to execute.* The only thing, then, that is practicable, and therefore certainly the only thing that is necessary, is to suffer their errors and prejudices *to die away without notice;* and to inculcate upon them those obvious and primary truths which are founded upon general experience, which approve themselves to every understanding, and which lie at the foundation of a virtuous conduct."

Priestley, on the contrary, had no sympathy with the supporters of Establishments. He "inveighed" continually, and with powerful effect, against the connection between the Church and State.

"Religion," he says, "I consider as a thing that requires no civil Establishment whatever, and that its beneficial operation is injured by such an Establishment, and the more in proportion to its riches; I am satisfied that such an Establishment, instead of being any advantage, is a great incumbrance to a State, and in general highly unfavourable to its liberties. Civil Establishments of Christianity were altogether unknown in the early ages, and gained ground by very slow degrees, as other corruptions and abuses in the system did. I am clearly of opinion that the State has a right to dispose of *all* property within itself: that of the Church, as well as of everything else of a public nature; and that religion has naturally nothing at all to do with any particular form of civil government, being useful indeed to all persons, the rich as well as the poor, but only as individuals."

Priestley on Establishments.

It became perfectly clear, nevertheless, to some of the Unitarians, that, without a share in the "livings" of the Establishment or in the endowments provided for other purposes, there was no

prospect of the continuance of their societies, still less of their extension throughout the country. The clergy were leavened to a large extent with Rationalistic opinions, and some who held them were so far conscientious as to doubt the propriety of receiving State support for teaching doctrines they had solemnly sworn to maintain.

Rationalism in the Church of England.

Archdeacon Blackburne drew attention to their embarrassing predicament:—

"There are among the clergy some who think that, with respect to their ministerial calling, there is an obligation upon them to the Supreme Lord of the harvest, prior to all stipulations with any particular Church. They consider themselves as called to and placed in their several stations by the Providence of God. They were admitted to those stations without any consciousness on their part of anything wrong in the conditions required of them, and with the sincerest intentions of fulfilling their ministry according to the gospel of Christ. Since they have found their mistake, they think their *Christian liberty* allows them to act accordingly, and so does the Church if she be consistent with herself. *They, therefore, comply with the Church forms where they can, and where they cannot they deviate from them.* This they do without disguise, and are ready to give a reason for their conduct to all who have a right to demand it. If their own people have any objections to them or their ministry on this account, the law is open, and they may implead such pastors before their respective diocesans. Should their lordships disallow of the practice, these ministers are ready to submit, and to retire without the trouble of a formal process; but they can by no means be prevailed with voluntarily to disable themselves from doing the little good in their power, of which, perhaps, no other means are afforded but in this particular province. They think their covenant with God as His ministers precludes them from dismissing themselves from His service. In the meantime they are *content with their lot*, and *some of them* with very slender

Archdeacon Blackburne and the Freethinking Clergy.

provisions in the Church, but *would not repeat their subscriptions to gain the whole world.*"

This ingenious method of pacifying the consciences of the clergy, and of retaining their livings, did not yield entire relief or satisfaction. In order to perfect freedom, Mr. Blackburne, at the desire of some of his brethren, in the beginning of the year 1771, drew up proposals for an application to Parliament in the matter of subscription. A meeting of clergymen in London was held at the Feathers' Tavern, July 17, at which a petition was prepared for this purpose by the Archdeacon, and an association formed to carry out the design. Theophilus Lindsey, a clergyman who had long suffered much mental disquietude, offered to take the petition to Kendal, Newcastle, York, Wakefield, and other places, and obtain signatures. As the result of similar efforts, a "venerable list" was secured, amounting to two hundred and fifty. The movement excited great discussion both in Parliament and from the press.

Application to Parliament for relief from Subscription.

"The idea," we learn, "of a Latitudinarian Church had many supporters, and the Liberal clergy, from a natural wish to increase the importance of their order, were generally disposed to favour it." Edmund Burke said:—

"These gentlemen complain of hardships; no considerable number shows discontent; but, in order to give satisfaction to any number of respectable men, who come in so decent and constitutional a mode before us, let us examine a little what that hardship is. They want to be preferred clergymen in the Church of England, as by law established, but their consciences will not suffer them to conform to the doctrines and practices of that Church—that is, they want

Speech of Burke.

to be teachers in a Church to which they do not belong; and *it is an odd sort of hardship.* They want to receive the emoluments appropriated for teaching one set of doctrines, whilst they are teaching another. A Church, in any legal sense, is only a certain system of religious doctrines and practices, fixed and ascertained by some law; by the difference of which laws different Churches (as different commonwealths) are made in various parts of the world; and the Establishment is a tax laid by the same sovereign authority for payment of those who so teach and practise. For no Legislature was ever so absurd as to tax its people to support men for teaching and acting as they please, but by some prescribed rule.

"The hardship amounts to this—that the people of England are not taxed two shillings in the pound to pay them for teaching, as divine truths, their own particular fancies. For the State had so taxed the people; and by way of relieving these gentlemen, it would be a cruel hardship on the people to be compelled to pay, from the sweat of their brows, the most heavy of all taxes, to men to condemn, as heretical, the doctrines which they repute to be orthodox, and to reprobate, as superstitious, the practices which they use as pious and holy.

"The laws of toleration provide for every real grievance that these gentlemen can rationally complain of. Are they hindered from professing their belief of what they think to be truth? If they do not like the Establishment, there are an hundred different modes of dissent in which they may teach. But even if they are so unfortunately circumstanced that, of all that variety, none will please them, they have free liberty to assemble a congregation of their own; and if any persons think their fancies (they may be brilliant imaginations) worth paying for, they are at liberty to maintain them as their clergy. Nothing hinders it. But if they cannot get an hundred people together who will pay for their reading a Liturgy after their form, with what face can they insist upon the nation's conformity to their ideas, for no other visible purpose than the enabling them to receive, with a good conscience, the tenth part of the produce of your lands?"

The petition was rejected. It was intended to present it again in the following year; but, on reflection, the matter was dropped. After long con-

tinued mental conflict, Lindsey resolved to relinquish his living; and, preparing his mind by reading Calamy's *Lives of the Ejected Ministers*, he followed their example, Nov. 12, 1773.

On April 3, 1772, a Bill was presented to Parliament by Sir Harry Houghton and Sir George Saville, for the relief of Protestant Dissenters from subscription to the Articles of the Church of England.

Dissenters' Relief Bill.

"The bringing in of this Bill," it is stated in the *Annual Register*, "gave a great alarm to the High Church gentlemen, who, seeing the former petition and the attempt upon the Church Nullum Tempus claim immediately succeeded by another attack upon the Thirty-nine Articles, began to imagine that some settled design was formed, subversive of the Established religion. They accordingly opposed it with great warmth, but found the general sense of the House strongly against them, and were *surprised to see a considerable part of the Administration*, and almost the whole of the Opposition, for once join in opinion, and both *appear equally sanguine in the cause of religious liberty*, and for extending the benefits of toleration. The motion was accordingly carried without a division, and the numbers that appeared against it upon the second and third readings were so small as scarcely to meet observation."

The unanimity of the House was only apparent, and well understood by some as a mere political manœuvre to impose on the constituencies in favour of the measures. The King, in anticipation of the debate, wrote to Lord North, April 2, 1772:—

Letter of the King.

"As I understand the petition of the Dissenters is to be presented to-morrow, I take this method of acquainting you that I think *you ought not to press those gentlemen who are brought on that interest into Parliament to oppose this measure, as thus you (may) be driving them out of those seats on a new Parliament*; but I think *you ought to oppose*

it personally through every stage, *which will gain you the applause of the Established Church* and every real friend of the Constitution. If you should be beat, it will be in doing your duty, and *the House of Lords will prevent any evil.* Indeed, it is the duty of Ministers as much as possible to prevent any alteration in so essential a part of the Constitution as everything that relates to religion; and there is no shadow for this petition, as the Crown regulates a *nole prosequi* if any over-nice Justice of Peace encourages prosecution." *

The House of Lords duly performed the part expected of them by his Majesty. Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol, being disappointed of an opportunity to speak on the occasion, printed his intended oration, in which he said :—

Bishop Newton's Idea of Liberty.

"Liberty of thinking and judging is one thing, and liberty of public preaching is another. The one nothing ought—and, indeed, nothing can—hinder or control. Thought is free, but public preaching should be laid under some restraints and regulations."

The Bill was lost, as, in a second attempt, it was defeated in the following year. On that occasion, the Earl of Chatham—in reply to Dr. Drummond, Archbishop of York, charging the Dissenting ministers with close ambition—uttered the words which have ever since been kept in constant remembrance :—

"The Dissenting ministers are represented as men of close ambition. They are so, my lords; and their ambition is to keep close to the college of fishermen, not of cardinals, and to the doctrine of inspired apostles, not to the decrees of interested and aspiring bishops. They contend for a spiritual creed and spiritual worship; we have a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Armenian clergy.

Chatham's Reply to Archbishop Drummond.

* Correspondence of George III., Letter 131.

The Reformation has laid open the Scriptures to all; let not the bishops shut them again. Laws in support of ecclesiastical power are pleaded, which it would shock humanity to execute. It is said that religious sects have done great mischief when they were not kept under restraint; but history affords no proof that sects have ever been mischievous when they were not oppressed and persecuted by the ruling Church."

It was not to the credit of their understanding that the opponents of religious liberty made such constant allusions to "sects," representing in fact only the associations of persons holding similar views; numerous as the variety of opinions sure to exist under diversified circumstances, the several parties existing in politics from corresponding divergence of principles might have sufficed to show them that nothing could be more natural, or in peaceable conditions more harmless.

We return, however, to the Churches. The rationalizing element often slumbering in a Christian society sometimes manifested itself in the choice of a minister, either as successor or assistant to their former pastor. A crisis of this nature occurred at Castle Hill, Northampton, when William Hextal, from declining health, expressed his willingness, in September, 1773, that the Church should invite the son of Dr. Winter to preach for three months, in the hope that he would prove acceptable as co-pastor both to the enfeebled minister and the people. These expectations were fully met in the ministrations of the young preacher, and at a meeting of the Church at which a hundred men were present, it was resolved, with only a single dissentient, that Mr. Winter should be invited to become the "stated assistant." Some

Hextal and the Church at Northampton.

of the "principal families" in the congregation were offended at this decided action of the Church, and it was intimated to Mr. Winter before he left Northampton, that the "intended application" to him was "quite disagreeable to them," and "very unkind" to Mr. Hextal. Jeremiah Radshell also wrote a letter to Mr. Winter, December 8, 1774, to ask him how he expected to be maintained without the aid of the "principal supporters"? In this trying position Dr. Winter wrote to Hextal, December 13, 1775, requesting him to state candidly whether he had any objections to offer either to the conduct of his son or to the doctrines he preached. In his reply, dated December 19, 1774, Hextal said:—

"I have no objection to the doctrines your son delivered here, and I believe I preach them myself, *though I do not bring controversy into the pulpit.* He has a great readiness of expression, and a pathetic manner of delivery. His conduct towards me was kind and obliging, and he showed a great readiness to assist at all times both in prayer and preaching, of this I trust I maintain a grateful sense. Now, sir, as I hope I have friends on both sides, I am determined not to interfere in this affair."

But he changed his mind, and acted in the most offensive manner. The Church closing their ranks, resolved to bring matters to a decisive issue, and submitted several charges, which they called upon him to answer, in a letter containing the following preamble:—

"Reverend Sir,—It is with real concern of mind that we feel ourselves constrained to inquire into any part of your conduct towards the Church of Christ, of which we are members, and over which you now hold the pastoral office. When we consider the affection we lately had for you, and the advanced

state of life you are in, it gives us double pain to think there is any cause for such an act to take place. But we cannot but look upon it as a duty we owe to God and ourselves to enquire into those things, which appear to us to bear the mark of insincerity and dissimulation; however disagreeable the work may be, we think ourselves obliged to carry it on, that matters may be cleared up, and good order and harmony once more take place in the Church. We are heartily sorry the enemy of souls has been suffered to sow the seeds of discord among us, contrary to our desire, for we trust we can appeal to the great Searcher of hearts, that we have been sincerely concerned for your peace and welfare, which we have earnestly sought at the throne of grace, and are ready to seek and maintain on all occasions, so far as is consistent with maintaining the truths of the gospel, *and standing up for those privileges which the Lord Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, has given us; but we apprehend the steps you have a tendency to deprive us of them: which obliges us to lay the following things to your charge.*"

Amongst the charges were the following:—

"You have endeavoured to subvert the discipline of the Church being independent, by endeavouring to set aside their acts.

"We think it contrary to the temper and spirit of a Christian minister, to take those steps and measures you have taken, by making promises of favour to some and using threats with others, to make them vote according to your pleasure, though not according to the dictates of their conscience, which is contrary to the command the apostle gives to ministers, 'not to lord it over God's heritage.'"

In the discussion that followed, it became clear that the intention of Hextal's friends was to bring in an Arian minister, and by a large majority Hextal was requested to resign, some provision being made for his support. To this he consented, but subsequently resolved to demand the pulpit. Being resisted, he appealed to a court of law, but after a few stages in the Court of King's Bench, convinced

himself that the case was useless, and abandoned the suit.

The deacons of the church conducted their case with remarkable firmness and moderation, preserving throughout great self-control, and meeting every device of their opponents with wisdom and unfaltering decision. The point of greatest danger occurred in the expression of opinion by the "London ministers" on a partial representation of the facts. One of Hextal's friends went to "Cole's Coffee House, London," where they knew the Board of Independents met usually on a Tuesday evening, and on his return said, "it was their advice not to dismiss Hextal."

On another occasion, listening to an *ex parte* statement of the plausible Rudsell, and setting aside, or trying to split, their "principles," they recommended to the Church "healing measures." The deacons state:—

"To us it seemed impossible to adopt healing measures, unless to heal the breach we had renounced all pretensions to Church order, cast ourselves into the hands of our opponents, relinquished our right in the place of worship, let the subscribers choose our minister, and *so bid a long farewell to the gospel.* These things we could not in conscience do, so were necessitated to reject their kind advice. Our opponents strove now with equal ardour to suppress as we to support our cause; and when one stratagem failed, they made use of another."

At the close of the important struggle, they said:—

"We esteem it a blessing that we can have our rights and liberties secured to us by the laws of this free country. Above all, we desire to express a grateful sense of our great obligations to that kind Providence which has interposed to preserve those

rights and liberties when in imminent danger; hoping that it will be our constant endeavour to make a due improvement of all our privileges, especially to manifest in the whole of our behaviour that, while we wish to maintain the principles we profess with an unshaken firmness, we are ever under the influence of that zeal which is regulated by knowledge, and leads to holiness."

Newton and the evangelical clergy prided themselves on their entire freedom from the interference of the people. The cure of souls was disposed of at the will of the proprietor of the living. The effect of this arrangement was that the gospel could only continue to be preached in any parish church as it might suit the patron.

No Evangelical Succession in the Churches of the Clapham Sect.

The "Evangelical succession" in the "Clapham Sect" in consequence was not preserved to congregations, but to clergymen who, in turn, adopted their views, finding a pulpit from the good will of friends like Lord Dartmouth or Mr. Thornton. When it was vacated by death or removal to another "living," the "flock" they had tended with so much assiduity was scattered, and the sheep would have wandered out of sight altogether but for the Dissenting ministers, who gathered them into a proper fold. An Antinomian in principles and in conduct followed Newton at Olney. The villagers who heard the gospel from the lips of Berridge were formed into separate Christian Churches. The Christian people who so greatly valued the ministrations of Walker at Truro, after trying for years to keep a kind of Christian association, were organized at length as a Congregational Church.

The zealous followers of Whitefield formed them-

selves into "societies," and a "connexion" of preachers was established under the direction and patronage of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, who supplied the "tabernacles" erected for the congregations gathered by open-air preaching.

Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.

HOWELL HARRIS was an ecclesiastical nondescript —itinerant and soldier—who sought in vain episcopal ordination. After the extraordinary labours of seventeen years in Wales and in various parts of England, he was compelled to rest at Trevecca. Some of his ardent converts came from a great distance to hear him at this place, to whom he preached three times a day. As they were unwilling to depart, he opened in April, 1752, a large house for their accommodation, which became a sort of gospel home, in which he received and fed a settled family, besides those that were coming and going. Beyond a little spinning of wool for the women, they had no occupation. In 1755, several families came from North Wales to join this religious community, in order to attend the preaching of Harris. A few of them rented farms in this district, but though the expenses were met by contributions sent to Harris, it became eventually too burdensome, and he was glad to entertain a proposal from the Countess of Huntingdon to take the lease and turn the building into a college for students to be trained for the Christian ministry. The old building at Trevecca was repaired, and opened August 24, 1768, when a sermon was preached by Whitefield. At the expiration of the lease, the college was removed in 1792 to Cheshunt.

Howell Harris at Trevecca.

Opening of the College.

Quarterly Meetings in Wales.

Associations for some time had been formed in Wales, for the more vigorous defence of evangelical doctrines, and quarterly meetings were appointed for this purpose. An interesting tract, vindicating them, was issued in 1776, in which the writer says :—

"It is a fact very notorious, and which cannot admit of a doubt, that numbers of the Protestants of our days have forsaken several of the leading principles and doctrines which the venerable Reformers maintained and preached, which they found the most successful instruments, under the Divine blessing, in demolishing the fabric of Popery, and which were preached with so much success by our pious and suffering fathers, the Puritans. Now, the associating ministers openly acknowledge their apprehensions, that the rejection of those principles tends to eat up and consume the very vitals of genuine piety, to promote carnal confidence and sinful security, to undermine the very foundation of Christian consolation, to rob us of the chief and only effectual motives to evangelical obedience, and, in one word, to deprive us of the substance of the gospel, and to leave us nothing in its room but the bare religion of nature.

"Now, let all men of piety, and that know anything of religion beside wearing its external garb, judge whether there is not too much ground for such apprehension. 'When the true and proper divinity of the Son and Spirit of God is openly denied and opposed; when the original guilt and native pollution of human nature is exploded; when salvation by sovereign grace is traduced as a licentious doctrine; when the doctrine of efficacious grace is rejected, and human power exalted to sit on its throne and to usurp its honours; when the great gospel truth of satisfaction to divine justice by the sacrifice of Christ is treated with contempt, the imputation of His righteousness denied, and the acceptance of men with God founded on their own fancied goodness and virtue.' Those ministers not only heard and saw that what they apprehended to be a new gospel was thus introduced, but beheld the most convincing evidences that as these new doctrines spread and prevailed, in the same proportion the power of godliness decayed. In some measure to remedy this evil it was

agreed upon that quarterly meetings of ministers should be set up, to circulate by rotation in their several churches, in which there might be an opportunity freely to profess and openly to vindicate those precious gospel truths which others so openly opposed and calumniated. This is the true original and rise of the quarterly meetings."

In the "proposals for the holding circular quarterly meetings," the practical objects aimed at were—

"1. The establishing and confirming of ministers and churches in the fundamental principles of the gospel.

"2. To make some inquiries into the rule, order, and discipline of the New Testament.

"3. All with the view of promoting holiness and the practice of Christian piety in the Churches."

The method to be observed :—

"1. A sermon tending to the illustrating and confirming one or other of the doctrinal points to be insisted upon, the subject and practice to be settled by the ministers the meeting next before. The allegations thereon and the explanation thereof to be clear, genuine, and simple, free from all ambiguity. Not insisted, it should be strictly controversial.

"2. A practical discourse adapted to vulgar taste, the subject at the discretion of the preacher, and he to be fixed upon by the minister of the place where the meeting is held.

"And in the afternoon a conference tending to the solution of doubts that may be proposed, all in subserviency to the above intentions. In testimony of our approbation, etc., etc.

"JOHN GRIFFITH.	RICHARD DAVIS.
LEWIS REES.	THOMAS DAVID.
MAURICE GRIFFITH.	JOHN TIBBOT.
OWEN DAVIES.	BENJAMIN EVANS.
WILLIAM EVANS.	EVAN WILLIAMS.
THOMAS DAVIES.	REES HARRIS.
JOHN DAVIES.	RICHARD MORGAN.
MORGAN JONES.	STEPHEN LLOYD.
BENJAMIN DAVIES.	WILLIAM PERKINS."

Much was accomplished in gathering Congregational Churches by individual effort. WILLIAM SHRUBSOLE, a ship carpenter at Sheerness, after a series of Christian operations continued for years, erected a chapel and formed a Congregational Church, of which he became the efficient and devoted pastor. THOMAS TUPPER was first led to serious thoughts on the subject of personal religion, by a sermon he heard Whitefield preach under a tree at the back of "White Lion Inn" at Brighton, and attended afterwards the Tabernacle in London. He was invited to preach by a few serious people in Portsea. In a letter to Whitefield, dated June 30, 1769, he says:—

William Shrubsole.

Thomas Tupper.

"I have never preached on a Lord's-day, but on some parts of it I have had five hundred hearers—many times double that number; and on the week days never less than two or three hundred, which I think some encouragement; and there is reason to believe that the Lord owns and blesses His word, and that He has many people in this place."

After overcoming many difficulties, Tupper was ordained April 10, 1770, to the pastoral office at Portsea. For several years he was laid aside by affliction, but on his restoration to former health another sphere of ministerial labour was opened to him. Some serious persons in Bath formed themselves into a body for public worship as Dissenters; but in consequence of the fewness of their number, and the opposition they encountered, the service was continued with much difficulty for four years, when THOMAS WELCH, a banker in London, and some other Independents came to their aid, and in 1785 Tupper became their first pastor.

These instances may be deemed sufficient to illustrate the methods employed by Congregationalists to advance the cause of Christ in the midst of discouragement and direct opposition. They sought to combine Church order with sound Evangelical instruction, and more active zeal to diffuse the truth around them. With this revival of religious interest it was determined by a few Christian friends to form a new institution in London for the Education of Young Men for the Ministry.

HENRY BURDER writes:—

"ISLINGTON, *May* 22, 1778.

"Mr. Welch and myself have met Mr. Wilson and several ministers and others, to consider of establishing an English Academy, wherein we propose the instructing proper persons in the English Grammar, in Divinity, and in the best method of composing sermons. Eleven articles have been agreed to, a tutor and treasurer chosen, and we are to meet again in a week, to pursue our plan. Do not our Churches in our day need a fire to purge the floor? Do we not need a something to rouse up our sleepy souls? I look on others with grief, more so on myself." New English Academy.

He writes again, December 26, 1778:—

"There is a new society under the appellation of the New English Academy.* Your worthy friend, Mr. Wilson, of (124) 'Wood Street' (father of Thomas Wilson), and Mr. Welch, the Rev. Messrs. (Samuel) Barber and (Joseph) Brewer, and one or two more with myself, were the first projectors of this (I hope very extensively) useful design. The two divines are the tutors. The plan is this. Persons wishing to be admitted must be recommended by one of the society, or must bring written testimony from the pastor or deacon of the Church to which they belong. They are also to give in an account of their faith, experience, and reasons for going into the ministry. They are to be examined by a committee appointed by the society, before whom they are to engage in prayer, and to give a specimen of

* Afterwards Highbury College.

their abilities, and if approved, they are to be admitted as students, to continue under instruction not more than two years, and not to preach in less than one year from the time of admission, unless the tutors think proper. They are to be instructed in English grammar and in a course of Divinity, and to be assisted in understanding some of the more difficult parts of Scripture and in the best methods of study for the pulpit. We meet with much encouragement. Several respectable persons, both Dissenters and Methodists, have joined us, and several have subscribed five guineas per year. I think our subscriptions amount to nearly or quite one hundred and fifty pounds a year; but though we have had so much encouragement and unanimity, we are not without those that snarl at us, and start objections and difficulties; but I hope it will please God to smile on this design, and make it the happy means of spreading the light of the knowledge of the glory of Christ and of gathering in His elect."

The first meeting of the new institution was held at the "Castle and Falcon," October 9, 1778.

In the minutes the following entries are made:—

"1. That the students, encouraged by this society, shall be sent to any destitute Churches amongst Protestant Dissenters or Methodist congregations, wherever the Lord, in His providence, evidently opens a door for them.

"2. That wherever, by the rules of the society, the students are allowed to preach, they shall be permitted to do it among any of the Lord's people that shall ask for their assistance."

"*July* 9, 1799.—Each student presented with *Ridgley's Body of Divinity*, Scotch Edition, at the expense of the society.

"Committee appointed to consider of a proper place wherein students may exercise their gift."

CHAPTER XVII.

In his resistance to American Independence, George III. by no means stood alone. For a long time the majority of the nation was with him, until the enormous cost of the war and the increased taxation rendered it unpopular. John Wesley wrote fiercely against the colonists. Cowper, the poet, decidedly opposed their views. Dr. Johnson offered a fanatical resistance to their claims; and, to add only another name in this enumeration, that might be largely extended, Chatham, the most eloquent advocate of the American cause, in his last speech vehemently opposed the dismemberment of the Empire. In a letter dated "Kew, Nov. 14, 1778, 1 min. pt. 1 p.m.," the King wrote:—

General Resistance to American Independence.

"If Lord North can see with the same degree of enthusiasm I do, the beauty, excellence, and perfection of the British Constitution as by law established, and consider that, if any one branch of the Empire is allowed to cast off its dependency, that the others will infallibly follow the example—that, consequently, though an arduous struggle, that it is worth going through any difficulty to preserve to the latest posterity what the wisdom of our ancestors have carefully transmitted to us, he will not allow despondency to find a place in his breast, but resolve not merely out of duty to fill his post, but will resolve to meet every obstacle that may arise

Letter of the King to Lord North.

—he shall meet with the most cordial support from me; but the times require vigour, or the State will be ruined." *

The King, notwithstanding the obstinacy of his mistaken patriotism, was compelled to yield to the inevitable. At one time, through the criminal negligence of the Administration, the naval ports were in danger of bombardment. Charles James Fox wrote, "London, April 17 (1799)":—

English Ports in danger.

"DEAR OSSORY,—The French and Spanish fleets are certainly off the Lizard Point, and *between Sir Charles Hardy* and Plymouth. You may depend on this being true. Sixty-three were seen; but whether there were more or not, or how many of them were frigates, is not certain. There must be a battle, and Sir Charles has but thirty-six."†

Favoured by hazy weather, the British squadron passed the enemy, and anchored at Spithead on September 2. Count d'Orvilliers declined to follow Hardy, fearing the intricate navigation; and as the equinox was near, and sickness prevailing, the combined fleets retired to Brest, without a single exploit except the capture of the *Ardent* man-of-war. The long-threatened invasion of England was not effected. But the miseries of the war changed public opinion, and led to the defeat of the Ministry of Lord North. On January 27, 1782, General Conway moved the following resolution in the House of Commons:—

Resolution in Parliament to Discontinue the War.

"That it is the opinion of this House, that the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America, and, by

* Donne's Correspondence of King George III., etc. Letter 523, pp. 215, 216.
† Lord Russell's Life of Fox, vol. i., p. 239.

preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his Majesty to restore the blessings of public tranquillity."

The motion was seconded by Lord Althorp, and adopted by a majority of nineteen, the numbers being—Ayes, 234; Noes, 215.

Five days after, another resolution was passed by the House, declaring that the House "would consider as enemies to his Majesty and the country all those who should by any means attempt the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force."

After various ministerial changes, the signal victories of Rodney, and the exhaustion of America, the way was prepared for the negotiation of Treaties of Peace with the four enemies against which England had so long contended without a single ally.

Negotiation for Peace.

Practically, the Independence of the United States of America involved little more than a change of Administration, in which native talent and influence might have its proper scope. No levelling process was needed in America, for there was no deeply-rooted aristocracy, related by ancient ties to the Court and to the people. Society, therefore, needed no reconstruction.

No Social Change Required.

Nor was it necessary to effect a social change in England. Corruption existed, inequality of taxation, and many political abuses, but there was moral stamina in a large section of the people. Many a battle had been fought and won by moral force—especially by the Nonconformists—within the lines

of the Constitution; and they had not lost confidence either in the goodness of their cause, or in the might of their weapons. There was not a whisper in the Congregational Churches of disloyalty. Priestley, indeed, had written anonymously against the institution of monarchy; and in an appeal to Dissenters, he said:—

Priestley against Kings.

"The hope of mankind (who have been so long debased and trampled upon by forms of unequal government) is that, in time, this horrible evil may find its own antidote and cure. *Kings* being always worse educated than other men, the race of them may be expected to degenerate, till they be little better than idiots, as is the case already with several of them, needless to be named, and it is said will be the case with others, when the present reigning princes shall be no more; while those that are not the objects of *contempt* will be the objects of *hatred* and *execration*.

"In this situation, the temptation to men to assert their natural rights, and seize the invaluable blessings of freedom, will be very great, and it may be hoped that, enlightened as the world now is with respect to the theory of government, and taught by the experience of so many past ages, they will no more suffer themselves to be transferred, like the live stock of a farm, from one worn-out royal line to another, but establish everywhere forms of free and equal government, by which, at infinitely less expense than they are now to be *oppressed* and *abused*, every man may be secured in the enjoyment of as much of his natural rights as is consistent with the good of the whole community."*

Loyalty of Congregational Churches.

No such sentiments were expressed by Congregational Churches holding evangelical principles, though they deplored the contest with America, and exerted their influence to secure the return of peace, and it was a source of satisfaction to them that the arbitrary

* Priestley's Works, vol. xxii., pp. 490, 491.

measures of the government both at home and in the colonies were frustrated.

The tone of the ministers when called to speak on public occasions, though decided, was moderate.

Lambert, of Hull, in his diary, writes:—

"*Tuesday, Nov.* 5, 1782.—I retired to compose a sermon upon the occasion of the day from Psalm ii. 11, 'Rejoice with trembling.' Spoke both of the subject and the joy, and the manner in which we should express it. It related to the establishment of the kingdom of Christ in the world, or particular nations. We as a nation have occasion to rejoice that this Sovereign Saviour was ever published among us; that we have such free access to the laws of His kingdom and worship; that His providence has so frequently and remarkably displayed in the defence and protection of our privileges; that so many burning and shining lights have been raised up in our land, and such a great number of souls ripened for glory; and, finally, that the nature of civil and religious liberty is better understood, and the spirit of it disseminated in the present than in any former age. Yet in the midst of our triumph we have reason to tremble when we consider how little these privileges have been improved. The inseparable connection there is between the abuse of them, and finally, the evident marks of God's displeasure that appear against us. What a privilege it is that the government of God in the world and in the Church are so inseparably connected! May I consider all these civil and religious privileges I enjoy as connected with and resulting from the deliverance which God has wrought for this country."

Views of Lambert.

In the settlement of the terms of the treaty of peace with America there was no reference to speculative theories of government. Franklin, Laurens, and Jay, who met Oswald, the English Commissioner, in Paris, contended mainly for more territory, and the payment of a large pecuniary indemnity.

It is interesting to notice their movements at

this serious juncture. Oswald, in a letter to the Earl of Sherburne, writes :—

"PARIS, *Wednesday, July* 10, 1782.

"I went to Dr. Franklin's house this morning, and stayed near two hours with him, with a view of obtaining the information and advice I wished for, as to the terms upon which he thought a treaty between Great Britain and the Commissioners of the Colonies which might be carried on and proceed to a conclusion.

(After an enumeration of "necessary articles"), "as a friend he would recommend" *advisable* articles :—

"1. To indemnify many people who had been ruined by towns burnt and destroyed. *The whole might not exceed five or six hundred thousand pounds.* I was struck at this. However, the Doctor said, though it was a large sum it would not be ill bestowed, as it would conciliate the resentment of a multitude of poor sufferers who could have no other remedy, and would keep up a spirit of secret revenge and animosity for a long time to come against Great Britain ; whereas a voluntary offer of such reparation would diffuse an *universal calm* and conciliation over the whole country.

Oswald and the American Commissioners.

"2. Some *sort of acknowledgment in some public Act of Parliament or otherwise of our error in distressing those countries so much as we have done.* A few words of that kind, the Doctor said, would do more good than we could imagine.

"3. Colony ships and trade to be received and have the same privileges in Great Britain and Ireland as British ships and trade. I did not ask explanation on that head for the present. British and Irish ships in the Colonies to be in like manner on the same footing as their own ships.

"4. *Giving up every part of Canada.* Upon the whole, the Doctor expressed himself in a friendly way towards England, and was not without hope that, if we could settle on this occasion in the way we wished, England would not only have a beneficial intercourse with the Colonies, but at last it might end in a federal union between them. In the meantime, we ought to take care not to force them into the hands of other people.

"From the conversation I have some hopes, my Lord, that it is possible to put an end to the American quarrel in a short

time; and when that is done, I have a notion that a treaty with the other powers will go more smoothly on. The Doctor did not, in the course of the above consideration, hesitate as to a conclusion with them on account of any connection with those other States, and in general seemed to think their American affair must be ended by a separate commission.

"With respect to some provision or reparation to those called the loyal sufferers, the Doctor said, it would be impossible to make any such provision. They were so numerous and their cases so various, that he could not see that it could make any part of the treaty.

"I remember the Doctor, in a former proposal in April, hinted that a cession of the back lands of Canada would raise a sum which would make some reparation to the sufferers on both sides. Now he says one of the *necessary* articles is a cession of these back lands, without any stipulation for the loyal sufferers; and as an advisable article, a gift of five or six hundred thousand pounds to indemnify the sufferers on their side. I should hope he would be persuaded to alter that part of the plan."

Oswald was charmed with the blandness of the venerable sage at Passy; but when points of difficulty arose, it sometimes happened that he suffered from a fit of gout, and was, in consequence, inaccessible, and the disappointed English Commissioner was referred to Jay, the American lawyer, who, though calm and self-possessed, put on an air of marked severity. In a report of his conversation with him, Oswald writes:—

"*He* (Mr. Jay) *said many things of a retrospective kind*, such as the happy effects a Declaration of (Independence) at earlier periods would have produced—if Great Britain had handsomely and nobly made this grant before such deep wounds had been given to that bias and attachment which till then subsisted all over that country in favour of Great Britain, even in spite of their petitions having been repeatedly rejected. That in such cases they would undoubtedly have concerted such plan of treaty, as would not only have restored peace, but would have laid a solid

bottom of amity and conciliation, and such as would have obliterated from their memory in a short time all remembrance of preceding acts of distress and violence. But by the continued enforcement of the same cruel measures, the minds of the people in general all over that continent were almost totally alienated from Great Britain, so that they *detested the very name of an Englishman.* That *it was true a number of the older people had not forgot their former connections, and their inclinations might still lean towards England.* But when they were gone, and the younger generation came to take their place, who had never felt any of those impressions, those inclinations would be succeeded by grudge and resentment of every kind, upon reflecting on what they had seen and their parents had suffered; that few of them but could recollect the loss of blood of some relation or other, devastation of their estates, and other misfortunes.

"On which occasion he ran into a detail of particulars, as unnecessary as unpleasant here to be repeated, and which I would not have touched upon, if I did not think that a free exposure of the features of this conversation may help to form a judgment of what may be expected in the issue from the determination of this Commissioner, and, consequently, what concessions on this very critical occasion it may be safe and proper to propose or insist upon.

"As information respecting the real sentiments of those gentlemen was the object I principally aimed at in the commencement of this business, I allowed Mr. Jay to go on without interruption, remarking only upon the whole that, supposing there had been capital mistakes in the direction as well as in the execution of our measures, *it would be hard to bring the charge home to the nation in general;* and there was a good deal to be said even in excuse of the Ministry who presided over the conduct of those measures, considering that they were not personally acquainted with the circumstances of that country, and therefore could not but naturally listen to the information they received from those who were so acquainted who came over from America as refugees, and who had upon all occasions insisted that we had so great a proportion of friends in all the colonies as to require only a temporary support from Government to bring everything back to the original state of peace and subordination.

"That *it was the search after those friends of Government,*

which, in consequence of personal interference and correspondence in writing, had kept up and encouraged a continuance of the measures of coercion complained of, until they brought on at last the present unfortunate crisis.

"Mr. Jay admitted that some blame was justly to be imputed to the misrepresentation of the refugees and other correspondents above-mentioned, who, he said—at least, many of them—were in a particular manner concerned, on account of their private interest, to have things brought back by any means to their original state.

"As to the military men, I said it was natural for them to give credit to those representations, and they were, in general, *so inattentive to circumstances out of the line of their profession, that I had heard them insist that with a few battalions they could go from one end of the continent to the other; and that I had, upon such occasions, told them that under the orders of a French or Spanish Court, they might surprise a defenceless country, and by massacre and devastation might terrify the people and complete the conquest.* But having so done, it would be only for the present time in such a country as North America. But as *troops could receive no such orders from Great Britain*, even a temporary conquest of any extent could never be made by any armies we could support in that country. Mr. Jay admitted this to be true, without taking notice of what has been the conduct of the above-mentioned foreign nations in the reduction of revolted countries. He returned to the subject of Independence, as not being satisfied with its being left as a matter of treaty, etc., etc.

"As I happened to mention the last Treaty of Paris, Mr. Jay said we had taken great advantage of the French in that treaty. I did not ask him as to the articles he objected to; but further to try his sentiments on these subjects, I said I wondered that he, being of America, should complain of that treaty, as if the French had not been tenderly enough dealt with in it, since that long and expensive war, to which it put a period, was entered into *entirely on account of America, and to save them from the consequences of that constant cause of hostility which the French were avowedly carrying on against them on their western frontier, in the times of profound peace in every other quarter of the world, and to which they were solemnly bound by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Notwithstanding which, he very well knew that in that interval*

there was no intermission of their endeavours to disturb the quiet of the colonies, by their constant intrigues among the savages of all the tribes, from Canada down to the Chicassaws on the Gulf of Mexico. That these savages, prompted, paid, and supported by the French, continually lay upon the borders of our colonies, to take advantage of the defenceless state of the back settlers, to surprise and cut their throats as opportunities offered. That to repress the increasing practice of those cruelties by the savages, as well as from the French settlements of Canada, that war was entered into, and continued at great expense, until the colonies were put out of the reach of all farther dangers by the conquest of Canada, and the total expulsion of the French from that quarter of the world.

"*I therefore said that I thought it odd that the treaty should be complained of, which put a legal period to that war, by which the future safety and quiet of the inhabitants of every part of North America was thus firmly established, and which could not have been effectually done by any other means.*

"Whether we ought to have been so tender of their safety as to run into that extensive scheme of exertion, was a question I also ventured to touch upon, but needless to be repeated here.

"To all this, Mr. Jay made answer, that at that time North America being considered as a part of the British Empire, as much as England or Ireland, had an equal title to the protection of Government as any other part of the dominions, and therefore we could plead no merit by way of distinction, so as to have any particular claim on America.

"I admitted that America on that occasion had the same right to protection, in proportion to circumstances, as the county of Kent had, and only thought it hard that in America there should be such feelings for the conditions to which the French were bound by a treaty which concluded a war so necessary for its present and future safety.

"On this occasion I could not help thinking that Mr. Jay fell below the idea I wished to entertain of his candour and impartiality regarding objects not strictly American; and so we passed to other subjects.

"Mr. Jay then began upon the Articles of Independence, and continued the conversation in the coolest, unreserved method, and determined style of language that any common subject could be treated, and with a freedom of expression and disapprobation

of our conduct at home and abroad respecting America, as shows we have little to expect from him in the way of indulgence; and I may venture to say, that although he had lived till now as an English subject—though he never had been in England—he may be supposed, by any thing I could perceive, as much alienated from any particular regard for England as if he had never heard of it in his life. I sincerely wish I may be mistaken, but I think it proper to make this remark, as Mr. Jay is Dr. Franklin's only colleague, and being a much younger man, and bred to the law, he will of course have a great share of the business assigned to his care.

"I thought it remarkable that so soon after I left Dr. Franklin I should have found this gentleman's plan of settlement with Great Britain so much less broad—or at least so much more encumbered with relative connections, concerns, and interests, than had been insinuated in any conversation I ever had with Dr. Franklin—or rather, on the contrary, seemingly very materially different—excepting only in that of making such a peace as should be lasting, which the Doctor always said he aimed at."*

The conferences between Oswald and the American Commissioners were frequently renewed, but we do not propose to enter at length into the details.

In his *Minutes of Conversation*, Oswald reports:—

"PARIS, Wednesday, *August* 7, 1782.

"Yesterday evening at seven o'clock, the courier Roworth arrived, and brought my commission for treating with the Commissioners of the Colonies, and the King's instructions.

"*August* 7. Dr. Franklin touched upon the subject in a general way, that peace could not be too dearly bought, and always ending with a wish that it could be made lasting, and at the same time *observing that England in a state of peace for a hundred years would become a perfect garden.*"*

There is a curious episode in these diplomatic

* S. P. France.

conferences, which historians have passed over very lightly. Bancroft simply mentions the circumstance of the friendly interest manifested by the Commissioners in English commerce. It may be useful, therefore, to give the particulars in full. Oswald writes:—

A Curious Episode.

"PARIS, *October* 2, 1782.

"After some conversation respecting West Florida and the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico, Mr. Jay repeated his wish that the Spaniards might be dislodged from West Florida, and said, 'What are you doing with 20,000 men (he called them so many) lying idle, spending of money in New York and Charlestown, and keeping up a jealousy and animosity between you and us, at a time when we are here endeavouring to bring about a restoration of friendship and good will? *Why not employ some of those troops to recover that colony?*'

"Mr. Jay came again on the subject of West Florida, and *expects and insists that for the common good*, our own as well as theirs, that it *may not be left in the hands of the Spaniards, and thinks we ought to prepare immediately for the expedition, to execute it this winter. At the same time he earnestly begs it may not be known that he advised it, and wishes I had mentioned it by myself*, as I approve of the thing. I thought the proposal should be strengthened by his opinion, and, to speak the truth, *I could not suppress the credit due to him for attending to it.*"*

Oswald, therefore, proposes to act upon the suggestion.

"Mr. Jay said it was a noble proposal. And, upon the whole, this gentleman so strongly approved of the scheme that I proposed, with his leave, to go to Passy and open it again to him (Dr. Franklin). He agreed, and I went thither. Whilst repeating what is above mentioned regarding the proposal, I was greatly pleased to find that he equally approved of it, and at last said he thought they might write to Congress about it, but first wished to see Mr. Jay. I returned to Passy and informed Mr. Jay. He accordingly went out to Passy. When they came to consider the matter together, I suppose they found

* S. P. France.

that such an understanding between them and us, however adjusted, *would not be consistent with their restraining article in the treaty with France*, for Mr. Jay, on his return, told me they found it would not do. And so there it rests."*

"PARIS, *October* 7, 1782.

(Conversation with Dr. Franklin.)

"This gentleman came again upon the subject of West Florida, and pled in favour of the future commerce of England as if he had been of her councils, and wishing to make some reparation of her loss.

"He wished much to be informed whether our Government will adopt this measure of recovering that colony, so *as he might know how to shape his conduct with respect to Spain, and desired to be at a certainty before he had any further conference with their ambassador, to which he is much solicited, with a view to entering into a treaty with them, in which he understands that we shall be entirely shut out of any part of the Gulf of Mexico from Cape Florida to Cape Catoche.*"

The Secretary of State in reply writes:—

"WHITEHALL, *October* 26, 1782.

"R. OSWALD, Esq.,—There was one part of your letter which referred to a proposal of Mr. Jay's, which seems to have been *frequently* and *eagerly urged* by him. I mean that of an expedition against West Florida. *I do not think that he went so far as to guarantee a quiet evacuation of New York.* This is a matter of great delicacy, and *though in some points of view the proposal appears to be one with which we might be tempted to close, yet we might put ourselves too much in the power of friends very newly reconciled to us*, as well as of those who might remain our enemies by carrying a larger force to the southward of all our West Indian possessions. To be sure we are not disinclined to prefer an attack upon the Spaniards to one upon the French, provided we could by that means bring off our army, artillery, and stores without difficulty or insult, and that we should not run a chance of meeting the whole force of France and Spain in defence of the possessions of the latter, when the former were apprised of our being tied up from attacking them, or of having that of France employed in the mean time against our islands.

* S. P. France.

"The colony of West Florida is certainly an object of our attention, and we should be extremely glad to adopt such measures as might ensure to us the repossession of it.

"If you have an opportunity of sounding the Commissioners on this head, or if Mr. Jay should return to the charge, it seems advisable to see how far he thinks himself enabled to engage for the evacuation, and then we shall be better able to judge in what manner the rest of the scheme might be put in execution.—I am, yours truly, "J. TOWNSHEND."*

The matter dropped in silence, and Franklin, who enters into minute details in his account of the negotiation, makes no reference to the subject.

Claims of the Loyalists.

The most serious difficulty in the settlement of the treaty arose from the claims of the Loyalists, in the restoration of their confiscated estates, and to the adequate protection of those who were willing to return to the country and to become peaceable American citizens. Under the Declaration of Independence, as "born free and equal," they asked to be treated as such, and not to be excluded from the franchise and deprived of their possessions. To this the American Commissioners offered the most decided objection. The matter was entrusted by Earl Shelburne to Mr. Strachey, a man less plastic than Oswald.

Strachey addressed a letter to the Ministers Plenipotentiary from the United States:—

"PARIS, *November* 5, 1782.

"GENTLEMEN,—Knowing the expectation of the King's ministers, that full indemnity shall be provided for the whole body of refugees, either by a restitution of their property or by some stipulated compensation for their losses, and being confident, as I have repeatedly assured you, that your refusal upon this point will be the great obstacle to a conclusion and rati-

* S. P. France.

fication of that peace which is meant as a solid, perfect, permanent reconciliation and reunion between Great Britain and America, I am unwilling to leave Paris without once more submitting the matter to your consideration. *It affects equally, in my opinion, the honour and humanity of your country and ours.* How far you will be justified in risking every favourite object of America, by contending against those principles, is for you to determine. Independence and more than a reasonable possession of territory seem to be within your reach. *Will you suffer them to be outweighted by the gratification of resentment against individuals. I venture to assert that such conduct hath no parallel in the history of civilized nations.*

"I am under the necessity of setting out by two o'clock today; if the time is too short for your reconsideration and final determination of this important point, I shall hope that you will enable Mr. Oswald to dispatch a messenger after me, who may be with me before morning at Chantilly, where I propose sleeping to-night, or who may overtake me before I arrive in London, with a satisfactory answer to this letter.—I have the honour to be, gentlemen, yours, etc., "H. STRACHEY."*

The implacable American Commissioners replied in the negative :—

"Mr. Jay said there were certain of the refugees they *never would forgive, that they would not suffer them to live in their neighbourhood, even although we had lands to set them down upon, nor would those persons be sure of their lives there.* That, however, they were not of any great number, and as to others less obnoxious, the clause of amnesty in the plan of the new treaty would make all such of them as were not under judgment or prosecution, perfectly easy in their several stations; and he made no doubt but, after a peace the several states would treat them with as much lenity as their case would admit of, and the bulk of these being of low rank, they would successively fall into the sundry occupations of the country, and so Government would be saved the expense of transporting and subsisting them.

"That they had just now received fresh advices from the Congress, dated in the end of September, by which he found the people of that country were universally suspicious of the

* S. P. France.

intentions of Great Britain towards them. That their printed publications were brimful of these insinuations, and they were preparing themselves accordingly for the consequences. That they, the Commissioners, were however perfectly satisfied that England was sincere, and meant to give them their Independence, and to put an end to the war, and as they equally and most ardently longed to see their country settled in peace, Mr. Jay said he hoped we would not let this opportunity slip, but resolve speedily to wind up this long dispute, so as we might be again as one people.

"That they had hitherto acted in this negotiation under instructions of the year 1779, when their affairs were not in quite so good a situation as at present, and had gone to the full stretch of them, and farther. But if we broke up now, we might be assured of their receiving new instructions, and of a very different kind from the present."*

At this point Jay brought out the threat of advancing a claim for *accumulative compensation*, on the rule of arithmetical progression, to an indefinite extent.

Accumulative Compensation.

"He made no doubt *they would be directed to state all the depredation, plunder, and unnecessary destruction of property over all their country in charge against the British demands of bona fide creditors, for which in the body of the treaty they have now established an independent security;* that by the last advices, in September, they understood *the State of Pennsylvania had begun upon these estimates*, and there was a committee actually at Philadelphia *for making up an account* of all those damages not occasioned by the direct and necessary operations of war, *which, when collected from the reports of the several States, and brought to a head, would leave no room for any claims* on behalf of the said British creditors; that now was the time for Great Britain to take the benefit of the security offered to those creditors, and wisely to avoid the consequences of former mistakes."*

Strachey stood firmly to his demand, and concession was made.

* S. P. France.

"To the Right Hon. T. Townshend.

"PARIS, *November* 29, 1782,

"Eleven at night.

"SIR,—A very few hours ago we thought it impossible that any treaty could be made. We have at last, however, brought matters so near to a conclusion, that we have agreed upon articles, and are to meet to-morrow for the purpose of signing."

"PARIS, *November* 29, 1782.

"We consider the articles of the refugees as now settled—much more advantageous than any of the modifications now sent."

"To E. Nepean, Esq.

"PARIS, *November* 30, 1782, Evening.

"DEAR NEPEAN,—The treaty, signed and sealed, is now sent. I shall set off to-morrow, hoping to arrive on Wednesday, if I am alive. God forbid I should ever have a hand in another peace. Tell Mr. Townshend that Mr. Fitzherbert will write to him by me. He is perfectly satisfied with the conclusion of this business.—I am truly yours, "H. STRACHEY."*

Great Britain recognized and satisfied the claims of the American Loyalists, to the extent of nearly ten millions sterling, for losses of personal property; and of £120,000 per annum, in life annuities, for loss of income in trades and professions. The general cost of the war had been £100,000,000.

Ezra Stiles, who was one of the foremost to raise the standard of revolt at Newport, in Rhode Island, was appointed to preach before the Governor and General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, convened at Hartford, May 8, 1783. In an oration filling over a hundred and twenty pages, he descanted on the future glory of the United States.

"The crown and glory of our confederacy," he said, "is the Amphitryonic Council of the General Congress.

* S. P. Franco.

"This lays the foundation of a permanent union in the American republic, which may convince the world that, *of all the policies to be found on earth, not excepting the very excellent one of the Chinese empire, the most perfect one has been invented and realized in America.* Our trade opens to all the world. This will be a great, a very great nation. All the arts and sciences may be transplanted from Europe and Asia, and flourish in America with augmented lustre. *The rough, sonorous diction of the English language may here take its Athenian polish, and receive its attic urbanity.* The United States will embosom all the religious sects or denominations in Christendom. Here they may all enjoy their whole respective systems of worship and Church governments complete. Of these, next to the Church of England, the Presbyterians will hold a principal figure. They will soon furnish themselves with a bishop in Virginia and Maryland, and perhaps another to the northward, to ordain their clergy, give confirmation, and govern their churches. The main body will be in Virginia and Maryland, besides a disposal or interposition in all the other States."

Stiles's Oration on the future glory of the United States.

In contrast with this sublime vision of the future for the Transatlantic republic, Stiles saw the sad decadence of the old mother country. The little island would be divided into two separate states, and Ireland would become an independent nation.

"O England!" said the enraptured seer, "how I did once love thee! how did I once glory in thee! how did I once boast of springing from thy bowels, though at four descents ago, and the nineteenth from Sir Adam of Knapton! In the rapturous anticipation of thine enlargement and reflourishing in this western world, how have I been wont to glory of having thee for the head of the Britannico-American empire for many ages till the Millennium! But now farewell—a long farewell to all this greatness."

Stiles, nevertheless, had some lingering feeling of interest in the land of his father's sepulchres, and in

a terrible exigency he says, "Methinks I could leap the Atlantic, not into thy bosom, but to rescue an aged parent from destruction, and then return on the wings of triumph to this asylum of the world, and rest in the bosom of liberty."

Whether this surprising "leap" was to be made into the "bosom" of the "Atlantic," or into that of the "aged parent," is not quite clear. At any rate, the orator had no intention of drowning himself, but to land safely in the "bosom of liberty."

George III., who had the misfortune to be charged, in the Declaration of Independence, with all the faults committed by himself and his people, expressed himself on the occasion with more sobriety, and as it seems to us with far greater dignity.

In a speech to Parliament, December 5, 1782, the King said :—

"*Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do with decision and effect, whatever I collect to be the sense of my Parliament and my people*, I have pointed all my views and measures, as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies. Finding it indispensable to the attainment of this object, I did not hesitate to go the full length of the powers vested in me, and offered to declare them free and independent States, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles are agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace shall be settled with the Court of France. In thus admitting their separation from the Crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved, in the mother country, how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. *Religion, language, interests, affections may, and I hope will, yet*

prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries. To this end neither attention nor disposition on my part shall be wanting."

The immediate effect of the war differed strangely from the glowing picture of its grand results in the future.

Condition of the People at the end of the War.

"At the close of the war," we read of one of the States, "the people of the Commonwealth had the opportunity of seeing just how far they had become involved, and what burdens rested upon them. The State debt amounted to more than £1,300,000, and there was due to the Massachusetts officers and soldiers no less than £250,000; while the proportion of the Federal debt for which the State was responsible was at least £1,500,000. Every town was also in debt for the supplies it had furnished its soldiers. When it is remembered that for nearly nine years the expenditures that created this debt had been in progress, and that a large portion of the productive forces of the State had been diverted into the channels of war, it can readily be imagined that a people never rich have become extremely poor. The import and excise duties could only partially relieve the taxation upon polls and estates. Legislation became difficult. The people complained of the policy of paying only the interest on the debt of the State as not lightening them of their burdens, and then they complained when, in 1784, the legislature issued a tax of £140,000 towards the redemption of the debt, as well as when, two years subsequently, £100,000 was assessed for the same purpose. *At this time, and consequent upon the loose morals to which war so inevitably leads*, there had sprung up a love of luxury and indolence. *The thrifty and staid habits of earlier days had been broken in* upon by the excitements of the Revolution, and the whole public mind and morals suffered.

"The machinery which popular discontent proposed for the relief of its difficulties was *conventions and mobs*. The Conventions were at first respectable, and disclaimed all connection with mobs. Subsequently, they became the abettors of violence. Between the conventions and mobs, everything became a grievance. Correspondents filled the public journals with the most bitter complaints. '*We have nobly bled for our liberty*,' they said,

'*and finally obtained the victory. But at the rate we are about to use it, God knows it cannot be much preferable to slavery.*'"

The Worcester Convention of Delegates from fifty towns on August 22, 1786, set forth a full score of grievances. On August 29, four days after the rising of the Convention, the day appointed by law for the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas and the General Sessions of the Peace at Northampton, *there assembled in the town, from different parts of the country, a large mob, some of them armed with swords and muskets, and some with bludgeons, with the professed intention of stopping the Session of the Courts, and preventing the transaction of business.* The Justices, after a parley with the leaders of the mob, adjourned without delay. One of the rioters was not satisfied with the form of language used, as under it "the Court might sit in the night." The "clergy" earnestly opposed these seditious movements.

"Fellow-citizens," they said to the people of Boston, "we now entreat you—by the mutualities of friendship and affection, by the sacred compact which holds us in our society, by the blood of brethren shed to obtain our freedom, by the tender regard we feel for our rising offspring, claiming freedom from our hands as their inheritance by the grant of Heaven—to use your endeavours that redress of grievances be sought for in a *constitutional and orderly way*; and we pledge ourselves to join our exertions with yours in the same way to obtain redress of such as do really exist."

Riots continued, and spread in other towns; the whole State was now in a ferment. *Rebellion was everywhere, and anarchy stared the people boldly in the face.* Luke Day, Elijah Day, Benjamin Ely, Dan Ludington, and Daniel Shays, Shays' Rebellion.

began an insurrection, known as the "Shays' Rebellion." Mortified at the check they received, the following appeal was issued:—

"BERKSHIRE, *February* 15, 1787.

"FRIENDS AND FELLOW-SUFFERERS,—Will you now tamely suffer your arms to be taken from you, your estates to be confiscated, even swear to support a constitution and form of government, and likewise a code of laws, which common sense and your consciences declare to be iniquitous and cruel? And can you bear to see and hear of the yeomanry of this commonwealth being hacked and cut to pieces by the cruel and merciless *tools of tyrannical power*, and not resent it *even unto relentless bloodshed?* Would to God I had the tongue of a ready writer, that I might impress upon your minds the idea of the obligation you, as citizens of a republican government, are under to support those rights and privileges that the *God of Nature* hath entitled you to. Let me now persuade you, by all the sacred ties of friendship, which natural affection inspires the human breast with, immediately to turn out and assert your rights.

"The first step that I would recommend is to destroy Shephard's army, then proceed to the county of Berkshire, as we are now collecting at New Lebanon, in York State, and Pownal, in Vermont State, with a determination to carry our point, *if fire, blood, and carnage will effect it.* Therefore we beg that every friend will immediately proceed to the county of Berkshire, and help us to Burgoyne Lincoln, and his army. I beg this may immediately circulate through your county.—I am, gentlemen, in behalf of myself and other officers, your humble servant,

"ELI PARSONS."

The spirit of insurrection appeared in several of the adjacent States. "Hurrah for Shays!" was as familiar a watchword in Connecticut, Vermont, and New Hampton, as in Western Massachusetts. Finally the revolt was overcome.

"The indirect effect of the rebellion was to hasten the adoption of a federal government. It exhibited to the country the gateway of political perdition, and in itself, and in its affiliated

movements in the neighbouring States, showed what multitudes were ready to press into it. But it sowed also the seeds of bitterness. It broke the chain of family affection. It planted thickly springing and long-enduring prejudices in neighbourhoods. It divided churches, and thrust loved and revered ministers from their pulpits, and strewed the path of legislation with thorny jealousies." *

We see here the attempt of the adherents of the destructive philosophy to turn the people into the track which should end in universal spoliation, and destroy the foundations of society. The notion of Jefferson was that there should be an entirely new beginning.

"The earth," he says, "belongs always to the living generation; they may manage it, then, and what proceeds from it, as they please, during their usufruct. They are masters, too, of their own persons, and subsequently may govern them as they please. But persons and property make the sum of the objects of government. The *constitution and the laws of their predecessors are extinguished then*, in their natural course, with those whose will gave them being. This will could preserve that being till it ceased to be itself, and no longer. Every constitution, then, and *every law*, *naturally*, expires at the end of thirty-four years. If it be enforced longer, it is an act of force, and not of right." †

Jefferson and the Septennial Revolutions.

The descendants of the Puritans were trained in another school, and had been taught to combine freedom with settled order. All through the War of Independence the forms of law were strictly preserved; the institutions for self-government, in their "select men" and "general courts," were maintained; and as a law-abiding people, they rose with firm determination against the Shays' rebellion, and

* Holland's Western Massachusetts, vol. i., p. 25, *et seq.*

† Works, vol. iii., p. 106.

secured the continuance of just and equitable government. They had suffered, as we shall find, grievous moral deterioration, and the tone of society was greatly changed for the worse, but libertinism was not in the ascendant. Jefferson was disappointed in the repression of "mob force."

"The late rebellion in Massachusetts," he said, "has given more alarm than I think it should have done. Calculate that one rebellion in thirteen States, in the course of eleven years, is but one for each State in a century and a half. No country should be so long without a revolution." *

In every part of the country were to be found traces of the destruction caused by war. Churches were dispersed, and the ministers removed to distant places, from which they now came back to restore the ruined meeting-houses, and to gather the people who had been scattered in the "cloudy and dark day."

Return of Hopkins to Newport.

Dr. Hopkins, after an absence of three years, returned to Newport, and found his meeting-house, which had been used as a barrack and hospital, a scene of desolation. His congregation had been driven away, and many of them had made their permanent home in other places. The town had lost its wealth, and a full half of its population. Dr. Stiles, the former neighbour of Hopkins, withdrew from the stated ministry.

After a brief pastorate at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, he was elected President of Yale College, and filled the Professorships of Hebrew, Divinity, History, and Philosophy, finding leisure

* Works, vol. ii., p. 331.

at the same time to criticise Hopkins for his want of success in the field he had been compelled himself to desert. The sphere, no doubt, was uncommonly trying. In addition to the injury suffered by the occupation of the British troops, the French officers who were stationed there for nine months instilled their infidel principles into some of the "best minds of Newport." In the midst of poverty and great discouragement, Hopkins pursued his work with diligence and contentment.

Religious freedom had yet to be gained after a succession of arduous struggles. The rulers of the new republic were disposed to allow the Anglican Church to complete its organization, but a difficulty arose from the legal restrictions on the consecration of bishops, removed after some years by the exertion of Granville Sharpe and others. Franklin, in a letter to Messrs. Weems and Grant, citizens of the United States, London, explains the situation :—

"PASSY, near Paris, *July* 18, 1784.

"GENTLEMEN,—On receipt of your letter acquainting me that the Archbishop of Canterbury would not permit you to be ordained unless you took the oath of allegiance, I applied to a clergyman of my acquaintance for information on the subject of your obtaining ordination here. His opinion was that it could not be done, and that if it were done you would be required to vow obedience to the Archbishop of Paris. I next inquired of the Pope's Nuncio whether you might not be ordained by their bishop in America, powers being sent him for that purpose if he has not them already. The answer was, 'The thing is impossible, unless the gentlemen become Catholics.'

Franklin on Ordination by Bishops.

"*This is an affair of which I know very little,* and therefore I may ask questions and propose means that are improper or impracticable. But what is the necessity of your being connected

with the Church of England? Would it not be as well if you were of the Church of Ireland? The religion is the same, though there is a different set of Bishops and Archbishops. Perhaps if you were to apply to the Bishop of Derry, who is a man of liberal sentiments, he might give you orders of that Church. If both Britain and Ireland refuse you—and I am not sure that the Bishops of Denmark or of Sweden will ordain you, unless you become Lutherans—what is to be done? Next to becoming Presbyterians, the Episcopalian clergy of America, in my humble opinion, cannot do bettter than to follow the example of the first clergy of Scotland, soon after the conversion of that country to Christianity; who, when their king had built the cathedral of St. Andrew's, and requested the King of Northumberland to lend his bishops to ordain one for them, that their clergy might not, as heretofore, be obliged to go to Northumberland for orders, and the request was refused, they assembled in the cathedral, and the mitre, crosier, and the robes of a bishop being laid upon the altar, they, after earnest prayers for direction in their choice, elected one of their own number. Then the king said to him, 'Arise, go to the altar, and receive your office at the hand of God.' His brethren led him to the altar, robed him, put the crosier in his hand and the mitre on his head, and he became the first Bishop of Scotland.

"If the British islands were sunk in the sea (and the surface of this globe has suffered greater changes), you will probably take some such method as this; and if they persisted in denying your ordination, it is the same thing. An hundred years hence, when people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbours, should not be permitted to do it till they had made a voyage of six thousand miles out and home, to ask leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury, who seems, by your account, to have as little regard for the souls of the people of Maryland as King William's Attorney-General, Seymour, had for those of Virginia. The Rev. Commissary Blair, who projected the college of that province, and was in England to solicit benefactions under charter, relates that the king, in the queen's absence, having ordered Seymour to draw up the charter, which was to be given with two thousand pounds in money, he opposed the grant, saying that the nation was engaged in an

expensive war, that the money was wanted for better purposes, and he did not see the least occasion for a college in Virginia. Blair represented to him that its intention was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers in the gospel, much wanted there, and begged Mr. Attorney would consider; that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as the people of England. 'Souls!' said he, 'damn your souls! Make tobacco!'— I have the honour to be, gentlemen, etc.,

"B. FRANKLIN." *

* Cong. Mag., 1820, vol. iii., p. 601, *et seq.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

Obligation of Evangelical Clergy to Nonconformist Pastors.

THE evangelical clergy of the Clapham fellowship were greatly indebted to Nonconformist pastors for tending their people, when severed from them by removal to parishes in which the doctrines cordially believed by them were held in utter contempt. At the onset, the evangelizing party in the Church of England were few in number, and widely separated. Henry Venn* tells us that when he began his course, he only knew of Truro and Bradford as places where the gospel was preached by them in large towns. William Romaine could only reckon up as many as six or seven who were likeminded with himself.† The converts of Venn in Huddersfield, on his transfer to Yelling, were left as sheep without a shepherd; and, after wandering in different directions, were sheltered at length under the care of WILLIAM MOORHOUSE, for whom they built a chapel. Venn wrote to them, January 3, 1772:—

Venn and Moorhouse.

"Your meeting is built upon principles truly Christian. It is your high value for the sum and substance of the Christian faith, as it hath been taught you by us, and the efficacy of which you experienced, which led you to separate from the parish church, the beloved place of your stated worship."

* Memoirs of Venn, p. 203. † Ibid., Pref., p. xiv.

In a letter to Moorhouse, dated September 26, 1772, he writes:—

"God's Name be praised that your Church is in a flourishing condition. It has my daily prayers. I shall be glad to hear from you as *my successor* to a people whom I shall always love, and hope to meet in glory."

So concerned was Venn for the "furtherance of the gospel," though by ministers not ordained by a diocesan bishop, that, at the instance of James Kershaw, one of his most attached friends, he collected £170 in London toward the cost of erecting Square Chapel, in Halifax, for TITUS KNIGHT, one of the Methodist converts, who became an Independent minister. Some of the preachers in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, declining episcopal ordination, also cast in their lot with Congregationalists. JOHN CLAYTON and EDWARD PARSONS were of this number. The former became pastor at the Weigh House, London; and the latter, after preaching in several other places, received an invitation from the Church at White Chapel, Leeds, as the successor of Edwards.

John Clayton and Edward Parsons.

Harmer, in one of his freely-written letters, says (Wakefield, February 26, 1779):—

"I am obliged to you for your account of Mr. Clayton. I did not know before where the Countess of Huntingdon educated her young gentlemen since the dismission of the six students from Oxford, which made so much noise some time ago. All, if I do not misremember, were connected with her ladyship. Mr. Clayton preached, I think, several times at the Countess's place of worship at Norwich, and was very well known and esteemed there. Upon the whole, the Weigh House seems to have undergone a considerable transformation since the time I was a pupil, when Mr. Wood preached there. Popularity in London

seems to be an unaccountable kind of thing; and should you, dear Tommy, ever come into the ministry, approve yourself faithful to God and His truth, to the best of your understanding, in the first place; and, next, adopt every method you see practised, that tends to strike the human mind, which is not inconsistent with the solemnity that becomes a minister of the gospel of Christ, committing yourself in all things to His blessing, without which a Paul would plant and Apollos labour in vain, and doing this, calmly leave the event with God." *

For the reasons already stated, the evangelical clergy had no means of training pious young men for the ministry, who might succeed them in their work.

"Look at the state of the Universities," says Basil Woodd, "and the difficulty of good men *getting orders*. Hence, the people must starve or go away. Godly men must be silent. *A godly minister, in contemplation of his own death, must advise his people to go.*" †

Newton and Newport Pagnell.

At the instance of Clayton, a "plan of academical preparation for the ministry" was sketched by Newton; and it was resolved to establish a *new academy* on liberal grounds, in which "the greatest stress might be laid upon truth, life, spirituality, and the least stress upon modes, forms, and non-essentials," "to unite and coalesce the *respectable* Dissenters and Methodists who seem willing to promote the business." A "society" was formed for this purpose, and the academy at Newport Pagnell, under the care of WILLIAM BULL, commenced with two students in June, 1783.

William Bull.

For a time, Bull was encouraged in his work by Newton and his friends; but the requisite funds not

* Dr. Angus' MSS. † Pratt's Eclectic Notes, p. 45.

being furnished by the "society," Mr. Thornton generously provided the means for continuing the academy during the lifetime of the first tutor. Under these circumstances, Newton lost his power as a director, and his interest in the object ceased.

The Clapham party were disappointed. The interim academy had been projected for a twofold purpose—the education of students of a subdued type of Nonconformity, and the partial training of others who might find a "living" within the pale of the Establishment. But livings were not easily obtained.

"I lament," Bull says, "that I cannot get a title for poor Sparks. He preached an excellent sermon last Saturday, and I have ordered him to translate and preach it again in Latin next Saturday. Thomas Bull has just got a title for priest's orders from his *crusty rector*, who refused it but lately."

Cornelius Winter and William Jay.

Cornelius Winter, a Congregational minister (who had been intimately associated with Whitefield), supported by Mr. Thornton and Mr. Welch, began to receive young men in his own house, to be trained for ministerial work. William Jay, the son of a stonemason, was one of his first students. In his autobiography, he tells us that his father attended the ministry of a "Clarkean" Arian at Tisbury, but Mr. Turner purchased in the village a private dwelling-house, and obtained a licence for it to be used for worship.

"I attended," he says, "the singing, the extemporaneousness of the address, and the apparent affection and earnestness of the speaker, peculiarly affected me; and what he said of the faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners,' was like rain upon the mown grass, or cold water to a thirsty soul. I scarcely slept that night

for weeping and for joy; and as the preaching was to be renewed the next morning at seven o'clock (not to interfere with the service of the Established Church) I happened to be the first that came. Mrs. Turner, who had come from Trowbridge to superintend things for the time, opened the door herself, and taking me by the hand, benignly asked, 'Are you hungering for the bread of life?' She continued talking to me most winningly for some minutes, till others began to enter. But this seemingly casual and trifling circumstance was important in the result; from that day forward she particularly noticed me; and, as I had been recently apprenticed, and was returning from my work, which was then at Fonthill House, in the evening, she often met me and conversed with me till I reached home; and her information and addresses were more useful than many of the sermons I heard, as she adapted herself to the state she found I was in, and to the present kind of knowledge which I required."

Jay at this time was little more than fourteen years of age. "About a year after," he continues, "when Mr. Winter came to preach at Tisbury on a week-day evening, there was William Jay with his flannel jacket and white leather apron, just as he had left work at Fonthill Abbey, he was struck with his comely appearance."—Further particulars are given in his autobiography.

"A lad, who after hearing a discourse about this time, enforcing family worship, Jay besought his father upon his return home to undertake it; and upon his refusing, on the ground of inability, offered to perform it himself. The offer was accepted with tears, and he became a kind of domestic chaplain.

"For several years there was no fixed minister at Tisbury, but the service was supplied by preachers of various denominations, each officiating for one Sabbath only, but always coming early enough to preach also on the Saturday evening; and these men after, perhaps, a long and trying journey, had not only to preach that evening, but they had the following day to preach at seven in the morning, and at six in the evening, and also to go in the afternoon five miles to preach at a place called Ebsbourne; yet had they nothing to remunerate their toil but willing efforts.

Among these supplies came the excellent Cornelius Winter from Marlborough, a distance of near forty miles. A year after the first time he came a second, and called on Mrs. Turner at Trowbridge on the way; he told her that when he was at Tisbury before, he had been particularly struck with the aspect of a lad in the congregation; that the impression had not worn off, and that he felt a strong desire to have an interview with him before he should return. Not knowing, however, his name, he could not inform her who was the youth intended. She immediately said there was a lad in the place she also much wished him to see and converse with, mentioning my name, that he might inquire for me. Accordingly on the Saturday evening he desired the doorkeeper to ask for Billy Jay to come to him in the parlour after the sermon. Again when in the pulpit he was equally attracted with the appearance of the lad who had so impressed him before, and was eager to know who he was, and to have some talk with him. When the preaching was over, as desired, I followed him into the house, and was presented to him. I was in my simple village dress, with my apron around me. He then perceived that the youth Mrs. Turner had mentioned and the youth he had remarked, *was the same.* He was affected even to tears, and immediately kneeled down and prayed. I was of course amazed at the strangeness of all this; nor could I for one moment conjecture the design. He then began to talk with me, and in a manner which disarmed me of fear, concerning several things, and especially of my religious views and feelings. At this interview he proceeded no further, but desired me to come to him again after the service on the morrow evening. I again waited upon him; he again prayed for a few moments, and then began to enquire whether I should not like, and did not long to communicate to others what I felt myself. He observed that he had a small academy of young men for the ministry; and kindly wished me to join them, if after reflection and prayer my heart should be inclined, and my parents should be disposed to give their consent."

The offer was accepted, in the following letter:—

"To Mr. Winter, Marlborough.

"TISBURY, *January* 30, 1785.

"DUTIFUL FRIEND,—This comes with my kind love to you, hoping it will find you in good health, as it left me and all my

friends at Tisbury. Thanks be to God for His mercy and goodness in preserving us to this present moment in health and strength; health is the honey that sweetens every temporal mercy. To be well in body is a great blessing, but to be well in soul is a much greater blessing than this. What is the body when compared with the soul? it is no more than the candle's slender light to the great luminary the sun in its meridian splendour and beauty.

"I received your letter and was very thankful for your kindness to me in it. You desired to hear from me by Mr. Serman's return, and if I could write you something of my Christian experience. My experience is that I desire to love the Lord above all, and desire to live more to his glory and honour, I hope I can say that He is the chiefest to my soul of ten thousand and altogether lovely. I desire to know nothing but Jesus, and desire to be found in Him, not having on my own righteousness, which is polluted with sin and impure, but the righteousness which is of God, which is for all and upon all that believe in Him. My father says he will find me in clothes as much as he is able. I can come at any time when you think proper. So I conclude with my father's and mother's love to you. I am your humble servant, "WILLIAM JAY."

"As our tutor rated learning very high, I was obliged to fag hard. At first the difficulties were not only trying, but seemed insuperable; but in a little time I felt encouraged, and soon found pleasure in even the languages. But my progress was not considerable; and the literary acquisitions of the students were not a little impeded by what the tutor deemed justifiable. The state of the country then was very different from what it now is, as to an Evangelical ministry; the real labourers were few, the spiritual condition of many of the villages was deplorable, and the people were perishing for lack of knowledge. No one cared for their souls. So it was with the vicinages all around Marlborough, and their spiritual wants, if not their wishes, cried aloud, 'Come over and help us.' Mr. Winter, therefore, obtained and licensed various private houses to preach in, and not only went as often as he was able himself, but also sent his young men to instruct these poor creatures and show them the way of life. In the milder seasons which would allow of it, we often addressed

large numbers out-of-doors; and many a clear and calm evening I have preached down the day, on the corner of a common, or upon the green turf before the cottage door. These neighbourhoods were supplied sometimes weekly and sometimes fortnightly, both on the week days and on the Sabbaths. We always on the Sabbaths avoided, if possible, the Church hours; and on week days we commonly omitted the services during the hay and corn harvests, that we might not give reasonable offence to the farmers, or entice the peasants away from their labour before their usual time. We did not always in these efforts encounter much opposition. This was much owing to the students being always recommended to avoid needless provocation, and to speak the truth in love."

Other preachers of superior gifts began to attract public attention.

Thomas Northcote Toller.

THOMAS NORTHCOTE TOLLER, a student at Daventry, born June 12, 1756, at South Patherton, in Somersetshire, was ordained at Kettering, May 28, 1778, and continued for fifty years, followed by his son, who also ministered to the congregation for the same period. When he entered on his ministry there were two parties in the church, difficult to harmonize; but by the prudence and conciliatory manner of the young minister, harmony was secured; and blending lucid simplicity with freedom, ardour, and unction in his discourses, his reputation as a preacher became general and lasting.

Rowland Hill.

ROWLAND HILL (son of Sir Richard Hill, M.P., born at Hawkstone, in Shropshire, on the 23rd of August, 1744), identified himself, whilst a student at Cambridge, with the adherents of Whitefield, and accepted the work of an evangelist. On leaving college he was ordained to a curacy in Gloucestershire, but, not restricting himself to

parochial routine, he went out to preach wherever he could find an audience.

"His condition in life," Jay tells us, "his youth, the sprightliness of his imagination, the earnestness of his address, produced an amazing and happy effect. He preached in the streets, on the quays (of Bristol), and at Kingswood, among the colliers. He spread the gospel through the several neighbouring counties of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and especially Gloucestershire. In the latter county many were awakened and truly converted to God, where, by his labours also, several congregations, now large and flourishing, were founded. One of these was established at Wotton-under-Edge. This drew much of his regard. He there built a tabernacle, and attached to it a dwelling-house, which he always afterwards continued to occupy as the centre of his retreat and excursions in the country."

He built Surrey Chapel, the first stone of which was laid in 1782, and opened June 8, 1783, styling himself, in his humorous manner, as "Rector of Surrey Chapel, Vicar of Wotton-under-Edge, and curate of all the fields and commons throughout all England and Wales."

JONATHAN SCOTT, known as Captain Scott, at this period entered also on an active itinerary, and prepared the way for settled congregations. The Congregational church at Congleton originated in the interest awakened by his preaching.

Scott and Congleton.

"About the year 1780, two or three persons went over from this place to Hanley, in Staffordshire, to hear the celebrated Captain Scott, whose itinerant labours as a minister of the Gospel were very useful in this part of the country, and waited upon him at the conclusion of the service to request that he would preach at Congleton. Although no room was provided, he came, and preached either in the street or the yard of the inn at which he lodged. Rowland Hill, who happened to be

in the neighbourhood, preached the next week in the open air. In 1781, or the beginning of 1782, Mr. Scott fitted up a room at his own expense, supplied by himself, or by some neighbouring minister, or one of the students, under the care of JOHN WHITRIDGE, of Newcastle. In 1790 Captain Scott erected, at his own expense the chapel in Mill Street."*

In more remote and secluded spots, we find active labourers in the vineyard.

JAMES SOMERVILLE, born at Pitmuir, in the county of Merse, Scotland, in 1743, enjoyed early educational advantages above the average. After acquiring the rudiments of Latin and Greek at the grammar-school at Lauder, he studied ten years at the University of Edinburgh. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Lauder, December 3, 1771, but moving southwards, he was recommended by Scott, of Heckmondwike, to the congregation at Stainton, near Kendal. From thence he went to Ravenstondale, and was ordained pastor of a church there on the 27th of September, 1775. In March, 1784, he received a call to Braunton, a small village in Northumberland. He seldom preached to less than six hundred people, many of whom came eight or ten miles. Once a year he catechised the whole of his congregation, consisting of nearly a thousand persons, and gave special attention to the young Cheviot shepherds; training William Vint, Thomas Taylor, and Walter Scott, men who, in the important positions they occupied, were held in the highest esteem. James Somerville.

DAVID BOGUE, the son of a Scottish laird, born at Dowlan, in the parish of Coldingham, near

* Cong. Mag, vol. iii., 1820, p. 401.

Eyemouth, in Berwickshire, Feb. 18 (O.S. 1750), was distinguished by great native talent and force of character. Though trained at the University of Edinburgh, and in the Divinity Hall, for the ministry in the Scottish Church, he joined the Independents, and accepted the pastoral charge of the church at Gosport, Feb. 20, 1777, notwithstanding the dissuasion of his friend Somerville, and the unpromising appearance of that field of labour. In ROBERT HALDANE, and his brother JAMES ALEXANDER HALDANE, two of the most remarkable men of their time, he subsequently found the most faithful friends and noble co-workers. The brothers both entered the Royal Navy—Robert in the *Fondroyant* served under Captain Jervis (afterwards Earl St. Vincent); James in the ship *Duke of Montrose*. At the peace of 1783 Robert quitted the sea, and remained some months to enjoy the society of Bogue, whose acquaintance he had previously made.

David Bogue and the Haldanes.

On a former visit, and when the fleet returned to Gosport, in the summer of 1784, he spent a month with Bogue in wandering through France and Flanders, and then returned to his studies at Edinburgh. In September, 1786, after a more lengthened tour, he settled, on his marriage, at the old house at Airthey, near Stirling. Bogue continued diligently in his pastoral duties, and, at the request of Mr. Welch, accepted the charge of three students, to be trained for the ministry at his expense. Their theological tutor instructed them in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and attempted to initiate them in all the studies of a collegiate course; but,

Academy at Gosport.

says JAMES BENNETT, one of his early pupils, "where theology, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, ecclesiastical history, the *belles lettres*, the eloquence of the pulpit, and the pastoral care are to be taught by a single professor, it is scarcely possible to carry the instructions to the desirable strength." However this might be, he rendered the best service possible under the circumstances.

Extinction of Rationalist Academies.

The academies formed by the "Rational" Dissenters had only a brief existence. In some respects they were scarcely needed, their principles being disseminated secretly in other institutions established on a different basis.

Unitarian leaven in Carmarthen.

"The writer well remembers," says John Williams, the biographer of Belsham,* "as early as the year 1783, when he first entered as a student at Carmarthen (or rather at Rhyd Gors, in the neighbourhood), under the superintendence of Rev. Robert Gentleman, the senior class, and indeed almost all the students who had paid any attention to the subject, were avowedly Unitarian, in the strictest sense of the term; and when in the succeeding year he removed to Hoxton, he found the same sentiments generally prevailing in that institution. The class which completed their course at the conclusion of the session, Midsummer, 1785, were all declared Unitarians, excepting one; and the other classes, with few exceptions, were generally disposed to receive, and ultimately embraced and avowed, the same sentiments; and at the time of his leaving Daventry, where the writer finished his academical course in the year 1789, these were the opinions of the majority of his fellow-students who were then entering upon the Christian ministry, yet they were invited by some of the leading Dissenting congregations to the pastorship."

The principal tutors at Hoxton, supported by the Coward Trust, resigned their office, not from

* Page 421.

any change in their views, or because of any complaint preferred against them, but simply on the ground of personal convenience. In a letter to the trustees, March 30, 1784, Andrew Kippis says that his state of health, and the distance from his house at Westminster to the academy at Hoxton, are "the sole reasons" for giving up the office. Abraham Rees, at the same time, wrote in similar terms.

Resignation of Tutors at Hoxton.

The biographer of Dr. Price* says:—

"About this period, the trustees of Mr. Coward's academy determined to move away from London, partly, perhaps, by their own orthodoxy, but professedly by a *scrupulous adherence to the construction of Coward's will*, which directed that all the students should be instructed in the principles of Calvinism. This determination of Coward's trustees deprived the more liberal and *enlightened* Dissenters in London of the only place in which the young men of their persuasion could be brought up for the ministry."

Funds withdrawn by Coward Trust.

Belsham, a little exercised in mind at his anomalous position at Daventry, submitted his case to his friend Taylor, of Ely Place:—

"I now propose to you the following questions:—

"Quest. 1.—*Is it right* that a minister, who is not a Trinitarian, and who thinks it his duty, *upon proper occasions*, to avow his sentiments, should continue with a congregation the majority of which are Trinitarians, and who invited him upon the supposition of his being of the same sentiments with themselves?

Anomalous Position of Belsham.

"Quest. 2.—*Is it right a person of this description should continue at the head of an academy upon which the greater part of Dissenting congregations depend for supplies;* and would it not be more for the advantage of that interest, that it should be under the care of a more orthodox tutor? For *an orthodox tutor who is tolerably liberal will always send out heterodox pupils enow to*

* Page 117.

supply the few congregations who want ministers of that stamp; but it is hardly to be expected that a heterodox tutor will send out many pupils more orthodox than himself; and *when his sentiments come to be known, and it is impossible they should be concealed, will it not prove a disadvantage to the academy,* and consequently to the Dissenting interest at large?"

It would appear that the two friends deemed it best to look round and wait.

New Liberal College.

Alive to the necessity of making some effort to recover their position, some of the more opulent of the "rational" Dissenters resolved to raise subscriptions for the establishment of a new college. In a letter to Belsham, dated Everton, March 29, 1785, James Yates writes:—

"After writing the letter which yesterday's post forwarded to you, I received a visit from Mr. Heywood, of London, when we had a very long and interesting conversation about the best means of applying the generous spirit which is now roused among the liberal Dissenters, and of making it as productive as possible of good to our cause. He is clearly of the opinion which I have always entertained, that it is highly desirable to have a respectable academy, moderately orthodox, to receive all those pupils who will otherwise go to the Independent academies. By this plan, many young men, who would otherwise be violently bigoted and enthusiastic, would be gained to the *rational* system, and make thousands of proselytes. Daventry has done this great good; but while *you* continue there, can do it no longer, because your heterodoxy is talked of, and you will soon be as objectionable as any divinity tutor was at Warrington."

A meeting was held for the purpose of founding the institution, January 13, 1786, when it was resolved unanimously:—

"That the declaration made on the part of Mr. Coward's trustees *contains no satisfactory information respecting the revival of the Hoxton academy on its late plan,* and does not render un-

necessary the vigorous exertions of others for the immediate establishment of a similar institution."

"That it is of the greatest importance to the Protestant Dissenters that proper seminaries should be established on liberal principles, for the education of their ministers."

"That the dissolution of the academies at Hoxton, Warrington, and Exeter, renders the most serious and general attention to this important subject immediately necessary, the academy at Daventry alone, though highly respectable and useful, being inadequate to the exigencies of our present situation."

Kippis, in a sermon preached on behalf of the object, April 26, 1786, states that the new academical institution is designed to "compensate for the losses sustained."

"Unless," he says, "some addition be made to the present position, several societies must fall into the hands of *bigotry and enthusiasm*. In these words I have a view to Methodists and illiterate lay preachers, some of whom have already made inroads on several of our congregations in the country."

Academy at Manchester.

A meeting was held also in Manchester, February 22, 1786, to establish an academy at Manchester. Ralph Harrison, explaining the object in a sermon preached March 26, 1786, says:—

"It was upon the broad basis of truth, of charity, of Protestantism, of liberty civil and religious, that an academical institution was established at Warrington—founded upon a liberality of sentiment and principle that will do lasting honour to its generous and worthy patrons. They who consider the important objects it had in view, with the great abilities and respectable characters of those who successively presided over it, will not wonder that it acquired great celebrity, received the most honourable marks of public approbation, and rendered essential service to the community. But either from an original defect in the plan, from a failure in its resources, or from other causes, which it is not our business to inquire into, it was judged advis-

able to suspend the institution, in order to model it into a more convenient and practical form. The attempt to revive it, however, either upon a more extensive or limited scale, was attended with insuperable difficulties. Many who had hitherto been its most zealous and active friends were wearied with exertions that, after so many years' trial, had *failed to give it a permanent establishment.* Applications were made in vain for proper persons to conduct the academy. Those who were judged best qualified for the undertaking declined to risk a comfortable situation in life, for what appeared to them a precarious uncertainty. A suspension for some years was followed only with an increase of difficulties, and the idea of restoring the institution was so generally considered as hopeless, that little more was in contemplation with many of the trustees, than how to dispose of its remaining funds."

The "liberal" college in London was founded under the most favourable auspices. A large subscription was raised, a commodious building erected, a library was presented from Exeter, and the philosophical apparatus; a moiety of the surplus of their remaining funds was furnished from Warrington; and a staff of eminent professors was appointed, including Dr. Price, Dr. Kippis, and Dr. Abraham Rees. Belsham, in a sermon preached April 28, 1790, says, "In this institution I have found a peaceful and honourable asylum."

To place the institution beyond the fear of embarrassment, a permanent fund was created, and a long career of splendid usefulness was predicted; but in *borrowing* from this invested capital to meet current expenses, it rapidly wasted and involved in debt that soon sunk the College into irretrievable ruin.

In truth the eminent leaders of the Rational Dissenters lost their interest to a large extent in

religion, education, and literature, in their absorbing interest in the movement that ended in the French Revolution. Dr. Price, in a discourse to the supporters of a new academical institution, (April 25, 1787,) says:—

Rationalists and the movement in France.

"The dispositions and manners of men, more than we can well conceive, depend on the nature of the government to which they are subject. There is nothing so debasing as despotic government. They convert the governed into beasts, and the men who govern into demons. Free governments, on the contrary, exalt the human character. Many improvements remain to be made. The human mind must be emancipated from the chains of Church authority and Church Establishments. The liberality of the times has already loosened their foundations. France is hastening the Millennium. A spirit of enquiry is gone forth. *A disdain of the restraints imposed by tyrants on human reason prevails.* A tide is set in. A favourable gale has sprung up. Let us seize the auspicious moment. We see the clouds scattering. We live in happier times than our forefathers. The shades of night are departing. The day dawns, and the sun of righteousness will soon rise with healing in his wings."

"In order to prevent mistakes," Price explained that by the civil establishment he opposed in the same discourse he had in view an exclusive support by all of one particular mode of faith and worship.

Price and Priestley's qualified opinions on Establishments.

"*An equal support of religion in general,* by requiring a contribution for that purpose, payable by every citizen, but with liberty to apply it to the support of that worship he likes best, *is not such an establishment of religion as I have intended to condemn.*"

Priestley denounced civil establishments of religion in general, but most inconsistently anticipated the possibility of obtaining a share of a *national endowment for Unitarians.*

"The most equitable thing in the governors of any country would no doubt be to allow *Unitarians, or any other description of men the use of a Church,* or any other public building in any town, in which they should be so numerous as to occupy one, and where their proportion of the tithes, etc., would be sufficient for the maintenance of a minister of their persuasion, and no sort of inconvenience would arise to the State from such a measure as this." *

On the retirement of Belsham from the Academy at Daventry, the students were removed to Northampton, and placed under the care of John Horsey. As illustrative of the general influence exerted by his teaching and on other points, the following extract from a letter addressed to "the Rev. Samuel Lucas, Shrewsbury, Salop," is not without interest:—

"My son at Northampton goes on well, and the academy under the tuition of Mr. Horsey is likely to answer a good purpose. My son John has a very pious turn, strong parts, and wishes to do good; but in his last settlement greatly complains that many of his hearers are loose livers, some of them much given to tippling; his views of the incomprehensible Doctrine of the Trinity are confused. I apprehend he is not quite willing that his faith should bow to the doctrine of inspiration without disputing. His life and conversation I hear is very exemplary. I have not seen Mr. Worthington's sermon, nor heard of it until you mentioned it. You know that Mr. Crabbe succeeds the late Mr. Harmer, Mr. Jewell from Halifax succeeds Mr. Palmer at Woodbridge. He was formerly in Mr. Wesley's connexion, but saw reason to join the Congregational Churches: is a lively preacher, and has an agreeable talent at extempore preaching, lively and conversible in company. I was at what is called his settlement in November. Your friend Waldegrave preached, or rather went into the pulpit to laugh at us, or to make folks laugh; but I assure you I was

Letter of David Edwards.

* Priestley on the Importance and Extent of Free Enquiry, etc., p. 44.

very serious, and often vexed. He took a noble text, viz., 'To me who am the least of all saints,' etc. We expected to hear something of the unsearchable riches of the gospel, but we had very little of that. It was the most crude, undigested discourse I have heard for many years. However there were some useful sentences delivered now and then. His attempts at being witty were like Solomon's fly in the ointment, but I would not be too severe. Our Christian tempers should be like the windows—narrow without, but very wide within, etc. Some wild notes in a sermon may be of more use than set to music. Mr. Lowrie is the minister's name who preaches at Stowmarket; brought up at the Homerton Academy, of good abilities, and I hope a good man. His natural temper free and open, which may lead him sometimes to be fond of company. I am much pleased with Dr. Priestley's sentiments about giving up the Meeting-house at Needham for the use of the Methodists. This is a proof of the Doctor's catholic spirit. I have mentioned this several times, and to some who are admirers of the Rev. Doctor's theological sentiments which made them wonder, and one of them said, he thought the Doctor was right in making that declaration. I admire Dr. Priestley in many things as a man, and in many respects as a Christian. He is an excellent philosopher, very clever upon ethereal fluids, electric principles, phlogiston, and yet I can by no means fall in with him in asserting that the Son of God was *only* a teacher of righteousness. We believe this to the full, but we believe a great deal more of His person, offices, and characters. Why should the doctrine of our redemption be explained away? What man in his sober senses can read these words, 'We are redeemed by the blood of Christ,' *i.e.*, by His death and sufferings; 'We are bought with a price;' 'We are washed from our sins through His own blood;' 'That God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself;' that 'Christ died for us;' 'that God has given us eternal life, and that this life is in His Son,' with numbers more. Language must be strangely confounded and distorted if the meaning of all these be no more than that Jesus Christ was *only* a moral instructor. Who can read Col. i. 15—21, without believing the dignity of His person to be superior to all created existences? With many more passages in the Old and New Testament. As I believe the Doctor to be a man of great integrity, so I doubt not but he will

be brought to see these truths in a very different sense than he understands them now. I think you do right to converse freely with him, as I am told he is communicative in his temper. Bitter invectives and execrating condemning airs are of no use except to harden, and the truth never stands in need of such weapons.

"The Dissenting interest under Mr. M—— at Harwich is very low indeed. He is a Calvinistic doctrinal man, and his gifts not acceptable; but Mr. Wesley's preachers have hired a room in the town, and many flock to hear; and I am told much good is done—drunkards become sober, and careless sinners become serious.

"I need not inform you that the common-place subject of the day for a long time has been the Test and Corporation Acts, and last week we were beat in the Senate House almost three to one. Many people in the Church of England have discovered a bad spirit on this occasion. The Church of England, as a sect, carries a spice of persecution in her very complexion.

"However, let us not fear—the truth shall prevail. We seem to be advancing very fast to a great era in the history of human affairs. The Papal power—the scourge of a nation—is declining apace. The commotion in France is a remarkable incident in the chapter of divine Providence. There never was such a bloodless anarchy. In all civil dissensions and national contests, the usual appeal in times past was to the sword; but in France the appeal has been to reason, to the principles of truth, justice, and the rights of mankind. The blood that has been shed was but a drop in comparison to a shower that has been shed on the like occasions, even in this kingdom.

"You saw in the public papers that the great Mr. Howard has left our world. Did I tell you what he said? When we were talking about the Test Act, he said he could hardly wish it to be repealed. I asked him the reason. He said he looked upon the stigma to be an honour to the Dissenting body; but, you know, this was but a private opinion. Mr. Notcutt is grown feeble with age, and his faculties begin to weaken. Mr. Hale holds on his course. They desire to be remembered to you.

"As to myself I have little to say. Our interest seems rather to thrive than to go back. My life has been a life of severe trouble, labour, and frequent sorrows, but it is better to be kept

fresh in brine than to rot in honey. The viper fastening upon Paul's hand did him no harm. Our God can and often does sweeten mental and bodily sufferings with secret joy. He makes the bitter waters of Marah palatable by virtue of the tree of life. I sometimes can look without terror beyond the river. If crosses carry in them so much good, what will the crown be. If sweet clusters grow upon Golgotha, what must the fair fruit of Canaan be? If the Lord's rod has honey at the end of it, what must the golden sceptre be? If we gather grapes now and then from the thorns of affliction, what blessed fruit must grow upon the tree of life in the midst of the Paradise of God? Come, my brother, let us press forward with intrepidity and courage. Our Eternal 'I Am' has all things to encourage us and to help us. Let us endeavour to spread the fame of the Redeemer and His matchless glories, grace, and love. The doctrine of the Saviour's merits, as well as the pure morality of the gospel, are to be preached to mankind as sinners, and our sermons should be like the box of spikenard when broken, should fill all the churches with sweet perfume. I have reason to make some apology for the length of this, but apologies would only add to the fault.

"Pray for us. My daughters join with me in kind respects to you and Mrs. Lucas.—I remain, Rev. and dear Sir, your ever affectionate friend and brother, "DAVID EDWARDS."

"Ipswich, March 9, 1790.

"I heartily wish success to the good minister who is about publishing Dr. Doddridge's Letters"

All subordinate questions were now left in abeyance by Priestley and Price in their absorption in the work of revolution. The moral character of the prominent philosophical leaders might have caused some doubt as to the issue, but their defects in this particular appear to have awakened no misgiving. Jean Jacques Rousseau, the acknowledged pioneer of the movement, was provided, by the friendly influence of Hume, with a

Hume and Rousseau.

* Dr. Raffles' MSS.

pension, and a quiet retreat at Wootton, in Derbyshire, but requited the kindness he received with base ingratitude. Hume, writing to his friend, who had given up his house to the French philosopher whilst in England, says of him :—

"He lies like the devil. I am afraid you will have a very bad pennyworth of him; but if I might venture to give my advice, it is that you would continue the charitable work you have begun, till he be shut up altogether in Bedlam, or till he quarrel with you and run away from you. He is the most dangerous man in the world, on account of his malice and talents. I cannot take too many precautions against him." *

Some of the principles of Rousseau were of a startling character. In his *Social Contract*, he says :—

"The moment a people gives itself representatives, it is no longer free.

"A body of laws sanctioned by an assembly of the people through a fixed constitution of the State, does not suffice; other fixed and periodical assemblies are necessary, *which cannot be abolished or prorogued*, so arranged that on a given day the people may be legitimately convoked by the law; no other formal convocation being requisite. *The moment the people are thus assembled, the jurisdiction of the government is to cease*, and the executive power is to be suspended."

"Subjects" were no longer to exist, but only "citizens." Property was to be held at the disposal of the people. "No one," he said, "has a right to the ground; its fruits are the property of all." †

Rousseau maintained that no one had any right to bring a religion into a country different from that already established. ‡

* Additional MSS., 29,626.

† Rousseau's Discourses on the "Origine de l'Inègalité."

‡ Lettres à Christophe de Beaumont.

"There is a profession of faith," he says, "purely civil, whose articles it belongs to the sovereign to fix, without being able to oblige any one to believe them; he *may banish from the State any one that does not believe them;* he may banish him, not as impious, but as *unsociable*, as *incapable* of sincerely loving the laws and justice, and sacrificing, in case of need, his life to his duties. *If any one, after having publicly acknowledged these dogmas, should conduct himself as not believing them, let him be punished with death* —he has committed the greatest crime: he has lied before the laws." *

Priestley was thoroughly versed in the principiples of the French philosophers—having mingled in their fascinating society at Bowood, the mansion of Lord Shelburne, where he held an honorary office, and in the French capital. He found them, he says, unbelievers in Christianity, or even professed Atheists. It was notorious that they were libertines in practice of the grossest kind. Many of the Romish clergy had imbibed their Atheistic principles, and notably the Bishop of Autun; yet it was from men of this character that Priestley looked for the complete renovation of society.

French Philosophers.

The time approached for the dawn of the millennium of reason. Everything tended to the expected issue. The luxury and prodigality of the Court, the pressure of taxation, the estrangement of the nobles, the isolation of the priests, and the miseries of the people, led on to the inevitable crisis, bringing with it the long-desired opportunity for the introduction of the sovereign remedy. Priestley became delirious in the growing excitement, and imagined that the prophet of Nazareth might now indeed have become incarnate.

Delirium of Priestley.

* Social Contract.

"No period," he said, "since that of our Saviour has been of so much importance as the present, and it is evident that the state of things is in *rapid motion*. What is now done is only the commencement of something greater. Whatever danger there might have been formerly from the idea of Christ upon the earth, and having some unknown sphere of action, there is none now, and therefore we may freely indulge any speculations on the subject." *

At length the long-expected day arrived that should decide the future destinies, not of France alone, but of all the nations of the earth. The necessities of the King compelled his Ministers to convoke the National Assembly in Paris on May 5, 1789. No scheme of policy was proposed by the Government for free and orderly discussion, but everything was left to hazard. The statesmen accustomed to the business of legislation, and the philosophers who had no knowledge of practical business, were alike at fault. Confusion followed. The sittings were suspended, and the members dismissed by force. Barricades were raised by the infuriated populace, and the Bastille, rendered infamous as the fortification of despotism, destroyed. Prisoners of every class went free, the princes and nobles fled, and, after desperate street fighting, the members of the Assembly returned to their place of meeting, and issued a declaration of rights. The revolution was accomplished. Citizen Paine and Citizen Priestley were elected as members of the new legislative and ruling body. Paine hastened to the scene of revolutionary action, but Priestley wisely stayed at home.

National Assembly in Paris.

* Memoirs, vol. i., pp. 2, 409.

Price was recognized as the chief instrument by which the unexampled change had been effected.

Mutual congratulation of Priestley and Price.

"I most sincerely congratulate you," said Priestley to his friend and co-worker, "on the glorious effulgence of liberty in France, and especially on the share that is with so much justice ascribed to *you* with respect to the liberty both of that country and America, and of course all those other countries that, it is hoped, will follow their example. I do not know any man who appears to have lived to a better purpose." *

Price, at the first anniversary of the great event, said:—

"In France there is a disposition to unite itself to us by an alliance for maintaining and perpetuating peace. It would be an effect worthy of that union of philosophy to politics which distinguishes the present era of the world. *It might save Britain.* It would bless the world, and complete the hopes of all the friends of human liberty and happiness. I can say from very respectable authority, that there has been a design formed in the National Assembly of France to make a proposal of such an alliance in this country. O *heavenly philanthropists,* well do you deserve the admiration, not only of your own country, but of all countries." †

"What an eventful period is this! I am thankful that I have lived to see it, and I could almost say, 'Lord, now lettest Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation.' I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge which has undermined superstition and error. I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever, and nations panting for liberty which seemed to have lost the idea of it. I have lived to see thirty millions of people indignant and resolute, spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice, their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects. After sharing in the benefits of one Revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two revolutions, both glorious; and now methinks I see the ardour for

* Priestley's Works, vol. i., p. 2. † Ibid., p. 79.

liberty catching and spreading—a general amendment—beginning in human affairs, the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience.

"Be encouraged all ye friends of freedom and writers in its defence! The times are auspicious; your labours have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms admonished by you starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors. Behold the light you have struck out after setting America free, reflected to France, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates Europe.

"Tremble all ye oppressors of the world! Take warning all ye supporters of slavish governments and slavish hierarchies! Call no more (absurdly and wickedly) reformation innovation. You cannot now hold the world in darkness. Struggle no longer against increasing light and liberality. Restore to mankind their rights, and consent to the correction of abuses before they and *you are destroyed together*."

Samuel Romilly writes to M. Dumont, July 28, 1789:—

"The Revolution has produced a very sincere and general joy here. It is the subject of all conversations, and even all the newspapers, without one exception, though they are not conducted by the most liberal or most philosophical of men, join in sounding the praises of the Parisians, and in rejoicing at an event so important to mankind." * General joy.

Robert Hall, of Cambridge, spoke of the French Revolution as "the most splendid event recorded in the annals of his history."

Paine returned from Paris on July 13, 1791, on his revolutionary mission, and wrote his work entitled *The Rights of Man*.

Priestley and his friends announced their inten-

* Memoirs, vol. i., p. 356.

tion to celebrate the first anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille in a festive gathering to be held in Birmingham, July 14, 1791. A few days previously, a handbill was circulated in the town, to this effect :—

Priestley and the Riots at Birmingham.

"My Countrymen,—The second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism would give his sanction to the *majestic common cause* by a public celebration of the anniversary. Remember that on the 14th of July, the Bastille, that 'High Altar and Castle of Despotism,' fell! Remember the enthusiasm, *peculiar* to the cause of liberty, with which it was attacked! Remember that generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of unsullied rights, to save the lives of oppressors! Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations; and let your number be collected, and sent as a free-will offering to the National Assembly. But is it possible to forget that your own Parliament is venal?—your minister hypocritical?—your clergy legal oppressors?—the reigning family extravagant?—the crown of a certain great personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it?—too weighty for the people who *gave* it?—your taxes partial and excessive?—your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of property, religion, and freedom?

"But, on the 14th of this month, prove to the political sycophants of the day that you reverence the olive branch—that you *will* sacrifice to public tranquillity till the majority *shall* exclaim, 'The peace of slavery is worse than the war of freedom!' Of that moment let tyrants beware!"*

Terrible excitement ensued. John Gwinnell, writing from Worcester, July 17, to Robert Preston, Frederick Place, London, gives the following particulars :—

"A few days previous to the meeting of the Revolutionists at Birmingham to celebrate the downfall of French despotism, some

* S. P. Dom.

very inflammatory handbills were distributed, tending to poison the minds of the lower class against the Established Church and State; and on the evening preceding the meeting of the 14th July, some people (supposed to be in the interest of Dr. Priestley) had printed in large characters on every church door throughout Birmingham, 'This useless Barn to be let or sold.' This so enraged the friends of the Established Church, that during the time that the Revolutionists were at dinner at the hotel, a mob surrounded the house, assailed the windows of it with bricks and stones, and obliged the company for a time to retire in great confusion. About six o'clock the rioters had increased to five thousand, and advanced in a body to the house of Dr. Priestley, which they very soon levelled to the ground, and totally destroyed his valuable mathematical instruments, pictures, etc.; and he himself narrowly escaped with his life to Kidderminster. The mob then proceeded to his Meeting-house, which, with two others, were soon in ruins. They continued parading the streets the whole of Thursday night, calling loudly for the head of Priestley, and offering a *handsome reward* for it. On Friday morning their numbers were increased to above twelve thousand. The inhabitants, fearing the dreadful consequences of such a force, did not open their shops or windows all that day or the next, but sent an express to Coventry for the assistance of the military. The Mayor of that city, dreading an insurrection there, remonstrated with the commanding officer of the regiment, and they were restrained from leaving Coventry. This refusal animated with redoubled vigour the enthusiasm of the mob, who immediately attacked the house of Mr. Taylor, an eminent banker, a friend and companion of Dr. P., which they very deliberately unroofed and set on fire, and, with five others, were soon consumed to ashes. The next object of their revenge was a Mr. Russell, a magistrate, who had shown much activity by endeavouring to suppress the riot. His house, with three others, were totally destroyed. Mr. Thomson's house and several others suffered on Friday evening before I left the town. All these depredations were committed without the smallest opposition, and the houses of all suspected persons were searched to find Dr. Priestley, who arrived at Worster from Kidderminster this day, and immediately set off for London. The report since I left Birmingham is, that on Saturday night the town was on fire

in seven different places, that part of a regiment of cavalry had arrived from the north, and that others were hourly expected; so that we may hope in a short time to hear of a stop being put to these horrid subversions of laws and liberties." *

The authorities in Birmingham applied for help to the magistrates of the neighbouring counties, and not receiving prompt replies, apprised the Government of the alarming state of the town. The despatches, sent in rapid succession, show the increasing agitation.

The King interposed with a message to Dundas.

"Wednesday, *July* 16, 1791, 28 min. past 4 p.m.

"The sending orders for three troops of the 15th regiment of dragoons to march towards Birmingham to restore order, if the civil magistrates have not been able, is incumbent on Government, though I cannot but feel better pleased that Priestley is the sufferer for the doctrines he and his party have instilled, and that the people see them in their true light. Yet I cannot approve their having employed such atrocious means of showing their discontent." †

John Brookes writes to Secretary Dundas :—

"BIRMINGHAM, *July* 16, 1791, past seven in the evening.

"A most ungovernable mob are continuing to make the most alarming depredations. The attempts which the magistrates, myself, and a numerous party made after despatching the letter to you yesterday, proved totally ineffectual. Several men have lost their lives, and since twelve o'clock yesterday the houses of Mr. Taylor, the banker, and six or seven more of the Presbyterian gentlemen are burnt, with their furniture, and there is not the smallest cessation in the proceedings of the mob, nor is there the least gleam of hope that good order can be restored without the aid of a *considerable* military force. Many more houses are devoted, and can only be saved by an early arrival of troops." *

* S. P. Dom. † Jesse's "George III.," vol. iii., p. 181.

(To the Right. Hon. Lord Hawkesbury)

"BIRMINGHAM, *July* 17, 1791.
"Saturday, near 3 o'clock afternoon.

"The horrible scene of plunder continues, and, we doubt not, will continue until troops arrive. *Some houses have been saved by money and drink.* I have had many little parties at my house desiring money (as they went from door. to door), but I absolutely refused by saying I durst not, and have hitherto escaped with Huzza."

Dundas, the Secretary of State, received the following message:—

"BIRMINGHAM, *July* 16, 1791.
"Saturday evening, 8 o'clock.

"SIR,—Our magistrates have left the town this evening at five o'clock. Lord Aylesford, Sir Robert Lawley, and his son, Mr. Finch, Mr. Digby, and two or three more country gentlemen were here this morning, after eleven o'clock, whilst I had retired for a few hours' rest, but went before they dined.

"There have been some good houses burned and some destroyed since we wrote to the magistrates yesterday at half-past eleven o'clock, and the violence is still going on in a terrible manner; and we have no answer to the express, and are in a horrible suspense. My hand shakes in great alarm, though I am not a marked man.—I am, etc.,

"SAMUEL GARBETT.

"Right Hon. Henry Dundas." *

To allay the excitement a placard was issued:—

"BIRMINGHAM, Sunday *July* 17, 1791.

"Important information to the *friends of the Church and the King.*

"FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CHURCHMEN.—Being convinced you are unacquainted that the great losses which are sustained by your burning and destroying the houses of so many individuals will eventually fall upon the county at large, and not upon the persons to whom they belonged, we feel it our duty to inform you that the damage already done, upon the best computation

* S. P. Dom.

that can be made, will amount to upwards of one hundred thousand pounds, the whole of which enormous sum will be charged upon the respective parishes, and paid out of the rates. *We, therefore, as your friends, implore you immediately to desist from the destruction of any more houses,* otherwise the very *proceedings which your zeal for showing your attachment to the Church and the King,* will be the means of most seriously injuring innumerable families, who are the best of supporters of Government, and bring on an addition of taxes, which yourselves and the rest of the friends of the Church will for years feel a very grievous burden.

"This, we assure you, was the case in London, where there were so many houses and public buildings burnt and destroyed in the year 1780, and, you may rely upon it, will be so here on the present occasion.

"And we must observe to you that any further violent proceedings will more offend your King and country than serve the cause of him and Church.

"*Fellow-Churchmen,*

As you love your King, regard his laws, and restore peace.

"God save the King.

"AYLESFORD,	J. CARLES,
R. FINCH,	B. SPENCER,
ROBERT LAWLEY,	HENRY GRESWOLD LEWIS,
ROBERT LAWLEY, SEN.,	CHARLES CURTIS,
R. MOLAND,	SPENCER MEADOW,
W. DIGBY,	EDWARD PALMER,
EDWARD CARVER,	W. BILLERS,
JOHN BROOKES,	W. WALLIS MASON."

Lotichius writes to the Right Hon. William Pitt.

"BIRMINGHAM, *July* 17, 1791.

"'King and Church' is now wrote with chalk and in large letters on all the houses in this town—Presbyterians, Quakers, Jews, and Infidels. No doubt some did it to keep the destroying angel off.

"Dr. Priestley is decamped. He must come here no more; he would be torn to pieces.

"On some houses is wrote with chalk, 'D—n Old Priestley.'"

The Earl of Aylesford, in a note to the Government, July 9, 1791, says :—

"The object was to attack Dr. Priestley. I have my doubts whether at first they meant to extend their outrage any further. At first I thought them disposed to listen to persuasion, and disperse, but *when they had got liquor, they returned and committed these ravages.*"

Twenty affidavits were sworn to prove that the clergy and some of the magistrates originated the riot, and incited the mob. They met near John Brooke's house, who directed them to the new meeting. A lad said, "Damnation seize all the Presbyterians!" The Rev. Dr. Spence put his hand on the head of the lad, and said, "Well done, my hearty chicken." To stop the mob in their attack on another house, he said, "You have done well what you have done; it does not belong to Mr. Lloyd," (a Dissenter.)

At Sheffield the rioters were of another party, and went in a large body to Broomhall, the seat of "the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, Justice of the Peace," a mile from the town, and demolished the windows and set fire to the furniture.

Their cries in the night were "No King, no Corn Bill, no taxes!"

Threatening letters were sent to Bristol, of which we have these specimens :—

"Sir,—I took this opportunity to let you know that wee are comeng. Near two thousand good, harty, hail, strong ruffins, which will pull down your fine manchin house, and your fine Baptis meeting, and not your meeting only but Bresperterines likewise, and Romands, and all your Decenters' houses shall have the same fate as them at Burmingham. I give you six days' notis to move valuble materiels,

Threatening letters.

or else they will be in ashes in ten days. I will advise you to leave friends to do the best they can, or perish; and I make no doubt but wee shall have one thousand more of your sitisans when wee come. I understand you belonging to the Corporation are meetingers, and thairfore your councilhors shall come down, and wee will see what your officers is made on, if they refuse to asist wee they are all ded men, and so prepare for the b—— worst.—I am your humble servant,

"J. POND,

"*July* 18, 1791. "And ever so many more.

"Be upon your peril *to move no wines, if you do you are ded men.*

"To the Worshipfull Mayer, Quean Square, Bristol."

"BRISTOL, *July* 21, 1791.

"This comes to address you on a matter of importance to yourself, and requires your utmost secresy. There is, sir, at this present moment upwards of nine hundred men, mostly all of the same degree as myself, working mechanics, etc., and we shall by Monday next be joined by a greater number from Birmingham and Taunton. We are all firm and steady, and have sworn to pull down and demolish all the Presbyterian meeting-houses in this city.

"This comes to warn you on your life, and not to make any noise or stir about the business, and you may be sure we will not hurt you or yours. Your life depends on your secresy. Adieu." *

The Birmingham rioters were indicted at the Warwick Assizes. Romilly, who was present at the trial, states that in the proceedings on the part of the judge and the prosecutor there was a scandalous failure of justice.

"The rage which prevails in Warwickshire against the Dissenters is not to be conceived by any one who has not been there. There is no story so incredible, no calumny so gross, as does not meet with implicit credit, and the most speedy propagation among the friends of Church and King; and the complete refutation of one calumny instead of begetting distrust of the truth of another, only procures it a more easy reception. The appetite for defamation grows

Rage against Dissenters.

* S. P. Dom.

stronger as it has missed the prey, of which it thought itself secure.

"I heard one of these zealots declaring his utter detestation not of Dissenters in general, but of those of Birmingham, founded, as he said, on the whole of their conduct, which he declared to have been scandalous and infamous beyond all example. These expressions were so strong, and were uttered with so much vehemence, that I thought I had now at last found the opportunity, which I had so often wished for before in vain, of hearing some specific charge which had been the pretext for the persecution, and I ventured to ask the gentleman what were the facts to which he alluded; but I am afraid my question, though certainly unintentionally, was expressed in such a way as betrayed more doubt than curiosity, for he told me, with great impatience, that it was to no purpose to talk with a person so prejudiced as I was."

Burke turned fiercely against the Unitarians in his place in Parliament on the motion of Fox, grounded upon a petition presented to the House of Commons by the Unitarian Society:—

Burke and the Unitarians.

"With the Catholics, with the Presbyterians, with the Anabaptists, with the Independents, with the Quakers, I have nothing to do. They are in *possession*, a great title in all human affairs. The tenour and spirit of our laws, whether they were restraining, or whether they were relaxing, have hitherto taken another course. The spirit of our laws has applied their penalty or their relief to the supposed abuse to be repressed, or the grievance to be relieved. It has been so at all times; the Legislature, whether right or wrong, went no other way to work but by circumstances, times, and necessities; my school is the practice and usage of Parliament.

"Old religious factions are *volcanoes burnt out;* on the lava and ashes and squalid scoriæ of old eruptions grow the peaceful olive, the cheering vine, and the sustaining corn. Such was the first, such the second condition of Vesuvius. But when a new fire bursts out, a face of desolation comes on, not to be rectified in ages. Therefore, when men come before us, and rise up like an exhalation from the ground, they come in a questionable shape,

and we must *exercise* them, and try whether their intents be wicked or charitable; whether they bring airs from heaven or blasts from hell.

"This faction (the authors of the petition) are not confined to a *theological* sect, but are also a *political* faction. Read the advertisement of the Unitarian Society for celebrating the 14th of July; the model on which they intend to build is French. Read the correspondence of the Revolution Society with the clubs of France. Read Priestley's adherence to their opinions."

Perils of the British Constitution.

The British constitution was imperilled on two sides. The "True Blues," a military company formed for political purposes, issued manifestoes in support of "Church and King," threatening vengeance on their opponents. The Association known as that of the "Crown and Anchor" was called into existence for a similar object. The severest measures were adopted by the government to destroy the liberty of the press and the right of discussion. Spies and informers of the lowest class were sent abroad to tempt the unsuspecting to acts of sedition, and then to visit them with the heaviest punishment. The representation of the people in Parliament was becoming merely nominal, from the prevalence of bribery and corruption. Notoriously "seats" on both sides of the House were bought and sold. The victims of oppression were left without the power of appeal, or the slightest prospect of redress.

On the other hand, societies were formed, ostensibly for political reform, and with rules and orders strictly legal; but the ulterior aim of which was known to be the undermining of the constitution and the establishment of a republican government after the model of France. Paine, and other leaders of these

societies, openly fraternized with the most violent men in the National Assembly at Paris. The evidence of this is abundant in the State Papers, and indeed in the journals and pamphlets of the time. The writer of an intercepted letter, dated Edinburgh, November, 1792, says:—

"DEAR COUSIN,—I will cheerfully give you some account of the friends of the people in Edinburgh. They are divided into eight or nine different societies, but the total number of members cannot be easily ascertained.

"There is a general meeting every month, and a committee meeting every week for the reception of new members. I was at the committee last night, and members were admitted as fast as they could subscribe their names.

"All the societies in Edinburgh meet together this night by delegates from each. A plan is to be laid before them for meeting of delegates from every society in Scotland, that the whole may be united more firmly.

"The principal objects in view are a free representation of the people in Parliament, and a shorter duration of it; trial by juries in civil as well as criminal cases. *I am of opinion with you, that it must end in a republic.* The soldiers will not fight against the people; but should they, *France will send over eighty thousand to help us,* but I hope it will not come to this; but we will not hesitate which to choose, a civil war or slavery. 'For a nation to be free, it is sufficient that it *will* it.'

"If you will write me how to send you, I will send you the *Rights of Man* and Paine's *Address to the Addressers,* gratis.

"Being a hearty wisher to the glorious cause of liberty, I will be obliged to you if you will give me all the information in your power.

"*How do the people about you relish Paine's principles?* Are there any societies begun yet? In return I shall inform you of our proceedings. I had a letter from London lately. Kings are no more thought of there," etc.*

The proclamation against seditious writings,

* S. P. Dom.

pointing specially to the "*Rights of Man*," rapidly increased their circulation. In the interests of freedom and of order, several of the nobility and Members of Parliament declared themselves the "*Friends of the People.*" Amongst them were Charles Grey, Mackintosh, Erskine, Whitbread, Sheridan, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Lords Dacre and Kinnaird, Lord John Russell, afterwards Duke of Bedford, Rogers, the poet, Pigott, afterwards Solicitor-General, and Leach, afterwards the Lord Chancellor.

Friends of the People.

"Unless some reforms be made," said William Wilberforce, "though we should get well through our present difficulties, they will recur hereafter with aggravated force."

It was a time of peril to every honest-minded patriot liable to be inflamed, on the one hand, by the impassioned harangues of reckless demagogues, and of being decoyed, on the other, by the agents of a tyrannical arbitration who were eager for their prey. The judicious friends of constitutional freedom watched carefully over their interests, and warned them in the hour of danger. We have an example of this solicitude in the following address :—

"The Manchester Constitutional Society, fully satisfied that the voice of reason is seldom heard amidst tumult and confusion; that the true friends of the people are also the truest friends of peaceable demeanour and patient investigation; that the advocates of a timely and temperate reform in the abuses of government require no assistance but from argument; and that their adversaries have no resource but in violence and abuse, the common refuge of a case that can be no otherwise supported, think it their duty to

Manchester Constitutional Society.

reply by their actions to the calumnies of their enemies, and to step forward at the moment of public perturbation in support of peace, and order, and law.

"Hitherto the people of England have supposed the statutes of this realm, duly executed, were sufficient of themselves to prevent or to punish offences against the State, and that if the laws were inadequate to their purpose, it was the duty of the Legislature to remedy the defect. Hitherto the people of England have supposed that the peaceable discussion of the errors and abuses which time may have introduced into the constitution under which they lived, was not only their privilege, but their right; not merely a matter of expedience, but, in justice to themselves and their posterity, their bounden duty.

"The proclamations which his Majesty's ministers have so unadvisedly issued, found the people thus happily persuaded, neither distrusting the laws of their country, nor involved in any riotous meetings or tumultuous distractions, using, but not abusing, their right of investigating the principles of government and the conduct of their public servants, by the peaceable means of reason and argument. The true friends of their country have been grieved to see this state of the public mind so materially disturbed by the late proclamation, the obvious tendency of which is to create alarm where none existed before, to sow the seeds of mutual discord and suspicion among the people; to excite distrust of the laws, the magistrates, and the government of the country; and to give existence to those very *proceedings tending to produce riot and tumult* which it professes to guard against. Nevertheless, a public meeting is proposed to be held in the town of Manchester on Monday next, to consider of a proper address to his *Majesty*,' in consequence of this very proclamation.

"In the present agitated state of the public mind, the impropriety of such a meeting cannot be doubted, and the *obvious tendency* of a multitude of people, of various and opposite elements, assembling to discuss a public measure of a violent nature, and containing the most dubious assertions and the most personal allusions, is too glaring to be mistaken. By violence and tumult, by intemperate debate and public confusion, the cause of the people must inevitably be injured. This is the game for their enemies to play; and there is reason to believe the opportunities will be eagerly sought for.

"The Manchester Constitutional Society will never relinquish their principles, or lose sight of an effectual reform in the representation of the people; but they renounce and disclaim such means of effecting their purpose, or promoting their cause. They do, therefore, most earnestly exhort the members of their own and similar societies in this town and neighbourhood, and every true friend to the rights of the people, to evince themselves the true friends also of peace and good order, by abstaining from the meeting of Monday next, which, however upright the motives of the persons who have called it, has a direct tendency, at the *present crisis*, to endanger the harmony and tranquillity of the town and neighbourhood.

"Signed, by order and on the behalf of the Manchester Constitutional Society,

"THOMAS WALKER, *President.*

"SAMUEL JACKSON, *Secretary.*

"MANCHESTER, *June 2nd*, 1792."

These salutary counsels were needful, for at the time they were given the Revolution in France took a rapidly downward course. Intelligence was received from the seaports on the southern coast, of the arrival of French emigrants in a state of great destitution. Thomas Curry, a magistrate in Gosport, writes to the Secretary of State, September 12, 1792:—

"I conceive it highly necessary to inform you that there are a number of French emigrants (priests), who daily arrive at this place by packets, French fishing-boats, etc., from France. As near as I can ascertain, the number landed here is about three hundred, and, from the best information I can give, about the same number have been landed at Portsmouth. I have sent on board to enquire the number, which I find to be about sixty-five, together with a lady abbess. Many of them, after being landed two or three days, separate and go into the country, neighbouring towns, and villages. They are nearly all of the clergy, and disguised in any dress they could procure, such as fishermen's and common peasants' apparel, of low appearance; and as many more are

Arrival of French Emigrants.

expected by the end of the week, *I most sincerely hope and trust that no bad consequences will accrue by such numbers of clergy, etc., emigrating into this country from France;* but I thought it highly necessary to give you this information, and hope you will not consider it as presumption in me to write you on this subject, humbly conceiving it my duty so to do.

"I have the honour to subscribe myself, my hon. sir, your very obedient, devoted, and humble servant,

"THOMAS CURRY.

"To the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas, etc."

The vigilant official could not understand the purpose of this invasion, but the sad mystery was soon explained. Shoals of fugitives continued to arrive as they could find boats to bring them off.

"*September* 13, 1792.—Two hundred or upwards, and more arrive daily in great distress. A large building is offered for their accommodation.

"*September* 20, at Portsmouth.—A vast inundation of French. May they have the buildings where the prisoners of war were kept? May we be allowed to give the poor wretches shelter in the night? They can live for twopence a-day, but cannot procure lodgings for ten times the sum.

"*September* 21.—Lord Sheffield writes:—'Those who are arrived between Rye and Chichester do not exceed 1200, about 700 of which have landed at Eastbourne.'"

So they continued to come. The King's House at Winchester (now the Barracks) was fitted up for the accommodation of one contingent. At a crowded meeting held in Freemasons' Hall, September 20, 1792, John Wilmot, Esq., M.P., in the chair, Edmund Burke, in a torrent of impassioned eloquence, fired the hearts of the people in reciting the story of the wrongs suffered by these helpless victims. A subscription was raised on the occasion of £1,468 3s.

Intelligence reached Portsmouth, September 28,

1792, from Mons. Beaumarchais, who quitted Paris on September 23, to the effect that "on September 20 Petion was chosen President; royalty is for ever abolished in France; no person, under pain of death, shall propose a king; the new oath is, 'Liberty, Equality, and eternal hatred to all kings!'"

Everywhere the French emigrants had to tell the tale of their sufferings and privations to all classes in the community, and a cry of execration arose against the perpetrators of the crimes committed in the name of reason, the rights of man, and liberty. Burke and Mackintosh had, a year before, discussed the subject of the Revolution with great ability, when there might appear to be some ground for suspending the judgment as to the merits or demerits of the prime actors in the terrible drama; but with all who retained the spirit of humanity, the case was no longer left in doubt. In Leicester, the words "Liberty and Equality" were scrawled on the doors of the houses and on the walls. In Manchester, September 18, 1792, placards appeared, explaining the course of Petion, and vindicating the executioners.

The scenes of tumult and bloodshed that followed in long and melancholy succession, we have no heart to trace, nor is it needful. It will be sufficient to look into the report of the sessions of the Convention, as given in the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*:—

Proceedings of the Convention in Paris.

"France. Convention National. Friday, November 17.

"*Forstier*, in the name of the two Committees, presented a plan of a law for granting a pension to priests who abjure, and to those who, with the consent of their commune, retain their sacerdotal character and functions.

"A Member called for the order of the day upon this plan.

"*Danton.* The opinion of the people is pronounced. The *national reason is at its meridian,* but the reign of policy belongs to you. The people will not persecute; *the people are as pure as they are enlightened.* If they do not protect one form of worship exclusively, they will not persecute any.

"The following letter was read from Louis de Bertrand, dated October 4:—

"'Citizens! Representatives!—I am a priest—that is to say, a preacher. Being hitherto a quack of the good faith, I deceived others, because I was deceived myself. *Being now made clean,* I confess to you that I would not be a quack of the bad faith; poverty, however, might force me, for I have nothing but 120 livres, arising from my cure, to live upon—besides, I know nothing but the prayers that I have been forced to learn. I write to you, therefore, requesting that you will give a sufficient pension to bishops, curates, and vicars, without fortune and without means, and who are, however, honest enough not to wish to deceive the people, who ought now to be taught that there is no true religion but that of nature, and that all the mummery with which they have hitherto been amused is only old wives' fables. Be just, be benevolent, and love your neighbours, and you have religion; because, possessing all the virtues which can render you happy, and by making you useful to your brethren, you have everything necessary for pleasing the Deity. If I could preach up nothing but this morality, it would be very well, but my parishioners wish that I should speak to them of sacraments, and of an hundred thousand gods, which is as much contrary to my case as it is to yours; and beg that you will suffer me to resign, and *continue to me my pension.*'

"*Gobet, Bishop of Paris,* said—'I renounce my functions as a minister of the Catholic worship; my vicars make the same declaration. We deposit on your table our letters of priesthood. May this example *consolidate the reign of liberty and equality.*' (Loudest applause.)

"*Chaumette.* 'The day when *reason resumes her empire merits a place among the brilliant epochs of the French Revolution.* I move that the Convention charge the Committee of Public Instruction to insert in the new calendar THE DAY OF REASON.' (Applause.)

"*The Curé of Tangiraro.* 'Divested of those prejudices which fanaticism inspired into my heart and mind, I deposit on your table my letters of priesthood.' (Applause.)

"*The President.* 'Citizens, the example which you have given *is the effect of the efforts made by philosophy to enlighten mankind. It was reserved to the Commune of Paris to come first to announce the triumph of reason.* Citizens, who have sacrificed on the altar of your country those Gothic toys of superstition, you are worthy of the Republic. Citizens, who have abjured error, you will in future preach up only the practice of the social and moral virtues. This is the worship agreeable to the Supreme Being. You are worthy of Him.' (Loud applause.)

"The citizens at the bar were admitted to the honours of the sitting amid shouts of *Vive la Republique!* The red cap was presented to Gobet, who put it on his head. (The applauses were here renewed, and continued for some time.)

"*Villeri* said he had been a cure for twelve years; that he never taught his parishioners but practical moral truths; that he would not now retain a character in which he might be suspected of teaching error, and was therefore a priest no longer.

"*Julien of Toulouse* said his sole ambition had ever been to see *reason and philosophy reign on earth.* As the minister of religion long persecuted, I had always preached brotherly love among men, and exhorted them to make but one family. He now declared that he would in future own *no temple but the sanctuary of law, no divinity but that of liberty, no worship but that of his country, no gospel but the Republican Constitution.*

"*Fabre d'Eglantine.* '*Eternal reason has this day made a rapid advance*, superstition vanished, *philosophy triumphs.* I move that the minutes of this sitting and the speeches pronounced in it be printed, and sent to the departments.' (Ordered.)

"Two bishops and two priests also renounced their priesthood.

"The Section des Tuileries informed the Convention, by one of their commissioners, that Thuriot, the representative of the people, domiciliated in their Section, having yesterday informed them of the memorable scene which took place in consequence of the *truly philosophical conduct of the Bishop of Paris*, and of the other priests who accompanied him, all the citizens manifested their joy and enthusiasm, and that the Section unanimously

resolved, that, on the days of rest of each decade, a moral and patriotic festival should be celebrated in honour of truth. The Commissioners requested that the Committee should be referred to the Committee of Public Instruction, that they might concert with them the means for the putting of it in execution. Decreed."

We have followed with patience the course of the long contention for the supremacy of reason, and at length we reach its termination. In the cathedral of Notre Dame, November 10, 179—, the Goddess of Reason was personified by a nude young woman, the wife of Thomoro, the printer, covered only with a slight transparent veil. Chaumette on that occasion said, "We have abandoned inanimate idols for reason, that animated image the masterpiece of nature." At the utterance of these words, Madame Thomoro went up to the President, and gave him a fraternal kiss amidst shouts of "Reason for ever."

The Goddess of Reason at Notre Dame.

From the scenes of the guillotine, in which the King, the Queen, and the members of the Convention perished, we turn aside.

We have now fairly arrived at the conclusion, that the new philosophy, with its lofty pretensions, could only destroy; it had no power either to renew or to create.

The liberty secured by the philosophers was that of savages and demons. Some formal laws were passed on toleration, and fine sentiments were expressed on religious freedom; but when the foundations of morality are destroyed, there can be no ground for mutual confidence, no sense of responsibility, no security therefore, and no possibility of true freedom. Listen to the wit-

Failure of the Rationalists.

nesses who were disenchanted of the illusions they had so long cherished :—

"What are we to think," said Dumont, "of the abominable fickleness of the people who could count, one after the other, the heads of those twenty victims, as they each dropped under the fatal instrument of death, without seeming to retain the slightest recollection of the applause, which for more than a year they had bestowed upon them as men whom they then looked upon as the defenders of liberty? "*

"How could we ever be so deceived in the character of the French nation," said Romilly, "as to think them capable of liberty? Wretches, who, after all their professions and boasts about liberty and patriotism, and courage and dying, and after taking oath after oath, at the very moment when their country is invaded and an enemy is marching through it unresisted, employ whole days in murdering women, and priests, and prisoners! Others, who can deliberately load whole waggons full of victims, and bring them like beasts to be butchered in the metropolis; and then (who are worse even than these) the cold instigators of these murders, who, while blood is streaming round them on every side, permit this carnage to go on, and reason about it and defend it—nay, even applaud it, and talk about the example they are setting to all nations. One might as well think of establishing a republic of tigers in some forest in Africa, as of maintaining a free government among such monsters."

Mackintosh quietly turned his attention to jurisprudence and moral philosophy, and left the exciting question of the French Revolution; but some years after he was provoked by Benjamin Flower, a "Rational" Dissenter, to declare his opinion without reserve :—

"How many men have retained the same opinions of the French Revolution that they held in 1793? There may be some, and Mr. Benjamin Flower may be one, for there are men who have hearts too hard to be moved by crimes, or heads too stupid to

* Memoirs of Romilly, vol. ii. p. 16.

be instructed by experience. His second accusation is, that a great part of the horrors of the last ten years has been imputed to the immoral, antisocial, and barbarous spirit of Atheism. Has he read the correspondence of Voltaire, of Diderot, of D'Alembert? Has he consulted any of the publications which have issued for the last ten years from the Paris press? Does he know that all the fanatical Atheists of Europe (and England is not free from the pest) almost publicly boast that in thirty years no man in a civilized country will believe in God? Has he never heard that the miners of Cornwall were instigated to sell their clothes in order to purchase the impious ravings of Tom Paine, or that they were gratuitously distributed among the people of Scotland with such fatal effects, that a large body of that once religious people made a bonfire of their Bibles in honour of the new apostle? Has he been informed that the London Corresponding Society (enlightened by the *Système de la Nature*, of which the translation was hawked in penny numbers at every stall in the Metropolis) deliberated whether they ought not to uncitizen Tom Paine for superstitiously professing some belief in the existence of God? Does he know that the same society resolved that the belief of a God was so pernicious an opinion, as to be an exception to the general principle of toleration? All this, and probably much more, we fear, he knows but too well." *

Robert Hall, who in the earlier part of his ministry had yielded to the influence of the "Rational" Dissenters, renounced his materialism and became decidedly Evangelical in his views, and changed his opinion of the new philosophy:—

"No sooner," he said, "were the speculations of Atheistical philosophy matured than they gave birth to a ferocity which converted the most polished people in Europe into a horde of assassins; the seat of voluptuous refinement, of pleasure, and of arts, into a theatre of blood." †

Paine was compelled to acknowledge the ignominious failure of the French Revolution:—

* Hall's Works, vol. vi. p. 129. † Works, i. 47.

"They have shed blood enough for liberty," he said, "and now they have it in perfection. This is not a country for an honest man to live in. They do not understand anything at all of the principles of free government. They are worse off than the slaves at Constantinople." *

The Government taking advantage of the tempest of feeling excited by the arrival of the French emigrants, proceeded to indict political reformers for High Treason. Nothing stood between them and death but the unanimity and honesty of an English jury.

Trials for High Treason.

The trials in which the prisoners were defended by Erskine, contain the finest definitions of civil and religious liberty, and the most eloquent and courageous assertion of its principles in the English language. Thomas Hardy, who was arraigned with others at the bar may be mentioned in particular, because of the attempt to fasten in connection with him 'a charge of sedition' on Dr. Bogue. Hardy was an illiterate shoemaker, who after reading a series of political tracts, formed a society, the members of which subscribed a penny per week, to obtain Parliamentary Reform. With the assurance of a man having but a small stock of ideas, he wrote, as "Citizen" Hardy, to persons of eminence—amongst others to "Citizen Napoleon;" and in the course of this restless correspondence he addressed a letter to Bogue, asking his opinion on the subject of reform, and desiring to know if he had taken an active part in the advancement of the cause. Bogue in reply, inquired if Hardy circulated the works of Paine, and was informed that he had distributed some, but not openly.

* Sherwin's Life of Paine, p. 190.

Beyond this simple incident we find in a large collection of Hardy's papers not the slightest trace of any co-operation of Dr. Bogue with the ardent reformer. At the trial, Stevens, on whose ministry Hardy attended, was asked if he knew of any communication between the prisoner and Bogue; and he replied that he had no personal acquaintance with that minister, and that for himself he had never attended a political meeting. On another occasion, Bogue distinctly affirmed that he had taken no political action whatever, not even to vote at an election, though at one time he entertained the hope, in common with many others, that the downfall of despotism in France would prepare the way for the entrance of the gospel. During the imprisonment of Hardy his wife died. After his acquittal, the people, on his liberation from Newgate, dragged him in a carriage through Fleet Street, and then silently withdrew as he re-entered his desolate home. Stevens and Bogue spent the evening with him in quiet conference, and no doubt in united prayer. This was the entire connection, first and last, between the political shoemaker and the patriotic divine. Hardy issued a circular on returning to his "last," thanking his friends for their sympathy, asking the continuance of their favours in business, with the promise on his part to furnish them with the best material and workmanship.

Thomas Hardy and Bogue.

The record, with respect to the conduct of the Congregational ministers and Churches at this crisis, is one that reflects upon them no discredit. John Clayton, who was admitted to the clerical circle called the Eclectic Society, of which Newton was the

centre, preached a political sermon against meddling with politics, except on the side of the Government, for which he received a severe rebuke in the first pamphlet published by Robert Hall. Bull also was of opinion that ministers of Christ should "eschew" all political affairs whatsoever. But their course was somewhat exceptional.

Their brethren of the same faith and order retained their love of freedom, tempered with discretion and kindness towards all men. They cherished no idle dream of regenerating the world by external government, and as fellow-citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, they were not consumed with a passionate zeal to effect a change of rulers or in social organization. The discipline of their Churches trained them to self-control and patient endurance. They asked no exclusive privileges or State endowment; and when suffering wrong, they committed themselves to Him that judgeth righteously, in the perfect persuasion that the wrath of man would be made to praise Him, and that the remainder he would restrain. Of the temper of the ministers of this order we have an illustration in the private diary of Lambert.

Temper of Congregational ministers.

"*June* 12, 1791.

"At present we enjoy peaceable times, but how long they may be continued, God only knows. It was my opinion several years ago, that if the Americans had been overcome the Dissenters would soon be crushed in England. At present the ministry (if not one higher) seem to be much against them, and the clergy are quite violent. At the visitation last week at Beverley, a very inflammatory sermon was preached in opposition to the Dissenters at Beverley. It is not improbable that troublous times are coming. But the Lord reigneth. He Himself will establish Zion, and He is able to save her, though it be by a

storm. 'God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble.' Him would I trust. Oh for strength for the day, and grace to help in time of need."

"Tuesday, *March* 18, 1794.

"It is a gloomy and dark day at present, and a bad spirit hath gone forth. Men mistake and greatly misrepresent one another. For a man to be a Dissenter in the idea of many is the same as being a Republican; nay, he is often secretly calumniated as such, and then has his reputation stabbed in the dark. Now I can appeal to the great Searcher of hearts, that having long since read over *De Lolme on the English Constitution*, and *Blackstone's Commentaries*, I not only approve but venerate the constitution of this country, and wish that not only the form but the spirit of it may be preserved. But I know not how to account for it; of late I have had strange forebodings of mind that some heavy storm is about to break forth upon the Dissenters, and that I may suffer thereby. I have, I hope, in faith committed myself, my family, and the people I have been connected with, to God."

Bull made similar complaints:—

"The times," he says, "are awful, and a day of persecution is not far off. Mr. Newton says all the Dissenters, even the orthodox not excepted, are republicans and enemies to the Government; and he thinks it the duty of the Government to watch over them all? Could you think so good a man could be so weak? In his late journey to Southampton, he met with Mr. Bogue, of Gosport, who he thinks is a very pious man, but he says he is as bitter against Government as any Frenchman or republican in the world! The truth is, a party spirit runs very high, and I have no doubt that it will come to blows soon; and as the weakest goes to the wall, it is easy to see how it will fare with Dissenters. It seems a settled point with the authorities that all liberty of speech on politics shall be taken away, and I fear liberty of conscience will soon follow; but everything is in the hand of God."

False Accusation of Newton.

The evangelical academy to which we have already referred, formed in the house of Thomas Wilson, for some time occupied a room in

Gracechurch Street, and from thence removed, in 1783, to Grove House, Mile End, and was placed under the care of Stephen Addington, a student of Doddridge. In 1790 he resigned, and was succeeded in the tutorship by Robert Simpson, of Bolton, Lancashire. The Large House in Hoxton, vacated by Kippis and Rees, was obtained in March, 1791, on a lease from the trustees of Dr. Daniel Williams; and under the efficient supervision of Thomas Wilson, of Highbury, who became treasurer on the death of his father, in March, 1794, the institution continued to prosper.

The Evangelical Academy removed to Hoxton.

EDWARD WILLIAMS, who entered on the pastorate of the Church at Carr's Lane, Birmingham, in January, 1792, was eminently fitted by his piety, learning, and matured experience, for that important but difficult sphere of labour. He was born November 14, 1750, at Glancyd, near Denbigh, and educated at St. Asaph and at the Grammar School at Caerwys. His parents opposed his association with religious people, and cast every impediment in his way. An offer was made to send him to the University at Oxford, on condition of his entering the ministry of the Establishment; but with unfaltering resolution, he persevered in his Christian course, and was received as a student into the academy of Dr. Davis, at Abergavenny. Whilst pursuing his studies he was exposed to severe temptation from the example and pernicious influence of a sceptical acquaintance, but escaping the snare, he "became rooted and grounded" in the truth; and on leaving the academy, he was ordained as

Edward Williams.

pastor of the Independent Church at Ross, in Herefordshire, in 1775. In this limited sphere he laid the foundation of his subsequent reputation as a divine by the diligent and systematic study of theology. On September 13, 1777, he removed to Oswestry, where his days were passed in uninterrupted activity.

In 1781, at the request of Lady Glenorchy, he undertook the education of a few young men for the ministry; and on the removal of Dr. Davies to the college at Homerton, at the invitation of the Fund Board, he accepted the care of the students at Abergavenny.

Whilst occupied in these various spheres of labour, his pen was practised in editing a new edition of *Morrice's Social Religion Exemplified*, and in writing a work on *Pædo-Baptism Examined*, an abridgment of *Owen on the Hebrews*, and *A Discourse on the Influence of Religious Practices upon Inquirers after Truth*.

In these diversified pursuits, he seems to have had a special preparation for the work before him in Birmingham. He opened his ministry there January 1, 1792, on "Glorying in the Cross of Christ." The Church and congregation at Carr's Lane were in a depressed and somewhat disorganized condition. Prejudice in the town was violent, but the new pastor gave himself wholly to his work. The meetings for prayer were revived. Classes for the study of theology were formed, and great attention was given to the instruction of young people.

In answer to a request of a brother minister, Williams furnished a reply to inquiries made by Dr.

Green, of America, on the state of religious parties in England, which may appropriately close this lengthened chapter :—

"BIRMINGHAM, *August* 20, 1794.

"DEAR SIR,—As to Dr. Green's first inquiry, 'What proportion do the Dissenters bear to the Established Church?' the answer is, as near as I can calculate, about one to eight, including the Friends, Baptists, and those who prefer associating with Dissenting Churches on the Lord's-day. Perhaps about two out of eight are perfect Gallios, who care nothing at all about religion, and frequent no place of worship except at a marriage, a baptism, or a burial. It then follows that about five out of eight are of the Established Church, taking town and country on an average through England and Wales. Of these Churchmen, about one in sixteen may be termed Evangelical or Calvinistic, including such Methodists as have not declared for the right of private judgment by actual dissent.

Religious State of England.

"The second inquiry is, 'In number and influence, do they appear to be on the gaining or on the losing hand?' In numbers, I think the Dissenters are on the increase; but we must distinguish upon the sources of that increase. Some congregations appear stationary for a number of years; some, especially *among the less orthodox, on the decrease;* and others on the advance, both as to the size of the congregations and the rising and supporting of new ones.

"As to influence, it is necessary to discriminate the objects of it. The Arian and Socinian have but little influence with either the Government or the populace; the orthodox Dissenters have much with the latter, and by the former they are considered as more innocent and well meaning, because *they confine themselves more to religion.* Their principles are more conformable to the articles of faith established, and they meddle less with the *turbulent politics* of the day; whereas the Socinians, or, as they prefer to be called, Unitarian Dissenters, have influence principally with the speculative class of readers, who, destitute of the fear of God and respect for vital godliness, pursue with avidity every bold attempt to pull down superstitions, or novel ideas and criticism, calculated to gratify unhallowed curiosity.

But, in the eye of Government, they are a party greatly suspected, not because of their number so much as their political investigations, their confessed learning and parts, their opulence, and especially their declared, open opposition to all hierarchies.

"'Are Arianism and Socinianism still making progress among them, or are they declining?' Arianism is hardly to be met with. Those who were wont to be denominated Arians are generally sinking into Socinianism, and almost universally associated with the latter. Religious associations of ministers are seldom heard of among either of them; and congregational discipline, as to what relates to the religious welfare of the societies, is generally neglected. To which we may add, family worship, and personal examination as to principles, temper, and Christian deportment, however extolled, are, there is reason to fear, but little attended to practically.

"'What proportion of the Dissenters is probably made up of the denominations of persons just mentioned?' Probably, one in six of the Dissenters, or one in forty-eight of the community. But as their struggles for greater enlargement of liberty, by the repeal of penal statutes in force against Dissenters, and especially those whereby they are rendered incapable of civil offices under the Crown, have rendered them an obnoxious party in the view of the clergy, the Government, and their adherents; and as they almost universally are understood to disapprove of the coalition against France, they resemble a plant that lately made vigorous shoots, but now, through defect of moisture, begins to wither. It is remarkable that amongst all their complaints of hard treatment noticed in their sermons and publications (which, by the way, are fondly nursed by the reviews in general), we hear of no extra meetings for prayer among them, nor humiliations before God, seeking relief from Him—no, not during nor after those riots in which they were the principal sufferers. Indeed, prayer meetings are with them strange things.

"'Has vital religion a general or remarkable prevalence in any part of South Britain at present?' I believe it is generally allowed, by those who are best acquainted with the subject, that in Wales there has been for many years a greater prevalence of vital religion, and more frequent and glorious revivals, than in any other part of this kingdom. The spirit of hearing these,

even at this time of general languor, is astonishing. It is not an uncommon thing to see, at an association of ministers, five or six thousand hearers deeply affected.

"I remain, your affectionate friend and brother,

"E. W.

"To Rev. Mr. Saltem, of Bridport, Dorset." *

* Gilbert's Memoirs of Williams.

CHAPTER XIX.

PRIESTLEY, severed by three thousand miles of the Atlantic from the destruction and tumult of Europe, landed in New York, June 6, 1724, to begin a new career in the Land of Promise. He received an enthusiastic welcome.

"We are safely arrived," he writes in a letter to Lindsey, "after a passage of eight weeks and a day. I never saw any place that I liked so well as New York. It far exceeds my expectations, and my reception is too flattering, no form of respect being omitted. I have received two formal addresses, to which I have given answers. More, I hear, are coming, and almost every person of the least consequence in the place has been, or is coming to call upon me. *This is a glorious country.*"

Priestley in the Land of Promise.

"*June* 15, 1794.

"*I feel as if I were in another world.* The preachers, though all are cool to me, *look upon me with dread.* Several persons expressed a wish to hear me. If I were here a Sunday or two more I would make a beginning. The greatest difficulty arises from *the indifference of liberal-minded men here to religion in general.* They are so much occupied with commerce and politics. I never was more mortified than I now am, at not having with me any of my small tracts on the defence of the Divine Unity. My coming hither promises to be of much more service to our cause than I imagined."

Leaving New York for Philadelphia, the picture was altogether changed.

"*This city*," he writes (June 24, 1794) *is by no means so agreeable as New York.* With respect to religion, things are exactly in the same state as New York. Nobody asks me to preach, and I hear there is much jealousy and *dread of me. I have little doubt but that I shall form a respectable Unitarian Society in this place.*"

Priestley's friends, however, did not intend that he should settle in Philadelphia, or in any other place already established under the old social system, but that he should form a colony entirely after his own plan, in which the latest discoveries of science and philosophy should be practically applied without interference or modification from existing institutions.

An unpleasant Transition.

Estates, for this purpose, were purchased by his son at a place called Northumberland. The transition from the cities as centres of civilization to the uncultivated waste, tried the patience of the great philosopher. He writes:—

"*April* 5, 1795.

"*Nothing is yet done towards building my house.* It is next to impossible to get workmen. Living, even in this *remote place*, I expect will soon be as dear as in London. In general, the lower class of people are very *idle*, as well as *proud*, and *live miserably*, many of them as wretchedly, to appearance, as the poor are said to do in Ireland. *The English who think of settling here are almost all unbelievers, which renders my situation much less agreeable.* This, however, is the will of Providence, and perhaps some good will come even of this unpleasant circumstance. I hope I shall at least guard my own family from the general infection."

"To Mr. Spurrell.

"*July* 12, 1795.

"As to religion we are, like you, having a sermon in our own house, at which only two or three persons out of it, and those from England, attend. I shall get a place where I can preach

more publicly, but it must be at my own expense. *We are, however, about to establish a college in this place, and then I can make use of the common hall for that purpose.*"

"*December* 6, 1795.

"*There is something very remarkable in the progress of infidelity in this country, but I am most astonished with respect to some particular persons in England, and especially Unitarians.*"

The "unbelievers" attracted to the new settlement at Northumberland were a most dreary set of people, and Priestley found no relief in his isolation, but in correspondence, and in writing books. In a letter to his friend, Mr. J. H. Stone (Jan. 20, 1798) he says:— Settlement at Northumberland.

"Your account of the state of religion in France gives me great satisfaction. I rejoice that neither you nor Mr. Vaughan are carried away by the present torrent of infidelity. They cannot say that all men of sense leave us. *This makes me wish the more to see France.* I might, in some other way, promote the cause I have so much at heart."

This, however, was a vain wish, for he adds immediately after:—

"I once intended to have gone as far as Boston; but *travelling in this country is so inconvenient and expensive that I have given up all thoughts of it.*"

At Northumberland Priestley was compelled to remain, though the projected college was never built, and, strange to say, he became unpopular even as a political philosopher.

"There has been," he says, "a most extraordinary change in the politics of the trading people of this country since I came hither, as to countries in alliance with France, which gives me great concern; and I am now *subject to more coarse abuse as a friend of France than I was in England.* But the bulk of the people are still hostile to England, Change in American Politics.

and rejoice, as I do, in the success of the French, and I am persuaded would never be brought to fight against them. I wrote to M. Perigaux to desire he would make a small purchase for me near Paris, but my money in his hands will not suffice for the purpose. Perhaps M. Talleyrand would assist in what I have hinted. *The last thing he said to me was, that he expected to see me in France.*"

The broken idol was cast aside. Priestley continued to the end of his days talking to a dozen people in the room at Northumberland, careful to put on his gown, and by way of variety handed round the "elements" of the Lord's Supper to a few children.

The Idol Broken.

His friend Stone gave him poor encouragement with respect to France. In a letter dated according to the style of the new era, "Paris, February 12, 1798 (25 *Pluviose*, 6 Year)," he says :—

"You have heard, no doubt, of the new sect which now has usurped every church in Paris, under the name of Theophilanthropism. The sect is prohibited by the government. Nothing is read here on these subjects, because nothing is wrote. We have seen nothing but Paine's *Age of Reason*, of which an immense edition, in French, was published, and not twenty copies were sold. I am told he has also been rejected from the Society of the Theophilanthropes, on the charge of intolerance. They have, at least, refused his offers of public instruction. Some atheistical tracts have been published, which have been little attended to, and *the mind is floating at present, not knowing on what ground to repose.*"

State of things in Paris.

The alarm of which Priestley wrote on his arrival in America, as to the effect that might be produced by his preaching, seems to have gradually subsided. ASHBEL GREEN, Chaplain of Congress, writes :—

"PHILADELPHIA, *December* 19, 1794.

"Dr. Priestley is, I believe, disappointed in his expectations from this country. He has republished a number of his smaller tracts, and in a new preface to his *Serious Address*, says, *that in point of liberality we are not equal to the people of Britain.* He will be perfectly free from political persecution or inconvenience among us; but if he continues to be the active apostle of heresy, he will probably lead as uneasy a life on this side the Atlantic as he did on yours. If he sought quiet and repose, he should have known that, in order to it, a resignation of controversy is essential. The Universalists are building a new house of public worship in this city, in which it is not improbable he will occasionally officiate, as *every set of sentiments on their plan is equally good.* Letter of Ashbel Green.

"In America, at present, infidelity greatly prevails. The *enthusiasm* which has seized on the popular mind, in *favour of the cause of the French, has reached from their political to their religious, or rather their irreligious, sentiments.*

"Paine's book (*Age of Reason*) has had a considerably currency; and though it is a compound of falsehood, ignorance, and ribaldry, yet it is, on that very account, better calculated to spread contempt of religion among the ignorant, and those who wish to be free from the restraints of conscience. In the midst of these unpromising appearances, however, there are some of a more favourable kind. The friends of religion have visibly become more active and zealous, within the space of a year or two, than they were before. One proof of this. You will see in a plan for a concert of prayer, which accompanies this letter. The plan is already ripe for execution, and in the space of a year I have no doubt that it will be very general throughout the continent. This is certainly an important and favourable circumstance. In several congregations, likewise in different parts of the country, there have been revivals of vital religion. A very remarkable one has taken place under the ministry of Dr. Robins, to which he alludes in a letter he wrote to the agents for the concert. In many places there is a more general and engaged attention to public worship than there was some time since. On the whole, we have much cause to lament that true religion is so little prevalent, and yet much reason to hope that God is about to arise and plead His own cause." *

* Evan. Mag., 1795.

The following notes of Priestley indicate his sad disappointment:—

"To Rev. T. Lindsay.

"NORTHUMBERLAND, *September* 6, 1798.

"Though I have no more to do with the politics of this country than you have, so violent is party spirit, that *if there be not a change soon, I cannot live in peace here.* It looks like a call of Providence *for another remove, after having, at a great expense, provided to spend the evening of life where I now am.*"

Disappointment of Priestley.

"To Rev. T. Belsham.

"*October* 25, 1798.

"Though I am regarded with suspicion, and *disliked by all the friends of the ruling powers in this country*, and labour under much disadvantage in several respects, as want of philosophical intelligence, and books, etc., from Europe, yet as I am under no apprehension of actual molestation, I certainly shall not remove till there be a peace, and a good prospect of doing better elsewhere.

"The *change that has taken place is, indeed, hardly credible*, as I have done nothing to provoke resentment; but being *a citizen of France* and a friend to that revolution is sufficient. I asked one of the more moderate of that party whether he thought if Dr. Price, the great friend of their own revolution, was alive, he would not be allowed to come into this country. He said he believed not. The persons most in favour are the old Tories that opposed the revolution." *

The friends of evangelical truth in America began now to stir in earnest, and the desire was expressed to resume their friendly relations with their brethren in England.

SAMUEL MILLER, in a letter to Dr. Edward Williams, dated New York, November 10, 1795, writes:—

* Memoirs of Priestley, vol. i., part ii., p. 407.

"The state of the world has lately become so eventful and interesting, that no friend of religion or of human happiness can be an indifferent spectator of the scene. This circumstance renders habits of foreign intercourse peculiarly desirable and pleasing. My design and wishes need no further explanation. The warm attachment to the doctrines of grace, and of course to vital and practical religion, for which you have signalized yourself, while it endears your character to me, and to many in this part of the Christian world, induces me to suppose that you would be pleased to hear how these doctrines are received, and what their progress and influence are in our country. The friends of these doctrines are numerous in our country, and perhaps in no part of it are there more than in this city, in which Providence has cast my lot. But here, as well as almost everywhere else, infidelity and impiety most awfully prevail.

Letter of Samuel Miller.

"Deistic scribblers are becoming more numerous than ever, and their followers more open, avowed, and impudent in their horrid blasphemy than in former times. Had not God promised that His kingdom should triumph over all opposition, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, the aspect of things would be gloomy indeed! But I trust that every new effort against our divine religion will serve to stir up its real friends, and excite them to diligence and zeal instead of depressing them with discouragement.

"Our political world is again agitated with the treaty with Great Britain. Much is expected by the democratic part of our community from the approaching session of Congress, when, as they hope, the instrument, with all it ratifies, will incur the severest frown. May God keep us in peace, and enable us properly to estimate and quietly to pursue our true interest.

"Dr. Priestley is in Pennsylvania. He has not collected a Church that I know of, nor does he statedly preach, as I have heard. His avowed followers are but few among us, and those so scattered, and so unable to act in concert, that they have hitherto effected very little in his favour. As a philosopher I respect this eminent man; but as a divine I cannot wish him God speed."

Of American divines, the name of TIMOTHY

Timothy Dwight.

DWIGHT, the son of a merchant, born in Northampton, May 14, 1752, was best known in England. His mother, Mary, the third daughter of Jonathan Edwards, distinguished for her piety, intelligence, and culture, devoted herself assiduously to his instruction from infancy, making him her companion in conversation to the full extent of his capacity, eliciting thought, directing his studies, and meeting with patience and affection all his inquiries. After a year spent under the care of Enoch Huntingdon, an eminent classic at Middletown, he was sent, in September, 1765, having just passed his thirteenth year, to Yale College. The students at that time were thoroughly demoralized, and given to riotous excess; but young Dwight maintained, amidst all the confusion, sobriety of mind, and, notwithstanding the distractions around him, by the power of attention made some progress, and graduated in 1769.

On leaving college, he took the charge of a grammar-school at New Haven, and, during the two years occupied in tuition, made great advancement in literature and science. He was then chosen tutor in Yale College, in September, 1771, and for six years discharged the duties of his office with credit to himself, and to the great advantage of his pupils. Severe attacks of illness enfeebled his constitution, but by daily exercise his vigour was restored, and for forty years he enjoyed uninterrupted health. In 1774 he became a member of the college church, and in June, 1777, was licensed as a preacher; and in the outbreak of the war became a chaplain in the army. The ardour with which he entered into

the contest and the services made him conspicuous as a public leader, and in the early part of his career it seemed probable that he would be diverted from the work of the ministry, and led to devote his energies to the more exciting service of the State as a member of Congress. But the hand of Providence determined for him another and a better lot. The death of his father left his mother and thirteen children—ten of whom were under twenty-one years of age—without provision. He returned from the army, and established a school at Northampton, and supplied vacant congregations, in order to the maintenance and education of the family, who yielded to him deference as a brother acting for them as a father.

In 1783 he was invited to accept the pastoral charge of the church at Greenfield, and to supplement his income he established an academy, in which, in the course of twelve years, he trained upwards of one thousand pupils. From excessive application he sustained a partial loss of sight, but nothing abated the zest with which, in one form or another, he prosecuted his studies.

Ripe in experience, an accomplished scholar, well disciplined in mind, with large stores of information, and influenced in the use of his brilliant gifts by the principles of enlightened and consistent piety, the trustees of Yale College, on the death of Ezra Stiles, looked to him as the man best fitted to raise the character of the institution as one of the chief seats of learning in the country.

When he entered upon his office, he found everything in disorder as to finances, discipline, and moral character. The number of students was one hundred

and ten; they soon increased to nearly threefold that number. Infidelity was fashionable and prevalent in the college, and the students were under the impression that the tutors were afraid to discuss the points of the Deistic controversy. When Dr. Dwight met the first division of the students, one of them proposed the question, "Are the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament the Word of God?" The President replied, "It shall be the first subject of debate, and let those who take the negative side produce all the facts and arguments they can muster, only with seriousness becoming the importance of the matter." Closing the animated discussion with a fair and full review, he met every objection with so much candour, clearness, and convincing argument, that the views of the students were entirely changed.

His influence as President of Yale College.

The testimony of the tutors and pupils as to his personal worth and marked ability is very decided. Roger Minot Sherman says:—

"While I was a tutor in Yale College, Dr. Dwight became the President. Infidelity, *the offspring of the French school*, was extensively prevalent among the undergraduates, and throughout the State laymen of distinction generally, and our most eminent lawyers especially, were its advocates. The high reputation of Dr. Dwight attracted these men, when the Legislature and Courts were in Session at New Haven, into the College Chapel. Such occasions were improved by him to meet the prevailing errors of the day. This he did, not by reproaches, but by sound argument and overwhelming eloquence. The effect was wonderful. *The new philosophy lost its attractions; in Connecticut it ceased to be fashionable or even reputable; and the religion of the pilgrims, which was fearfully threatened with extermination, regained its respectability and influence.* The character of the college was restored, and its increasing numbers, gathered from

all parts of the United States, extended an influence over the nation."

"With a mind of vast capacity," Professor Olmsted says, "President Dwight grasped at universal knowledge. At an early age, he had with great avidity entered the field of literary criticism and mathematical science, but he was soon arrested by a weakness of his eyes, from which he never recovered, for the greater part of his life he was able neither to read nor write. In ancient learning, therefore, he was not so great a proficient as Bentley, nor in science as profound as Horsley. He was more like Bacon and Boyle, being distinguished like them for originality, a thirst for knowledge, and a fondness for inductive philosophy. No one who knew him would hesitate to ascribe to him very superior faculties, yet it was his own opinion that whatever success he had exhibited in the acquisition of knowledge, and in the power of communicating it to others, was owing chiefly to the exact method to which he trained his understanding, and in which he had arranged his ideas."

Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor says:—

"Nothing is plainer to my mind (and I can speak from a long and intimate acquaintance with him) than that, though by nature an ambitious and proud man, loving greatly distinction and influence, and claiming superiority above others, which was so extensively conceded; his talents, his acquisitions, his influence, were conscientiously devoted to the cause for which the Son of God lived and died. His heart was in this cause. He was pre-eminently a conscientious, disinterested man, under the influence of a deep and earnest piety, without the least pretence or affectation of sanctity. His character has often presented itself to my admiration and love; but never so impressively as under the aspect of so much greatness controlled by so much principle.

"His efforts to bring the religion of the gospel to educated minds were attended with marked success. People of this class had come to regard religion as only fitted for the vulgar and the illiterate. Before the entire community he stood up boldly, in the face of the greatest of them, and many who before had scorned the truth confessed its power.

"As a tutor, it is not easy to overrate his merits. He united

in a remarkable degree, the dignity that commands respect, the accuracy that inspires confidence, the ardour that kindles animation, the kindness that wins affection, while, at the same time, he was able to exhibit before his pupils the fruits of a long and profound research, of an extensive and profitable intercourse with the world, and of great experience in the business of instruction. He taught much also by example.

"As a preacher, notwithstanding the monotony of his voice, he rose sometimes to the loftiest flight of pulpit eloquence. He shone in conversation. Few men had his acquisitions so completely at command in Theology and Ethics, in Natural Philosophy and Geography, in History and Statistics, in Poetry and Philosophy, in Husbandry and Domestic Economy—his treasures seemed alike inexhaustible. Interesting narration, vivid description, and sallies of humour; anecdotes of the just, the good, the generous, the brave, the eccentric, these were all blended in fine proportions to form the bright and varied tissue of his discourse."

Brighter prospects.

The heavy and lurid clouds that had hung over the Churches of New England during the revolutionary struggle began to break, and the rays of heavenly truth once more cheered those who had mourned over their spiritual desolation.

Instead of the self-conceited and pretentious preachers to which the people had been compelled to listen, who indulged their own fancies, without reference to the volume of revelation as the divine standard, or the slightest interest in its inspired contents, Christian teachers were now sent out who began to examine with fresh interest the inspired record, combining devout reverence with freedom of investigation, anxious to arrive at sound conclusions, to trace the connection of one truth with another, and to declare with earnestness their settled convictions—ever mindful of the infinite importance

of the object of the gospel they were called of God to preach.

To meet their keen and subtle opponents they were too often tempted to blend doubtful metaphysics with their statements of Evangelical truth, and sometimes in their own mental bewilderment their most intelligent and patient hearers failed to "catch the thread of the discourse," and might for the moment doubt whether extrication from the maze was even possible; but they returned safely to announce with emphasis and unction in the words "which the Holy Ghost teacheth," the truths that convinced the conscience, melted the heart into contrition, and constrained them without delay, to flee for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before them, and to apply to the fountain "opened for sin and for all uncleanness." Metaphysical preachers.

Many were offended at such preaching, and spoke of it as illiberal, harsh, and narrow, and still babbled about "virtue," "freethought," as they saw men sinking into spiritual ruin; but the gospel proved itself to be the power of God and the wisdom of God. The scattered sheep were restored to the fold of the good Shepherd, and were led into the green pastures, and by the still waters.

Looking only at the rough manners of some who adhered to the faith of the gospel, it might be supposed that everything in their character and conversation was repulsive. Writers of the "Liberal" "school of thought" took a delight in caricaturing the New England divines who followed the faith of their fathers, and when describing their mode of worship, even when without direct disparagement, we

may observe the absence of sympathy with their views and feelings. Josiah Quincy gives us a picture, for example, of the Sabbath services of the congregation at Andover, which in the general outline is correct, yet does not, after all, leave the best impression. Speaking of the "Old Meeting House," he says:—

The old Meeting House at Andover.

"It was surrounded by horse-blocks innumerable, with a disproportionate number of sheds. For the pillion was the ladies' travelling delight, and alone, or in pairs, with their husbands or fathers, they seldom failed to come trooping to their devotions. The Church itself was a shingled mass, lofty, and I should think containing twice the area of its successor. This, however, may be the exaggeration of my boyish fancy, but it had three lofty stories, with three galleries in the interior, *always densely filled* with apparently pious, devout, and earnest listeners, in the left hand gallery sat the ladies, in the right the gentlemen, in the midst of whom, and in front, sat the tithing man, with his white pole three or four cubits in length, the emblem of his dignity and power, and in his right hand a short, hazel rod, which, ever and anon, in the midst of the sermon, to the awakening and alarm of the whole congregation, he would, with the whole force of his arm, bring down with a ringing slap on the front of the gallery, shaking it, at the same time, with a terrific menace at two or three frightened urchins who were whispering or playing in a corner.

"In a square box in front of the pulpit sat the deacons, one of whom had pen, ink, and paper, and was carefully taking the heads of the preacher's discourse, preparing documentary evidence, either that the sermon was old or its doctrine new, or consonant with the orthodox platform. In the front gallery sat Precentor Ames, or Eames, with a pitch-pipe, the token of his authority, with which, as soon as the first line of the psalm was read, he gave the note to the choir of both sexes—twenty or thirty of each—following the deacon, reading line by line in an ecstasy of harmony which none but the lovers of music realize:—

"'How pleased and blest was I
To hear the people cry,
Come, let us worship God to-day;
Yes, with a cheerful zeal,
We'll haste to Zion's hill,
And there our vows and homage pay.

"'Zion, thrice happy place,' etc., etc.

"And the mighty congregation seemed to realize their felicity, for they joined the choir with a will, realizing or exemplifying the happiness of which they sang. It is true, as Washington Irving relates, concerning a like assembly in an English county parish, sometimes when they began—

"'Come, let us sing with one accord,'

it was a signal for parting company, and everyone setting up for himself; yet, upon the whole, it was an exciting scene, elevating and solemnizing the mind by the multitude that took part in it."

From another source we learn that these rural places of worship were wanting in the modern appliances for personal comfort:—

"The Meeting House was warmed chiefly by the sun, for a chimney-stove or furnace was unknown for that purpose in those days. A poor substitute, however, was resorted to from necessity—namely, the 'foot-stove' and the 'Sabba-day house.' The matron of each family was careful, in the coldest weather, to have the foot-stove well prepared with living coals from the home hearth-stone. The Sabba-day houses were about sixteen feet square, with small windows on three sides, and a chimney, built of stone or perhaps brick, on the outside, with a large fire-place attached. This room was furnished, and here the short intermission between the services was spent in mutual greetings, inquiries after health, and, perhaps, comments on the morning sermon. The sheds to protect the horses stood near by." Sabba-day Houses.

The point of principal interest for us to ascertain is the style of thought prevailing in these crowded

congregations. They sang without proper regard to time and modulation, but with what feeling?

We have before us a letter from a hearer in this same huge building at Andover, written to his son, from which we can learn the kind of interest awakened by his father, the preacher, whose sermon was noted down and discussed in the Sabba-day house :—

"ANDOVER, *November* 24, *Sabbath Evening*, 1793.

"MY DEAR SON,—Your letter of the 12th and 15th instant has been received, and the contents gave me pleasure. We have this morning been much affected by the information of the sudden and unexpected death of Deacon Abbott. Thus we are deprived, in a very affecting manner, of one of the best men the town afforded. What a shock to his poor distressed wife and beloved children, to the neighbourhood, to the Church, to the town and public. When a man of exemplary piety, integrity, prudence, virtue, and general goodness, is taken from us, how universally is the loss felt and lamented! In many instances, the rich, the mighty, and the honourable leave the stage, while few regret the loss of them, and some are glad to succeed them; but when a good man departs, we read sadness in every countenance, and the serious who survive are prompted to exclaim, 'Help, Lord! for the godly man ceaseth, and the faithful fail from among the children of men.' What a call to survivors to double their diligence in their Master's service, when we see the uncertainty of the event of an hour!

Letters of Samuel Phillips.

"Such a family as his was rarely to be met with. Not only the heads of it exemplary for their Christian character, but *all the children treading in their steps. At every communion, how pleasing to behold parents and children all approaching the altar of the Lord, and, with one heart and one voice, commemorating that wonderful love of the glorious Saviour, which astonishes angels!* Is it not strange that these instances are so rare? Does the blame lie with the parents or the children? Probably, in most cases, with both!

"I take it to myself, that I have omitted to urge this great duty upon the child to whom I am now writing. Let me, then,

without losing another hour, seriously ask, my dear son, do you not believe your lost and undone condition by nature—your misery without a Saviour—that the Son of God has undertaken the mighty task—that He condescended to take our nature—that He obeyed the whole law—that He suffered and died to purchase your ransom from endless misery? Do you believe the necessity of repentance, love, and new obedience, in order to be qualified for enjoying the benefits of Christ's purchase? and is it not your daily prayer and labour to obtain these gifts and graces? If not, what will all your other cares, studies, and labours amount to? How infinitely little and trifling will every attainment, without an interest in the blessed Redeemer, appear at the hour of death, that *honest hour*, which speaks a language that must be heard by all the children of Adam—a language which is frequently sounding in our ears. That you and I, and all of us, may be prepared for our turn, which will soon arrive, is the fervent prayer of your affectionate parent,

"SAMUEL PHILLIPS."

At the close of the "Communion Sabbath" the pious father writes again:—

"BOSTON, *January* 26, 1794.

"MY DEAR CHILD,—I have been this day celebrating the stupendous love of the Divine Saviour, at the feast of the Supper; and my thoughts were exercised, in no inconsiderable degree, for the dear youth to whom I stand in one of the nearest relations, and whose spiritual as well as temporal happiness I am under the most solemn obligations to promote by all proper means in my power. I then felt, and still feel, a solicitude to know whether any, and if any what, effect has been produced by some remarks lately made in writing, on the subject of taking upon yourself the bonds of the covenant. To these remarks you replied that the subject of them was under consideration. Do they still remain so, or are they dismissed for others of trifling moment, as all temporal concerns must be when compared with those which respect our future existence? If not dismissed, how does the subject appear to you to obey the command of our Sovereign—of a Sovereign who has given Himself up to the sufferings of death to save us from everlasting misery? especially

to give the readiest obedience to his dying charge? You feel yourself under obligations to obey the commands of your earthly parents, and a concern when any instance of disobedience comes to our knowledge, and it is right you should; but any human authority is of little force compared with that which exists with that Supreme Being who gave us existence, is continually upholding us, and withheld not His own most precious blood to save us.

"Do you believe, my dear child, that Christ died to save sinners? what endless misery must have been your and my portion inevitably, had it not been for this infinitely costly sacrifice? Do you believe that this sacrifice, costly as it was, would be of no avail unless we become qualified to receive the blessings which the Saviour died to purchase, by repentance for all our sins, and that faith in the Redeemer and His Gospel which shall have a commanding influence over the heart and life, the temper and conversation, the powers of the body and affections of the soul, and, in short, over the whole man? This repentance and this faith are God's gift; but He must be sought to and inquired of, to grant it. If it is not worth praying for and striving after, it is not worth giving. If these graces of repentance and faith are not worth praying for, then heaven and the happiness of it are not worth praying for. You have every encouragement to beg the bestowment of these blessings, for your Heavenly Father is perfectly ready and willing to bestow them if you ask aright, more ready than any earthly parent can be to bestow the good things of this life on his dear offspring. If you do not possess them, and do not even desire them, how awfully hazardous your state! What must be your position if called out of time in such a situation? A serious consideration of this question is of infinite moment. No subject of consideration is of any moment compared with this. Therefore, let me entreat and conjure you, by all the affection and authority of a father, to dwell upon the thought till you find the stream of genuine contrition and pious affections to flow plentifully. If you do profess these graces, you have the highest reason to give praise—*humble, fervent unceasing praise to that infinitely merciful God* who has redeemed you with the blood of His own Son, and hath given His blessed Spirit to apply His redemption.

"How can you do enough to show forth your gratitude to

such a Saviour? Among other tokens of this gratitude, is it not highly becoming to commemorate the last tragical scene of His sufferings with His disciples in the sacrament of the Supper, especially considering this duty was given in command by Himself, among the last orders which He delivered while on earth.

"I was charmed to-day with the sight of a young family of Mr. Salisbury's, all joining with their dear parents in celebrating this feast. 'How happy,' thought I, 'if our dear children would enable their anxious parents to say to the Almighty, *Here are we, and the children Thou hast given us!*' If you have difficulties on your mind, open them to me freely, and I shall delight to assist; and rejoice that you have a mighty Counsellor, who invites you to His throne for advice at all times. Improve this exalted privilege diligently, and do not forget to return some of the prayers which are frequently poured out for you by your anxious parent,

"S. PHILLIPS."

A succession of divines from the time of Jonathan Edwards to Nathaniel W. Taylor, the amanuensis of Dwight, elaborated what is called the New England Divinity. In 1787, Stiles mentioned as among its champions the two Edwardses, Bellamy, Hopkins, Trumbull, Smalley, Judson, Spring, Robinson, Strong, Dwight, and Emmons. In 1799, Hopkins added to the list the names of West, Levi Hart, Backus, President Balch and Fitch. It was first called New-light Divinity, then New Divinity, afterwards Edwardean, and subsequently Hopkintonian or Hopkinsian. From the circumstance that Edwards, Hopkins, and West resided in Berkshire county, it has since been called Berkshire Divinity.

New England Divinity.

"With this diversity of names, there has been a similar variation in the definitions given of the system or school of theology. Some affirm that it is identical with what is known as modern Calvinism. Professor Edward A., Park says, 'New England

theology is Calvinism in an improved form. It does not pretend to be a perfect system.' Both Edwards and Hopkins reiterated the wish and hope that their successors would add to the improvement which the Genevan faith had already received. Neither does our system profess to be original in its cardinal truths. It has ever claimed that these great truths are the common faith of the Church; that they are recognized in many evangelical creeds; that Calvinism contains the substance of New England theology, not always well proportioned, not seldom intermingled with the remnants of an erring scholasticism, and sometimes enveloped in inconsistencies and expressed in a nervous style. The substance of our theology is Calvinistic; here it is old. Much of its self-consistency is Edwardean and Hopkinsian; here it is new. It is not mere Calvinism, but it is consistent Calvinism. Instead of pretending to be an entirely new revelation, it has always professed to be a revised and corrected edition of the Genevan creed."

Amongst the works written by these theologians may be named the treatise of the elder Edwards on *The Will*, on *The Nature of Virtue*, on *God's End in Creation*, and on *Original Sin;* Dr. Jonathan Edwards on *Universal Salvation*, against Chauncy; Bellamy on *The Wisdom of God in the Permission of Sin*; West an Essay on *Moral Agency*, etc.; the sermons of Smalley on "The Consistency of a Sinner's Justification by Faith alone," and "The Unalterable Obligation and Highest Honours of the Original Law of Works," and on "The Sufficiency of the Atonement of Christ for the Salvation of all Men," and "Remarks on the Essence and Sum Total of all Sin," "The Origin and Influential Cause of all Moral Evil," and on "The Inability of Man," as consisting in the mere want of a willing mind. Hopkins wrote a formal *System of Divinity;* and Dr. Dwight arranged his doctrinal sermons in the order of a theological

system; Emmons wrote on the process of the *General Judgment.*

From these sources the theological student may learn the general character of the New England Divinity. The aim of its advocates was to meet the cavils and objections raised against the evangelical system as generally taught by the Puritan divines and their successors. They endeavoured to solve some of the most difficult problems in theology in relation to the origin of evil, liberty and necessity, the Divine decrees, self-love, the "love of being in general," and other cognate questions. In this attempt they succeeded to their own admiration, but not to the satisfaction of many others. Keen discussion led in some instances to mutual alienation, and with some advantage, arising from a clearer view of individual responsibility, there was a loss of time and strength that might have been devoted to more important practical work. With the skill of the acrobat, they kept sometimes on a slender filament of truth, though always on the edge of danger; but their imitators often lost their balance and suffered damage.

Andrew Fuller, in a letter to Hopkins, says:—

Letter of Andrew Fuller.

"I have enjoyed great pleasure in reading many of your metaphysical pieces, and hope those who can throw light on evangelical subjects in that way will continue to write. But I have observed that whenever an extraordinary man has been raised up like President Edwards, who has excelled in some particular doctrines or manner of reasoning, it is usual for his followers and admirers too much to confine their attention to his doctrines or manner of reasoning, as though all excellence was there concentrated. I allow that your present writers do not implicitly follow Edwards as to his sentiments,

but that you preserve a spirit of free inquiry; yet I must say it appears to me that several of your younger men possess a rage of imitating his metaphysical manner, till some of them become *metaphysic mad.* I am not without some of Mr. Scott's apprehensions, lest by such a spirit the simplicity of the gospel should be lost, and truth amongst you stand more in the wisdom of man than in the power of God."

Jonathan Edwards (the second).

JONATHAN EDWARDS (the second), one of the leaders of the New England School, born at Northampton, Mass., is said to have been exceedingly like his father in person, mind, and life. He resembled him also in his public course—first, as tutor at Princeton College, and afterward as President of the College at Schenectady. Both died a short time after they were inaugurated—the father in his fifty-fifth year, and the son in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

"In the pulpit, the younger Edwards," we are told by Dr. Cooley, "was too profound to be interesting or always intelligible to ordinary minds. His own mind was so trained to philosophical disquisition that he seemed sometimes to forget that the multitude whom he was addressing were not also metaphysicians. A portion of his preaching, however, was highly practical, and sometimes it was irresistibly impressive, and even terrible. His manner was the opposite of attractive. In his voice there was a nasal twang which diminished the effect of his utterance. He had little or no gesture, looked about but little upon his audience, and seemed like a man who was conscious that he was dealing in abstractions. Nevertheless, he was uttering great and profound thoughts; and those who were capable of estimating them went away admiring the power of his genius, and edified by the striking and original views which had been presented to them."

Hopkins, at Newport, redoubled his exertions at the close of the war for the emancipation and improvement of the African race. He had a strong desire to form a colony of Christian negroes for the

evangelization of Africa, and entered into an extensive correspondence with Granville Sharp, proposing a scheme of Christian colonization.

Hopkins and Granville Sharp.

"In Massachusetts," he writes, January 15, 1798, "all the Africans are made free by their constitution, and many have obtained their freedom in this State. But their circumstances are in many respects unhappy while they live here among the whites; the latter looking down upon them, and being disposed to treat them as underlings, and *denying them the advantages of education and employment*, etc., which tend to depress their minds and prevent their obtaining a comfortable living, etc. This and other considerations have led many of them to desire to return to Africa, and settle there among their brethren, and in a country and climate more natural to them than this. Particularly, there are a number of *religious blacks, with whom I am acquainted, who wish to be formed into a distinct Church or religious society*, and to have a black appointed as their pastor (and there is one, at least, who is thought qualified for that office); and then to go, with all the blacks who shall be willing to move with them, to Africa, and settle on lands which they think may be obtained of some of the natives there, from whom some of them were taken, and whose language they retain; *and there maintain the profession and practice of Christianity, and spread the knowledge of it among the Africans, as far as they shall have opportunity;* at the same time cultivating their lands, and introducing into that hitherto uncivilized country the arts of husbandry, building mills and houses, and other mechanic arts, and raising cotton, coffee, etc., for exportation, as well as for their own use. This plan I have had in view for some time, and have wished and attempted to promote it. But no way has yet been opened in America to carry it into execution, there being no means yet found to defray the charge of sending a vessel to Africa with a number of blacks to find out and procure the most convenient place for such a settlement."

The reply of Sharp was not the most encouraging; but he adds, after a recital of the circumstances:—

"The settlers, I think, must now submit to receive and accommodate all new comers with equal lots of land, *gratis*, until they amount at least to six hundred householders, notwithstanding the limitation of time in the regulations; so that I hope I may venture to assert, that whatever people from America will engage to submit to the terms of the regulations and the English Government (which must be perfectly free, whilst frank pledge, and a universal militia are maintained), will be admitted to free lots, even if they amount to more than double that number, provided they *go all at one time*, and show this letter, or a copy of it, to the governor and assembly of settlers in the Province of Freedom."

On the strength of this assurance, though upwards of seventy years of age, Hopkins renewed his efforts for the accomplishment of his philanthropic purpose, and by preaching, printed circulars, and letters, tried to stir up the people. There was, however, an element of danger that alarmed, in some degree, his English correspondents. In a letter to Dr. John Erskine (January 14, 1789) Hopkins said, "Infidelity, universalism, irreligion, and worldliness generally prevail."

Paine had been engaged as an advocate of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. Zachary Macaulay, the editor of the *Christian Observer*, associated with Scott, Newton, and Wilberforce, wrote to Hopkins in the following terms:—

"FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, *March* 19, 1795.

"REVEREND SIR,—We refer you to the enclosed paper, marked No. 1, for an explanation of the reasons which have induced us at this time to trouble you. We have considered it as a sufficient ground on which to solicit your good offices, that you are interested in the cause of humanity, and that you are zealous in the service of Christ. Believing, therefore, that you will regard no task as a burden which gives you an opportunity of manifesting these dispositions, we address you on the present

occasion, with the full assurance that you will be favourable to our views, and that you will spare no pains in fulfilling them.

"You already know that several families of people of colour, belonging to Providence, have joined in making an application to us for a settlement at Sierra Leone; and though we be by no means desirous of an accession of colonists, yet their application has been so urgent, that we have been induced to comply with it. The number to be received is, however, limited to twelve families, and on perusing the conditions, you will see that even these are not to be received, unless they present satisfactory testimonials of their moral character, signed by you and another clergyman, and by the President of the Abolition Society.

"The difficulties which have already arisen in forming this settlement from the injudicious admission of persons of doubtful character, have led us to guard more carefully against a similar evil in the present instance. These difficulties have arisen, either from *fallacious notions of civil rights* (a thing not to be wondered at in emancipated slaves), from extreme vehemence of temper, or from low, confused, and imperfect ideas of moral rectitude. The first of these may, no doubt, be corrected by enlightening their minds; the second may be curbed by wholesome laws; and the last may be amended and improved by the preaching of the gospel; but we should be much better pleased to have an accession of colonists, *who would strengthen our hands in accomplishing their purposes, than of men who would furnish us with additional employment in that way.*

"*There is another evil, however, which we fear may prevail among those with whom the present application has originated, and which we wish to guard against with more care than even against those, we mean the evil of speculative infidelity.* From general circumstances which have passed under our observation, we are led to judge that *the poison of the 'Age of Reason' may have pervaded even this class of men.* Now, we trust you will agree with us in thinking that the *introduction of one such unbeliever into a colony founded for the express purpose of spreading among the heathen the knowledge of a Saviour, might prove an evil beyond all calculation.* We are not such bigots as to require subscription to creeds and articles; nor are we such latitudinarians, as to be willingly accessory to admitting into the colony one person who has *learned* to treat religion with contempt."

Hopkins took a deep interest in the formation of Missionary societies, and corresponded freely on the subject with Fuller and Ryland. In his old age he continued his theological investigations and philanthropic labours. The room he occupied was only eleven feet eight inches long, nine feet seven inches wide, seven feet three inches high, and was entered by a door twenty-six inches in width.

Hopkins in his old age.

Into his contracted study he entered at four o'clock in the morning, and stayed until his family were prepared for breakfast. When called, he descended a narrow and steep flight of stairs, and, having conducted the morning devotions, sat down to his frugal meal of coffee and Indian bread.

After attending to household wants and the visitation of his people, he returned to his narrow chamber, where he remained until dinner hour. This simple repast being over, he went up slowly the precipitous staircase, and remained, with a little interruption for tea, until nine, and then returned to bless his household before retiring to rest.

His appearance was striking. Over his head—shaved every fortnight—he wore a white linen cap, and, covering this, a higher cap of red velvet. A gown of blue worsted lined with green, or of green plaid or baize, was his favourite *deshabille*, always worn by him in the study, and sometimes out of doors. Ordinarily, however, when he appeared in the streets, he wore the straight-bodied coat common among gentlemen of the old school, and his head was covered with a powdered wig and three-cornered hat. He wore the clerical neck-tie when he preached. Of iron constitution—yet the

time came when the strong man bowed himself. In his seventy-eighth year he writes:—

"*December* 16, 1799.

"On the tenth of last January I was suddenly seized with a paralytic stroke, which affected my right side, and rendered my limbs of that side in a great measure useless, and much affected my speech, but was attended with little or no pain, and the exercise of my reason and mental faculties was not in the least affected. This appeared to threaten my speedy dissolution in my view, and in the view of my friends, either by a greater and more deadly stroke, or some other way. To be sure, I reasonably considered it as a warning to be ready for death. I felt that God had laid His hand lightly upon me, and that the affliction was attended with much tender mercy; and I was resigned and thankful. For a short time at first my mind was dark, and I seemed to myself to be in a measure shut out from the sensible presence of God and the Saviour; but soon I was led to a view and sense of Jesus Christ, as exalted to the throne of the universe, having all power in heaven and earth, clothed with infinite power, wisdom, rectitude, and goodness, governing the world and ordering every event, the least and greatest, as it shall be most for His glory, and the greatest general good."

After a characteristic narration, at considerable length, of his personal experience, Hopkins adds:—

"When I was first taken with this disorder, and for most of the time since, I have had little or no sensible desire of recovery, and was not inclined so much as to ask for it; my mind rather reluctated at the thought of recovery so as to preach after the poor dull way in which I had hitherto preached, and with as little success. But God has been pleased to recover me, so that I have been able to attend public worship and preach for several months past; and I do not feel that preaching hurts me, or aggravates my disorder, which encourages me to proceed, but with many and great discouragements from my own great deficiencies, and the want of a proper attention in the congregation in general. But Christ will answer his own ends by me, and continue me in the world, and take me out of it in the best time and manner, so as best to answer these ends, and in this I daily acquiesce and rejoice."

In an interesting letter to Andrew Fuller, dated Newport, October 15, 1799, he says :—

Letter to Fuller.

"I am pleased to hear that Edwardean principles are gaining ground and spreading, as I am certain that every contrary scheme of principles (is irreconcilable with) the Bible, and that all or most of the late remarkable exertions to send missionaries among the heathen, and propagate the gospel among others in Europe and America, have originated in a *poor shoemaker* from having imbibed these principles. I believe all the missionary societies lately formed in America owe their rise to those formed in England, and their extraordinary exertions. There are five of these societies now in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts States, the leaders in all which, except one (if that is to be excepted), are Edwardeans.

"But what appears most favourable now to the spread of our principles and of true religion, is a great remarkable revival of religion, which is spread wider and has risen higher than anything of the kind has done in America for above fifty years. It has taken place in the west and north-west parts of Connecticut, and in the States of New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. It is said to be in above one hundred towns and parishes. There appears to be little or no enthusiasm. It goes on in a still, but strong and energetic manner. Many thousands have been the subjects of deep and strong convictions, and great numbers are hopefully converted. And it is to be remarked that this revival has taken place in almost all, if not in every instance, under the preaching of those ministers who have embraced Edwardean principles. We hope it is yet on the increase, and will bear all before it."

Hopkins continued at intervals to preach and to write, closing his printed publications with a sermon entitled *The Author's Farewell to the World.*

In his extreme old age he wrote down the name of every member of his congregation, that in his little study chamber he might offer for each in turn special prayer. He was permitted to witness at

last a "season of refreshing" in which many were added to the Church. His last sermon was preached during the progress of the revival. He had been afflicted with a severe fever in the middle of May, so that he was unable to speak in public until the middle of July, 1803. He then resumed his work. On October 16, he preached from 1 Peter v. 8, a solemn and subduing sermon. He rode home, and as he was helped out of his carriage, he said, with a wearied look, to his grand-daughter, "Now I have done; I can preach no more." *He gave up.*

It was reserved for him in the months that followed to glorify God in patient suffering. On October 17, he was seized with a severe fit of apoplexy, and as he seemed to be passing away, he whispered, "O, the glory, the glory that shall follow!" Other severe disorders followed, causing distressing pain. When a minister prayed for the continuance of his life, Hopkins said to him, when the prayer was finished, "You should not have asked for my life. I can do nothing more. It is time to go." Last days of Hopkins.

On another occasion, a brother minister, bending over him as he was fast sinking, uttered the words, "Most gone!" "Yes," he replied, "most gone!" "And how do you feel, brother Hopkins?" "My anchor is well cast, and my ship, though weather-beaten, will outride the storm."

Three days before he died, taking the hand of a youth who came to see him, he said, "I am feeble, and cannot say much. I *have* said all that I *can* say. With my *last* words I tell you, *Religion* is the one thing needful." He pressed the hand of his

young visitor still more closely, while he added, "And now I am going to die, and I am glad of it."

"And so died," says Dr. Park, his biographer, "this calm man, on the 20th of December, 1803, in the sixty-third year of his Christian profession, in the sixty-second year of his ministry, in the eighty-third year of his age—an old disciple."

The chief point of interest to us now in America at the close of the eighteenth century, is in the origin and progress of Christian missions.

Jeremiah Day, in 1788, went as a pioneer missionary to the new settlements of the country.

The General Association of Connecticut began in 1792 to act in committee for the furtherance of the design of sending the gospel to the regions beyond them. At the meeting of the General Association in 1797, Levi Hart, Joseph Storrs, and Samuel Miller were appointed to prepare an address on the subject to the several ministerial associations in the State. In 1798, at a meeting of the General Association held at Hebron, a committee was appointed to draft a constitution of a Missionary Society, which, "after due consideration," was adopted. The General Association was constituted the "Missionary Society of Connecticut," to "Christianize the heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements of the United States."

Missionary Society of Connecticut.

An announcement was made soon after the formation of the Society, in the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, to this effect:—

"The missionaries now in service are Rev. Seth Williston, Jedediah Bushnell, and Amasa Jerome, all in the new settlements

in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, and the Rev. William Storrs in Vermont.

"On Friday, the 8th of August, Mr. DAVID BACON* left Hartford, with a view of visiting the Indian tribes bordering on Lake Erie, according to a resolve of the trustees of the Missionary Society of Connecticut. Previous to his departure, he was examined by the Committee of Missions, who highly approved of him as qualified for such a mission, unanimously appointed him to that service, and by prayer commended him to the divine blessing. It is expected he will obtain a guide and interpreter at Stockbridge, or somewhere in that neighbourhood, and then proceed on to the south west part of Lake Erie, and visit the Indian tribes in that quarter."

A report of these proceedings was sent to the "Rev. J. Eyre, A.M., Hackney," signed by Benjamin Trumbull, Nath. Strong, Abel Flint, dated Hartford, Connecticut, September 24, 1800, in which they state that "harmony and sincere brotherly affection appear to reign among the trustees, and they have one heart to promote their benevolent design." "Many, both in the old and new settlements, have, in the judgment of charity, been born of God, and have become the humble, obedient, fruitful followers of the Lamb." Arrangements were made to give periodical intelligence from the missionaries in the *Missionary Magazine*, published in Edinburgh, and a series of interesting letters appeared in that publication descriptive of the journeying of Bacon among the Indians. In a letter dated Michilimakinak, July 2, 1802, we have an account of his first interview with some Indian chiefs:—

Reported in England.

"When I arrived at the mouth of the river Miami, the most of the chiefs were drunk at the traders' above. After remaining

* Father of Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven.

there two days, and finding it uncertain when they would be down, we went up, and stored my provisions and farming tools at Fort Miami, eighteen miles above. Hearing that the most of them had gone down, we returned the next day to the mouth. The day after I found that Little Otter, the head chief, and the other, were all that were in the main village where we were, and that the rest all lay drunk in the neighbouring village. In the afternoon I spent several hours with these two, in explaining to them the origin and design of the Missionary Society, and the benefits, temporal and spiritual, that they might expect to receive by having me among them. They appeared to pay good attention, and when I had concluded, Little Otter observed, in reply, that the Great Spirit had been listening, and that they and their young men had been listening, to all that I had said; that he believed it was true; that the air appeared clear, and no clouds in the way; and that he would assemble his chiefs and hear me as soon as possible, but that till then he could give me no further answer. This was Saturday, the 8th. Through the Sabbath following we enjoyed peace and quietness in the midst of them. Hitherto the most of them had remained sober. But the following night we were disturbed with rattles and drums of a number of individuals, who spent the night in conjuring over a poor sick child in order to save its life; but it died within a day or two after. Near morning they began to drink, and by eight o'clock several got to fighting. But at the request of the sober Indians, who chose not to interfere, we parted them, and after some time made out to pacify them, though one of them was so far enraged as to attempt to murder his antagonist. As soon as this disturbance had subsided, I called on Little Otter, who informed me that he should not be able to collect his chiefs that day, as we expected, as most of them were still drunk; but added that they would be sober the next day, as they were preparing to have a dance the Tuesday following, and that, if it was possible, he would assemble them in season to attend to my business first, though he thought it doubtful whether they would be able to give me a hearing till after the dance. The next day he called upon me, and informed me that they would not be collected in season, and observed that as I was sent there by the Great Spirit, and my business was important, it would not do to have it hurried; and that as it was necessary to have them all sober before we entered

Interview of Dvid Bacon with Indian chiefs.

on the business, he wished me to wait three days, as they would not be prepared sooner, and as I might expect by that time to find them wiser and ready to attend to me."

From one of the home letters of David Bacon, we learn the self-denying nature of the service to which he had devoted himself:—

"To Mrs. Alice Bacon, Hudson, County of Trumbull, State of Ohio.

"PRESQUEVILLE, *November* 12, 1804.

"MY DEAREST,—I wrote to you from Warren, and from *Smithfield* by Mr. Badger. I expect you will have seen him before this reaches you, and have learned how happily we spent a day and a half in each other's company. I left him on Thursday about noon.

"Meeting with Dr. Reeve, an old acquaintance and a Christian friend, I was detained, so that I got about six or seven miles that afternoon. Tarried over night with pious Pennsylvanians, who appeared very happy in my company, and would receive nothing for entertaining me. I took breakfast with them, as it was five miles to the next house, which made me late in starting. I had not got far before it began to rain. I had a very blind path all day, and once got some distance out of my way. The rain continued to increase, and when I had travelled twelve miles it came down like a thunder-shower. I then put up with a Captain Ewins, who, with his wife, appeared to be pious and very agreeable. They made me welcome. I took breakfast with them, and set out with an expectation of spending the Sabbath with the minister of Madville, who lives off the road five miles west of the town, but could find no one to direct me to him when I came near the place where I should have turned off, and therefore [I] kept on to the town. I reached the tavern by the ferry, where I lodged, about eight o'clock in the evening. A great quantity of rain had fallen the day and night before, and considerable that day, and the roads that were travelled had become intolerable; but I travelled sixteen miles, which was as bad as to have travelled twenty-five in a good road. Sabbath morning, I crossed French Creek, and put up at a better tavern in the town. As Mr. Stockton was gone to preach to his other congregation,

I offered my services there; but as it snowed very hard, and their place of worship [was] not very comfortable, the time for giving notice short, and the roads very bad, it was thought not best to make the attempt.

"It continued to snow all day on Monday, but, after procuring some little necessaries, I started, and took dinner with a pious Mr. Davis four miles on my way, where I was again made welcome. While they were preparing dinner, a young licentiate of the Ohio Presbytery came there in order to preach in that neighbourhood. He had come but a small distance that day, but he complained much of the tediousness of the weather, though he rode a good horse, was wrapped in a cloak, and had socks over his boots. However, when he found what a journey I had undertaken and my manner of performing it, he talked no more about his hardships. After dinner I set out, and travelled till about eight o'clock, but got not more than seven or eight miles farther, as the snow and mud were become so deep as to make it very slow travelling. Tarried at a tavern, where they would receive no recompense. I travelled as late the next day, and got more than twelve miles, the road growing still worse. The next day, which was yesterday, it snowed hard the most of the day. I lost my road several times, and went three or four miles out of my way; but I got ten miles ahead, and reached here about dark, very tired in consequence of travelling through mud and snow half-leg deep, and very lame in one of my ankles, having strained the cords by jumping across many sloughs, brooks, and other wet places. I supped the night before on mush and milk, and breakfasted and dined that day on cold johny-cake and milk. In consequence of this I had become debilitated. I rested but poorly last night. My stomach being much disordered and my ankle still lame, and finding it continuing to be stormy and myself in good quarters, I have spent the day here. I am at the house of a Mr. Reed, whom we saw at Buffalo, and who came with Mr. Umstead [Olmstead] to our house in Detroit. He treats me very politely. I am now four miles from the lake.

"Perhaps the account I have given you of my journey has increased your sorrow and your anxiety, but I wish you to believe that my mind was so agreeably employed the most of the time that I thought little about the way. The greatest trial of a temporal nature that I have hitherto experienced is that I have

been going, and must continue to go, farther and farther from the dear partner of my joys and our sorrows, and our little children, and that it is uncertain whether I shall ever see you or them in this world again. But faith tells me that it is not desirable that it should be as I would have it—that it is enough for me to know that the Lord reigns, and hath promised that all things shall work together for good to them that love Him; and that He hath said, 'Leave thy fatherless children behind, and let thy widows trust in Me.'

"At the Lake, Monday the 19th.

"Finding myself in better health and partly recovered of my lameness, I came from *Reed's* on *Friday* last. Learning that the '*Lark*' was expected to set sail for Buffalo on Saturday evening, and the prospect being fair, I concluded to wait and take a passage in her, as they commonly run it in twelve hours. I knew that my route by land must be very tedious and attended with some danger, and [I] concluded that to start in the evening in a good vessel well manned, with a good land breeze (which seldom varies before morning), and with a full moon, would be attended with little, if any, more risk. But on Saturday, near night, it was found that the vessel, having been aground, had broken one of her rudder irons, and that it would be impossible to sail before Monday evening. Just at night, the Rev. Mr. Patterson, who lives twelve miles down the lake, being in town on his way to a congregation eight miles back of this place, providentially heard of me and came to see me, and urged me to go with him. I consented, and he soon procured me a horse, and we proceeded on. I was extremely happy in his company, and he seemed pleased with me. I found the people very agreeable where we spent the Sabbath. I preached in the forenoon, and he in the afternoon. I found much assistance. He received four dollars for preaching, and would make me take two of them. I wish you could see him. You would be charmed with him. He is about twenty-five, blessed with a strong mind, a liberal education, an easy address, and with all the graces of the Holy Spirit. He is the son of the pious and Rev. Mr. Patterson, who went on a mission to the Shawnees, accompanied by Mr. Matthews and G. Bluejacket, about the time that we sailed for Mackinaw. He told me that he had often heard his father say that he had a great desire to see you and talk with you. I asked

him why, and he said it was because he had seen a letter of yours that had been published in the magazine.

"Mr. Patterson has offered to procure me a horse to go to Connecticut, clear of expense; but as the snow is two feet deep back from the lake, and is going off very fast, the streams will be exceedingly high, and the road necessarily bad between here and Buffalo, so that it is not likely that I should reach there under a week if I were to go through by land; and as it is now near night, and we have the fairest prospect for wind and weather that we can wish for, I calculate to go on board and set sail this evening, and trust that I shall be at Buffalo to-morrow. The wind appears to be fixed in the south, which will give us a smooth sea. If we could have a little more of it, we might take breakfast there.

"Adieu, my dear, and may the Lord be with you, and bless you and our dear little ones. This is the constant prayer of your affectionate husband, "DAVID BACON."

We have exceeded our limits, and must stay our hand. A chapter prepared on the Northern Academies, Rotherham and Airedale, the Haldane Movement, Bengal Mission, the introduction of Congregationalism into Scotland, the origin of the London Missionary Society, and the effects of these movements on the spirit, character, and influence of the Churches, we are compelled to cancel, to resume, if opportunity permit, in another volume.

From a thorough examination of the minutes at the East India House, and original letters in the British Museum, and in other collections, we find that the Clapham party—Charles Grant, John Newton, and the rest—laboured most assiduously to thwart the intended mission of Haldane, Bogue, and Ewing, and to supersede all other missionary plans in the East by the introduction of chaplains or mis-

sionaries in connection with the Church of England, and against their persistent influence the munificence of Mr. Haldane, ready to sell his paternal estate for the object, and the honest zeal of Dr. Bogue, were unavailing, though their application was supported by Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan associations in every part of the country. The revival of evangelizing effort in the last decade of the eighteenth century is very remarkable. When, as we have seen, the "rational" academies had faded out, earnest Christian men like Mr. Welch, Mr. Hanson of London, and Mr. Walker of Rotherham, by their personal exertions and generous "contributions" "set in order" academies for the preparation of students for the ministry, conducted with great efficiency. They were seconded by tutors like EDWARD WILLIAMS, to whose endowments we have already referred, and WILLIAM VINT, a man of sound learning, exemplary piety, and uncommon diligence, the faithful pastor, careful and painstaking tutor, and the true friend of all entrusted to his care. The students of these institutions, for the most part of humble origin, simple manners, and with no pretensions to extraordinary attainments, and certainly not claiming the exclusive possession of "reason," believed the gospel, felt its power, and devoted their energies from glowing zeal to the dispensation of its doctrines. In their vacations they went out on preaching excursions, gathering congregations which have continued to this day. To the zealous efforts of SAMUEL BOTTOMLEY, GEORGE GILL, JOSEPH COCKIN, the churches at Houley, Holmfirth, Idle, and Bradford trace their origin; and in other places the occa-

sional preaching of earnest preachers from the Northern Academies, churches were formed in the same manner.

When the pretentious new philosophy selecting Paris, the centre of modern civilization, as the scene of its grandest achievements, had disastrously and ignominiously failed, WILLIAM CAREY, sneered at as a "sanctified cobbler," led the way in the formation of missionary societies. The London Missionary Society, selected as the sphere of its operations, not the most intelligent and cultivated of the human race, but the most degraded and barbarous, the cannibals of the South Sea Islands. JAMES WILSON, the first missionary captain, was a man who was before a confirmed sceptic and decided opponent of Christianity, but had been gained to the cause of Christ by the scriptural argument and by the wisdom and personal worth of JOHN GRIFFIN, then a young minister at Portsea.

The missionaries went out not with the approbation of academicians, the sanction of Parliament, the smiles of the Court, and the ample salaries voted by powerful "companies," but amidst the scorn and ridicule of the self-constituted oracles of the higher literature, as fanatics and fools. On her second voyage the "Missionary Ship" was captured by a French privateer, and the passengers were pillaged, taken prisoners, and only by a merciful interposition of Providence, escaped to tell the story of their wrongs and privations in England. Yet the spirit of missionary zeal was not quenched, nor the enterprise checked. The patient labour was commenced amongst the South Sea Islanders, which never ceased

until every idol was abolished, and the people sprung up ignorant of the degrading customs of their fathers, instructed in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, and adorned with the virtues and graces of the Christian character.

That this generous ardour was no mere outburst of romantic feeling, to evaporate with the passing away of the excitement of novelty, we have decisive proof in the universal attention given to the neglected districts at home. County associations were organized to ascertain the temporal and spiritual condition of towns, villages, and hamlets, and to report at periodical meetings held for the purpose. Bands of Christian people, Congregational, Baptist, and Evangelical Churchmen, went out to instruct the neglected population, in districts systematically arranged for this purpose. WILLIAM ALEXANDER (father of the Rev. John Alexander, of Norwich) and THOMAS HILLYARD, were noble examples of self-denying devotedness in this kind of service, yielding to their convictions of duty, and prompt to mark opportunities, they went everywhere preaching the word in the cottages of the poor, or on the village green. They encountered the fiercest opposition with calmness and patience. They endured privation without murmuring, and they waited for the result of their ceaseless toil in faith and with long patience.

It sometimes happened, as in the case of JAMES HINTON of Oxford, that in their preaching excursions they were waylaid, assailed by furious Churchmen, and had but a narrow escape of their lives. Still they "went forth to sow," not regarding the "wind," nor despairing of the harvest that should follow.

Amidst the activity, the diligent attention to scriptural teaching, the Christian affection and simplicity of purpose that characterized that period, an order of Congregational ministers arose to whom preaching was not a trade, but a divine vocation. With the fervour of Methodism we find in them the love of order and the desire to build up the Churches in their most holy faith. "Waste places" were reclaimed. The miasma of error that had penetrated Christian societies, to wither and destroy, passed away before the refreshing gales of the Spirit. Old meeting-houses left desolate after the glory had departed, in some places were re-occupied and restored; or if they continued as the sad memorials of a perverted gospel, new sanctuaries were opened, "joy and gladness were found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody." We have still among us some whom all will acknowledge as the "seed that the Lord hath blessed;" known by their firm convictions, their Evangelical integrity, public spirit, and splendid liberality, whose fathers were trained by the men to whom we allude, and it may yet be permitted to us to delineate their character, and to sketch, however imperfectly, their noble career.

THE END.

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